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THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, 1880-1916

David G. Stevens, Jr.

A thesis presented to the Department of History of Old Dominion College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History

OLD DOMINION COLLEGE

June 1968

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY

A strong man walked with a haughty tread;
"I'll ne'er be any man's slave," he said;
And he looked upon weaker men with disdain!
But the demon Drink was forging a chain
That should drag him down to a reeling sot,
And the strong man heeded not.

A poor serf delved in a deep, dark mine, Where no breeze could blow and no sun could shine; His back was scarred by the driver's rod But deep in his heart was the peace of God, And he, with the eye of faith could see That blest Land where all are free.

Ah! which is the bondman and which the free? The self-proud boaster who will not see The links that are forging to hold him down To a wasted life and a Judge's frown; Or the serf who toils 'neath the lashes' smart, With the peace of God in his heart?

COME, O COME, YE PEOPLE
Temperance Song
Tune: "Onward, Christian Soldiers"

Come, O come, ye people,
Heed the call to arms
In the fight for freedom
From the drink that harms;
Wrecking homes and loved ones,
Causing strife and fear,
Bringing want and sorrow
To those we hold dear.

God has given his children,
Body, mind and soul;
Satan seeks to win them
To his own control.
Bodies lose their vigor,
Minds are weakly riven,
Souls are lost to goodness,
Happiness and Heaven.
CHORUS

CHORUS

Father, help Thy children
To be firm and true,
Strong and brave to conquer
Every tempter, too;
And our weaker brothers
May we help to win
From the vile drink-demon;
From the way of sin.
CHORUS

Poem and song by:
Lucy Alice Perkins

CHORUS
Come, o come ye people
Heed the call to arms,
In the fight for freedom
From the drink that harms.

PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to trace the historical development of the temperance movement in the social, political, and economic history of Norfolk. It will show the activities and personalities involved in the temperance movement, their motivation for participating, and the results that they achieved.

The history of Norfolk during the period from the end of the Reconstruction Era to the beginning of the First World War has been sadly neglected. This was an important period of growth for Norfolk, not equal in size to the "boom periods" caused by the military expansion during the World Wars, but significant in that it was the period during which the foundation of a modern city was laid. During these years many beneficial municipal and social reforms were aided by, or were a direct result of, the temperance reform movement. Those social reforms accomplished as a collateral effect of the temperance reform movement are the special interest of this paper.

In the subject, "The Temperance Movement in Norfolk, Virginia, 1880-1916," there are two terms which require amplification to have a more meaningful definition. The term the "temperance movement" is not precise. By the 1880s

the reform movement had ceased to be a mere temperance movement; indeed, it had become a total abstinence movement. In fact, although the goal of statewide prohibition had not been adopted by any major organization then active in Virginia, it had become a movement to establish total abstinence made certain by legal coercion - a prohibition movement. Since the movement began as a temperance movement, and since it was generally referred to by the term temperance movement throughout its evolution, the term has attained an accepted connotative meaning and a definite historical identity. This historical identity justifies the use of the broad misnomer "temperance movement" to encompass the more specific terms of temperance, total abstinence, and prohibition movements.

The second term in the subject which requires further clarification is the term "Norfolk." In this paper, "Norfolk" will normally be used to denote the City of Norfolk and those immediate environs which during, or since, the period under discussion were incorporated into the Norfolk city limits. However, due to the fact that some of the organizations under study used the term to define an area, a county or even a two county area, it will be necessary at times to broaden this definition. When a broad definition

is applied to the term "Norfolk," the distinction will be made evident.

The research problems involved in the preparation of this paper were not exceedingly difficult to solve. The Norfolk newspapers of the period were a major source of information, and in this respect, the collection and services of the Sargeant Room of the Kirn Memorial Library were invaluable. The WCTU records collection at the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia was another main source. The librarians at Kirn Memorial Library and Alderman Library were most helpful and their assistance was gratifying.

It is unfortunate that the Norfolk police records for the period from 1902 to 1916, copies of the <u>Virginia Call</u> published in Norfolk, the records of the <u>Negro WCTUs</u> in Norfolk, and biographical information about several of the leading reformers could not be located. The addition of these sources would have enhanced the value of this paper.

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Twas honest old Noal first planted the Vine And mended his Morals by drinking its wine; And justly the drinking water decried; For he knew that all Mankind, by drinking it, died.

For this piece of History plainly we find, That water's good neither for body or mind; That virtue and safety in wine-bibings found While all that drink water deserve to be drowned.

18th Century Drinking Song

CHAPTER T

LARLAGE FROM ENGLES

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Individual efforts to promote temperance in Virginia occurred during the colonial period and in the eighteenth century. In 1800 the first pledge-signing temperance campaign was conducted by the Methodist minister, Micajah Pendleton, in the Amhearst and Nelson County area. Other short lived, individual church-inspired efforts followed, but none succeeded in establishing any permanent temperance organization or in producing any lasting effects. The first formal temperance organization in Virginia was the Virginia Temperance Society. 1

The Virginia Temperance Society was formed in 1826 under the leadership of the Baptist minister, Abner Wentworth Clopton. The membership of the Society during its early years was confined to church members who were the heads of families and ascribed to a mild pleage to be temperate in the

lJohn Allen Krout, The Origins of Prohibition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), pp. 2-17, 68, 118, 131; David Leigh Colvin, A History of the Prohibition Party and of the Prohibition Movement (New York: George H. Doran & Co., 1926), pp. 13-14; Raymond H. Pulley, "General Cocke and the Temperance Crusade," Virginia Cavalcade, XV, No. 1 (Summer, 1965), p. 24; and N. R. /anonymous author/, "The Temperance Reform," The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Notebook, III (1850), p. 99.

this period were clergymen. The membership of the Virginia Temperance Society was predominately upper and upper middle class both socially and economically.²

By 1834 the Virginia Temperance Society was controlled by the laymen. Under the leadership of General John Hartwell Cocke the Society opened its membership to all church members, changed its pledge to one of total abstinence from ardent spirits, and affiliated itself with the American Temperance Society. When Cocke was elected president of the American Temperance Society in 1836, both this society and the Virginia Temperance Society became involved in an internal controversy. This controversy was over the movement, led in Virginia by Cocke and Lucian Minor, for a pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating beverages; over the admission of women to the activities of the temperance movement; and over the desire to enter the political field

²Krout, The Origins of Prohibition, pp. 130-131; Pulley, Virginia Cavalcade, XV, 24; "The Temperance Reform," Virginia Historical Register, III, 100. The Society began at the Ash Camp Meeting House in Charlotte County with 11 Members. By 1827 the Society had grown to 123 members with the vast majority being clergymen. The original members included the Baptist ministers Abner Clopton, Eli Ball, Elisha Collins, Jeremiah B. Jeter, and Daniel Witt. Other members were Ruben Chaney, John A. Davidson, John W. Kelly, Bryan W. Lester, William Sharp, and Daniel Williams. These latter were probably Methodist and other Protestant ministers.

to seek prohibitory legislation.

general weakening of the Virginia Temperance Society. At the same time the temperance movement was faced with the external distraction of the issues of national politics and a heightening sectional struggle in the nation. Weakened from within and distracted from without by the events of the day, the Virginia Temperance Society also lost the active leadership of its most prominent and powerful leader.

General Cocke, as president of the American Temperance Society, was increasingly involved in the national and the international aspects of the temperance movement. Consequently the Virginia Temperance Society languished and gradually disappeared as a force in the temperance movement by 1840.

The leadership of the Virginia temperance reform movement was almost immediately assumed by the Washingtonian

³Krout, The Origins of Prohibition, pp. 153-154;
Pulley, Virginia Cavalcade, XV, 24-25; "The Temperance
Reform," Virginia Historical Register, III, 101-106, 152-153.

General Cocke was elected president of the Virginia Temperance Society in 1834. In 1835 the Society had over 35,000 members and published two newspapers: the Temperance Pioneer in Fredricksburg and the Southern Temperance Star in Richmond. In 1836 Cocke was elected president of the American Temperance Society. After 1836 the Virginia Temperance Society membership began to decline and the newspapers were discontinued.

drunkards in Baltimore, Maryland in 1840. It quickly spread into Virginia and gathered a sizeable following. With the inception of the Washingtonian movement, the strictly temperance movement ended and the total abstinence movement began. The Washingtonians had a pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. They had a great emotional appeal and were especially popular among the lower classes of society. Unfortunately the Washingtonians were a poorly organized Society and lacked experienced or prominent leaders. As a result of this lack of organization the emotional appeal that they generated was allowed to dissipate quickly and no permanent results were attained. The Washingtonian Society failed in 1843.

With the failure of the Washingtonian Society, the Sons of Temperance assumed the leadership of the temperance movement in Virginia. The Sons of Temperance were formed

Krout, Origins of Prohibition, pp. 182-184, 189-190;
"The Temperance Reform," Virginia Historical Register, III,
154; and Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status
Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Urbana:
University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 46. See also:
John B. Gough, Platform Echoes, or, Leaves From My Note-Book
of Forty Years (Hartford: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1887),
p. 35. A general reading of Gough illustrates the type of
appeals used in the speeches of the Washingtonians. Gough
toured Virginia in 1844-1845 giving his temperance lectures;
these colorful performances were well attended.

to make permanent the work begun by the Washingtonians. The first division of the Sons of Temperance in Virginia was formed at Norfolk in April, 1843. The "Washington Division" of Norfolk was quickly followed by the formation of the "Howard Division" in Portsmouth in May, 1843 and then spread throughout the state. Due to the favorable climate of opinion created by the preceding temperance societies, the Society spread so rapidly that it was necessary to form the Grand Division of Virginia in 1844.

The Sons of Temperance was the most successful of the ante-bellum temperance societies. The Society had a pledge of total abstinence, a liberal membership requirement, and a highly centralized organization. They had all the benefits and ritual of a secret masonic order. With the advent of the Sons of Temperance the reform movement entered into its third phase and became a prohibition movement. The Sons of Temperance did not restrict themselves, as their predecessors had done, to reform by moral suasion. They began a campaign to promote temperance by legal coercion and made statewide

Krout, Origins of Prohibition, pp. 209-211; Pulley, Virginia Cavalcade, XV, 27; and "The Temperance Reform," Virginia Historical Register, III, 156-157.

prohibition their ultimate goal.

The Bons of Temperance failed to attain their goal. While other mtates, from Maine to Alabama, were passing prohibitory liquor legislation, the temperance forces in Virginia failed in their effort. It is difficult to explain why Virginia, a natural area for prohibition, a state with a high percentage of rural, Protestant, native born, middle class residents, did not pass such laws. An organized temperance movement had existed in Virginia for as long, or longer, than anywhere else in the United States. several factors which, when taken together, provide a possible explanation for the failure of the ante-bellum temperance reform movement in Virginia. First, it was an extremely conservative area. Virginians in general were tenacious in preserving their traditions. One of these was the tradition of convivial hospitality, another was the limited role of women in society, a third was the right to own slaves. The temperance movement challenged all these traditions. It would prohibit the sale of alcoholic drinks and discourage their use, it would allow women to take an

⁷Krout, Origins of Prohibition, pp. 209-211; "The Temperance Reform," Virginia Historical Register, III, 154-157; Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1961), pp. 290-291.

would abolish slavery. The second factor was the Virginian love of personal liberty. Except in relation to slavery and religion the average Virginian was a strong adherent to the belief in personal rights. Any law restricting the individual freedom of man was unacceptable. These two factors made reform unpopular and reform by legislative restriction improbable.

Two other factors reduced the possibility of such reform measures being enamed. The first of these was that the editors of newspapers in Virginia concerned themselves almost exclusively with national events and federal politics to the great neglect of state events and social reforms.

This prevented the temperance movement from receiving the support and publicity of the established newspapers. The second factor was that Virginia politicians carefully avoided the temperance refirm and prevented it from becoming an issue in state politics of gaining the support of any political party. Without relitical or editorial support the temperance reform movement was unable to overcome the

Eaton, The Growth of Jouthern Civilization, pp. 291-294, 322-323; and Clement Zeton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham: Duke Enversity Press, 1940). The author discusses, extensively, the conservativism and ideas of personal liberty of Virginia and the rest of the South.

ing in the political and legislative efforts, the unfortunate association of the northern temperance movement with the abolitionist movement was the final lethal factor in the failure of the ante-bellum temperance movement. As the abolitionist sentiment grew in the North the resistance to it grew in the South and the temperance reform was forgotten in the excitement of national events.

The last ante-bellum convention of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of Virginia was held in Norfolk in October, 1860. Membership in the Virginia Sons of Temperance had fallen to 7,330 and was steadily decreasing. The Officers of the Society expressed optimism that their cause would triumph and that the sectional prejudice and

⁹ Ibid.; For example, The American Beacon and Norfolk and Portsmouth Daily Advertiser, and Norfolk and Port Southern Herald and General Advertiser make no mention of temperance, not even to note Cocke's election at the 1834 Charlottesville convention or the 1845 convention in Richmond presided over by Gov. McDowell. During the session of the Virginia Legislature December, 1848 to January 1849, when the petition for prohibition was presented and considered, the Southern Argus (Norfolk) only reported the proceedings as being of no interest, but the proceedings of the U.S. Congress and debates on the admission of California to the Union were reported in great detail. During the 1860 convention of the Sons of Temperance in Norfolk the Southern Augus had only one lengthy report, the welcoming address of Mayor William Lamb, the editor of the Argus. The Richmond Daily Dispatch reported only the election of officers and the return of the Richmond delegation.

events of the day rendered their efforts useless. They proceeded with the election of officers for the next year and planned their next convention, but it was never convened. The Civil War intervened and ended the ante-bellum temperance reform movement in Virginia. The movement had failed to achieve its goals, but it had laid the basis for future temperance efforts in Virginia by establishing a precedent and influencing public opinion.

The stringent economies imposed on Virginia by the Civil War precluded the extensive manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The grain harvests were needed to feed the armies and citizens of the Confederacy. Little grain could be spared for distilling or fermenting into alcohol. The Federal blockade of the southern coast prevented any extensive importation of liquors. The result was a general shortage of liquor in the Confederacy and an enforced temperance situation, but not necessarily a temperance attitude.

Norfolk suffered through the ravages of the war and inherited

¹⁰Sons of Temperance, Minutes of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance, of the State of Virginia, at its Sixteenth Annual Session, Held in Norfolk, October 24, 1860 (Richmond: Macfarlane & Fergusson, 1860), pp. 1-18. The Sons of Temperance had a membership peak of over 30,000 in 1852. For a list of the officers of the Sons of Temperance in 1860 and a list of the Norfolk delegates at the convention, see Appendix I.

the economic and social conditions that resulted. 11

Virginia during the Reconstruction Era, was not conducive to a general tendency toward intemperance. It was not until Norfolk regained its role as a seaport and a major center for the exportation of cotton that the problem of intemperance re-occurred in Norfolk.

By the 1880's Norfolk was once again a thriving seaport with a heavy export trade in cotton, grain, and coal. With the returning prosperity came an influx of mariners, stevedores, and railroad workers who created a lucrative market for the liquor industry. Saloons, gambling halls, and houses of prostitution flourished in the waterfront and lower class residential sections of Norfolk. 13

The population of Norfolk in 1880 was 21,966 and by 1890 the city contained 34,871 residents. The growth rate

Port, ed. Marvin W. Schlegel (2nd ed. rev.; Durham: Duke University Press, 1962), pp. 210, 222-223, 228.

^{12&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 276-281.

¹³ Ibid., p. 287; Norfolk and Portsmouth Directory, 1880-1881 (Norfolk: J. H. Chataigne, 1879); and Report of the Special Commission on Improvement of the City of Norfolk (Norfolk: Virginia Job Print, 1880). Report cites the high death rate in the first and fourth wards which it attributes to the high Negro population, sanitary, and social conditions in these overcrowded waterfront areas.

State reflected the rapid expansion of the city and its dynamic economy. The population growth and the urbanization of Norfolk was not accomplished by an influx of foreign immigrants. It was the result of the resettlement of native Americans, largely from the rural areas of Virginia and North Carolina, in the city, and the expansion of the city limits into the surrounding residential areas. One result of this form of expansion was that it gave Norfolk a population which contained an unusually high percentage of rural-oriented residents. 14

Commensurate with its population growth and economic development, the number of saloons and retail liquor merchants in Norfolk grew. In 1880 there were 39 saloons and 13 retail liquor dealers. By 1890 the number of saloons had increased to 74 and the number of retail liquor dealers had grown to 23. The amount of prostitution, gambling, drinking and crime in Norfolk kept pace with the development of the city. The crime rate rose steadily. In 1882 there was one arrest for every eight residents, and of these arrests, 47.5% were for drunkenness. As a result Norfolk

U. S. Census Office, <u>Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Population</u>, I, 432, 436, 477; and <u>Virginia</u>, <u>Population in Flux in the Hampton Roads Area</u>, Population Study Report No. 2, prepared by Virginia State Planning Board, Richmond, 1942, pp. 32-33. See also, Appendix II.

was known as a center for the pursuit of pleasure, crime, the part of pleasure, crime, crime

There were several temperance organizations in existance in Morfolk trying to cope with the problem of excessive drinking and its associated evils. The "Howard Division* of the Sons of Temperance was active again in 1880. A new Virginia Temperance Society was formed in Norfolk in 1881. This Society sustained itself for several years but retained a limited membership and did not exhibit a crusading spirit. A lodge of the Rechabites, an antebellum temperance society that had not previously existed in Norfolk, was formed in 1881, but it too failed to prosper and did not become a vital force in the temperance reform movement. Several temperance lecturers made brief appearances in Norfolk under the sponsorship of a church or temperance group. None of these temperance organizations had any appreciable effect on the drinking attitudes or moral standards of the city, and intemperance and vice continued to be widespread. 16

¹⁵ See Appendix III for Table of Saloons in Norfolk, and Appendix IV for Crime in Norfolk. See also Lenoir Chambers and Joseph Shank, Salt Water and Printers Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865-1965 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. 148-151.

¹⁶ Norfolk and Portsmouth Directory, 1880-1881, p. 429.
Norfolk Landmark, January 16, 1881 tells of the formation of

the Rechabite lodge. This edition also lists a temperance mass meeting in the Opera House with musical entertainment and speeches: Morfolk Landmark, January 25, 1881, p. 1, reports the organizational meeting of the Virginia Temperance Society held in the Norfolk Light Artillery Blues Armory; Norfolk Landmark, February 8, 1881, p. 1, gives another report of the Virginia Temperance Society and also has an encouraging notice about a petition to prevent the sale of ardent spirits within one mile of the Suffolk corporation limits; Norfolk Landmark, February 8, 1881, p. 1, gives the membership of the Virginia Temperance Society in Norfolk as 90 gentlemen, 45 ladies and 30 cadets. The officers of the Society were: James H. Woodhouse, President; Charles H. Battley, Vice President; Miss Anne Battley, 2nd Vice President; John Hastings, Secretary; Edward Pearce, Treasurer; John F. Wilkins, Musical Director; William Pettit, Assistant Music Director; George H. Brown, Sargeant-at-Arms; and Messrs. Ganson, Banks, and Gray as the Committee on By-Laws. also: Lenoir Chambers and Joseph E. Shank, Salt Water and Printer's Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865-1965 (Chapel University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 148 for Norfolk reaction to temperance lecturers such as Sam Jones, Moody and Sankey, and Sam Small.

AND LET US NOT WEARY IN WELL DOING, FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL REAP, IF WE FAINT NOT.

WCTU of Virginia motto

CHAPTER II

THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

The first effective temperance society to become active in the temperance reform movement in Norfolk during the period under study was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The first Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Virginia was organized at the Broad Street Methodist Church of Richmond by Mrs. Frances E. Willard, the National WCTU president, in 1881. The first attempt failed to provide a lasting organization; however, on September 25, 1882, Miss Sallie F. Chapin, of South Carolina, succeeded in organizing the WCTU of Virginia. The first president of the WCTU of Virginia was Mrs. William H. Pleasants of Richmond. successfully organized the WCTU began to expand throughout the state. In 1887 Mrs. Frances E. Willard was again in Virginia assisting in the organization of new unions. One of the first localities visited during this membership drive and organizational tour of the state was Norfolk.

lElizabeth H. Ironmonger and Pauline L. Phillips,
History of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Virginia,
1883-1958 (Richmond: Cavalier Press, 1958), pp. 13-16, 44;
and Mrs. Howard W. Hoge, "The Virginia WCTU" (an unpublished typescript manuscript, University of Virginia, 1937), pp. 1-4.
The WCTU of Virginia dates its beginning from the first official state convention held in 1883, hence the title of the work by Ironmonger and Phillips.

Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith of the National Board of Temperance came with their assistants to Norfolk for the purpose of organizing a local union of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. They arranged to meet with the women of Norfolk in the Freemason Street Baptist Church on February 3, 1887.

The meeting was well attended. It was addressed by local clergymen, who endorsed the society and its work, and by both Mrs. Willard and Mrs. Smith. As a result of the first meeting over one hundred people signed the roles for membership. The organization of the local union was not effected at the first meeting, but was scheduled to take place at the next meeting to be held on February 8, 1887 at the Freemason Street Baptist Church.³

The same day, February 3, 1887, Mrs. William H.

Pleasants, of Richmond, the president of the Virginia WCTU,

held an organizational meeting at the Central Methodist

Episcopal Church in Portsmouth. There were no representatives of the national WCTU present at this meeting.

Under the auspices of Mrs. Pleasants, the Portsmouth WCTU

²Norfolk Landmark, February 1, 1887.

³Norfolk Landmark, February 4, 1887.

election raised Mrs. E. V. White to the presidency, Miss Anna Johnson to corresponding secretary, and Miss Eliza Deans to the treasurer's post. All the officers elected at this meeting were members of the Methodist Episcopal or Baptist churches.

The organization of the first Norfolk Union of the WCTU was effected as scheduled, on February 8, 1887, at the Freemason Street Baptist Church. The meeting was presided over by Mrs. E. M. Goodridge. After a speech by Mrs. Allen of England, the by-laws of the Woman's Christian Temperance Association of Norfolk were adopted and its officers were elected. The Officers were President, Mrs. Eliza O. Scott; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Richard H. Jones; and, Treasurer, Mrs. Virginia Nock. Vice Presidents were

⁴Norfolk Landmark, February 4, 1887, p. 4. The Vice Presidents of the Portsmouth WCTU were Mrs. F. M. Edwards of Central M. E. Church, Mrs. J. T. Barlow of Court Street Baptist Church, and Miss Annie Staples of Fourth Street Baptist Church. Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Virginia, Annual Report and Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention, 1887, p. 34 (hereafter cited as WCTU Report by years) lists the officers of the Portsmouth WCTU as President, Mrs. J. T. Barlow; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. William B. Since the WCTU Report, 1887 was printed in November, 1887, the officers listed there most likely reflect the results of a new election. The rapidity with which Mrs. Pleasants organized the Portsmouth Union probably produced a temporary organization which was changed during the eight months between the original election and the publication of the WCTU Report.

appointed for each church congregation represented in the Union. These churches included Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches. The organization having been completed, the routine of weekly meetings was established and the organizational meeting was adjourned.

The two unions of Norfolk and Portsmouth frequently worked together, but otherwise the unions were independent in their activities. They were under the nominal control of the Vice President for Norfolk County, an appointed position in the state WCTU organization which was merely an honorary office at this time, whose jurisdiction encompassed both cities and the surrounding areas. The organization of the state WCTU was by local unions. Each union reported directly to the state officers and sent its own delegates to the state conventions. The President coordinated and

⁵Norfolk Landmark, February 9, 1887, p. 1. appointed Vice Presidents of the Norfolk Union were Mrs. George Armstrong, First Presbyterian Church; Mrs. George S. Oldfield, St. Paul's P. E. Church; Mrs. Luther Sheldon, Second Presbyterian Church; Mrs. B. F. Baxter, Christ P. E. Church; Mrs. Henry J. Gielow, St. Luke's P. E. Church; Mrs. John L. Roper, Granby Street M. E. Church; Mrs. A. A. White, Cumberland Street M. E. Church; Mrs. James W. Gilmer, Queen Street M. E. Church; Mrs. W. H. Morris, Freemason Street Baptist Church. Churches without representatives at the meeting were First (Cumberland Street) Baptist Church. Third Baptist Church, and the Disciples of Christ Church. These last churches were probably mentioned because their members were expected to join the WCTU. The Catholic Churches were not mentioned, probably because their members were not expected to participate.

supervised all activities through the state officers and by visits to the local unions. The Corresponding Secretary sent state business to the local unions and received their reports concerning membership, finances, and activities. The Superintendents of Departments corresponded with their equivalent members in the local unions, supervised and suggested activities in their area of responsibility and received the reports of the local chairmen of the department for incorporation into their annual reports. They were the key personnel in the WCTU organization; their efforts and enthusiasm controlled the success of the WCTU activities. The activities of the WCTU changed frequently during this period. There were many departments, as many as eighteen, which varied yearly depending on the relative merits of the programs they promoted. The departments were evaluated, organized, and the superintendents appointed by the state president in consultation with her fellow officers.

The programs of the WCTU, in three broad categories, were: activities to promote temperance, political activities in support of temperance, and humanitarian reforms undertaken as collateral activities of the organization.

To promote temperance the WCTU relied heavily on education.

⁶<u>WCTU Report, 1887</u>, pp. 1-10.

The national WCTU conducted a strong program of education, urging the full exploitation of educational means to promote temperance. Under the leadership of Mrs. Mary H. Hunt the WCTU's Scientific Temperance Education program made great progress in promoting the temperance reform. In Virginia this program of education was fostered by repeated attempts to bring about the passage of a Scientific Temperance Education Bill. The Virginia WCTU began petitioning the Virginia State Legislature for such a law in 1889. In 1890 the Virginia State Board of Education added courses in physiology and hygiene to the public school program and selected for the recommended text Johannot and Benton's Lessons in Physiology, an edition approved by the WCTU. This action of the State Board of Education did not require the teaching of these subjects, but made optional their addition to the curriculum by the local school boards.7

The permission to teach physiology and hygiene in the public schools was a step forward in the WCTU's education program, but it did not satisfy their demands for a state law requiring the teaching of Scientific Temperance

⁷WCTU Report, 1889, pp. 20-24; WCTU Report, 1890, p. 9. For a discussion of the national WCTU program of education see: Norton Mezvinsky, "The White-Ribbon Reform, 1874-1920" (an unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1959).

of the state legislature until the passage of the Scientific Temperance Education Law on January 24, 1900. This law required the teaching of physiology and hygiene at every public school in Virginia. It further stated that,

In the teaching of physiology and hygiene approved textbooks shall be used, plainly setting forth the effects of alcohol and other narcotics on the human system, and such effects shall be as fully and thoroughly taught as other branches of the said last named subjects.⁸

This law satisfied the WCTU demands and formed the keystone of their temperance education program.

The passage of the Scientific Temperance Education

Law did not, however, end the struggle of the Virginia WCTU

for temperance education. The State Board of Education

procrastinated in their selection of the text for the

physiology and hygiene courses and delayed the implementation

of the law. In 1903 the Board of Education finally made

their selection of a text. They chose a text neither

approved nor recommended by the WCTU, completely ignoring

the WCTU recommended New Century Physiology. The Virginia

WCTU immediately protested this surprise action but did not

Acts of Assembly, Virginia, 1899-1900 (Richmond: Public Printing Office, 1900), pp. 133-134. See also Appendix XI for the complete text of the Scientific Temperance Instruction Law.

Succeed in changing the selection.

In contrast to the difficulty of the Virginia WCTU, the Norfolk WCTU had no difficulty in obtaining a program of Scientific Temperance Education in the public schools. The Norfolk Union succeeded in having Scientific Temperance Education introduced into the Norfolk Public School System in 1889. They secured the approval of Steele's Physiology, a WCTU edited and recommended text, for the course of instruction. By 1894 all the schools in Norfolk, both public and private as well as the three colleges, were giving scientific temperance instruction from texts which were recommended by the WCTU. Special emphasis was given to oral teaching in the primary grades to implant temperance ideals in the young children while their minds were still in the formative stage of development and not corrupted by any evil influence. 10

The Norfolk schools continued to give their scientific temperance instruction from approved texts until the 1903 decision of the State Board of Education adopted an unapproved text. When the unapproved text was adopted for statewide usage the Norfolk Union joined the Virginia WCTU

⁹ WCTU Report, 1903, p. 58; WCTU Report, 1904, p. 50.

¹⁰ WCTU Report, 1889, p. 24; WCTU Report, 1894, p. 25.

merely protesting. In order to insure that the students in Norfolk continued to receive a proper education in scientific temperance, the Norfolk WCTU compensated for the poor text by sending subscriptions to the Physiology Journal to all the Norfolk schools. The Norfolk unions went even one step further to insure that the WCTU approved periodical was properly used as a supplement to the text for imparting temperance truths. They began holding meetings with the Norfolk school teachers to check on their teaching and impart to them an attitude favorable to temperance. 11

The Norfolk WCTU's keen interest in education was further reflected in their establishment of a night school in Atlantic City. Opened in 1893, the school was intended to allow working boys and young men the opportunity to complete their education and receive a beneficial introduction into the value of temperance. The WCTU also sent a petition to the Virginia state legislature asking for a law to establish compulsory education for all children from eight to fourteen years of age with a school year of at least four months duration. In 1900 the Norfolk WCTU conducted a

¹¹ WCTU Report, 1904, p. 50.

successful kindergarten as a part of their educational program. 12

The philosophy of education of the Virginia WCTU was clearly and forcibly expressed by their state president.

Mrs. Richard H. Jones, in her 1892 annual address when she stated that, "We must educate: Educate: EDUCATE:::"

Her influence was obviously felt by the Virginia WCTU and was most strongly evident in the attitude of the Norfolk WCTU.

Another aspect of the effort to promote temperance education was in the churches and Sunday schools of Norfolk. In 1891 four Sundays' lessons in the churches of the city were devoted entirely to temperance. All of the ministers were urged to preach temperance sermons on special Sundays set aside as Temperance Sundays. The Norfolk WCTU began, in 1890, to influence the Norfolk churches to serve only unfermented wine at their Communion Services. The two Roman Catholic Churches of Norfolk and the Disciples of Christ Church were the first to comply with the request of the WCTU and began using unfermented wine for all of their

¹² WCTU Report, 1893, pp. 14-15, 25; and WCTU Report, 1901, p. 30.

¹³wcTu Report, 1892, p. 22.

Sacraments. The campaign for the use of unfermented wine continued throughout the period with a gradual but steady success. 14

The WCTU women were active in fostering the teaching of temperance ideals in the Sunday school classes of the city's churches. In addition, they sought to implant temperance beliefs in the children of the city by organizing Loyal Temperance Legions. The first Legion was organized in 1892. It was the largest Loyal Temperance Legion in the state and had 522 members its first year. The Loyal Temperance Legions continued to exist in Norfolk throughout the period, and, in addition to teaching the children temperance attitudes, the Legions were used for propaganda purposes. 15

The Norfolk WCTUs did not rely solely on the education of children and adults in the schools and churches. They also conducted an extensive program of temperance education through the distribution of temperance literature. This

¹⁴ WCTU Report, 1891, p. 29; and WCTU Report, 1890, pp. 20, 35. See Appendix VIII for progress of unfermented wine campaign among Norfolk Churches. There is no explanation of the attitude of the Catholic Church toward unfermented wine. Their action was contrary to the official attitude of the Roman Catholic Church and the general sentiments of American Catholics.

¹⁵ WCTU Report, 1892, p. 45.

depots, barbarahops, and the almshouse. The Norfolk Union reported in 1889 that they attained their greatest success from the distribution of temperance literature among the captive audience in the city jail. Since this was the best place, they recommended that all the unions in the state distribute temperance literature to the unfortunate penitents in the local jails in order to obtain the maximum results from the literature. 16

The distribution of temperance literature continued throughout the period with frequent changes in method to adapt to changing situations. In 1893 the Norfolk WCTUs began establishing loan libraries where residents could improve their education and receive the temperance literature which was made available at the library. A library, on the same principle, was established for the city's firemen to use during their leisure time. During the Spanish-American War the Norfolk WCTU's established reading rooms and distributed temperance literature to all the local bases and camps. In 1906 the Norfolk WCTU established temperance libraries at the Life Saving Stations on Hog, Smith, and Cobb Islands, as well as at the Plantation Light

¹⁶ WCTU Report, 1889, pp. 24, 28.

Mouse. These isolated locations were considered to be excellent places for temperance literature. The men stationed there were always eager to read, and would read almost anything to stave off the boredom of their jobs. 17

Through these various means the WCTU helped to promote temperance through their literature. This literature varied greatly from year to year. It was most often single sheet handouts containing temperance "facts," frequently pamphlets were issued describing some of the evil effects of alcohol, and occasionally books, such as Ten Nights in A Bar-Room or copies of the Bible, were given away. The quantities distributed each year fluctuated widely, but they indicated a steady, concerted effort to influence public opinion against drink and in favor of temperance. 18

Another method used by the WCTU to promote temperance in Norfolk was the simple device of publicity. The Norfolk WCTU established its own newspaper in 1891. The newspaper, entitled the <u>Virginia Call</u>, was the result of the efforts of Mrs. Augusta C. Miley, the business manager, and the editor,

¹⁷ WCTU Report, 1893, pp. 25-26; WCTU Report, 1895, p. 18; WCTU Report, 1898, pp. 24, 38; and WCTU Report, 1906, p. 77.

¹⁸ WCTU Reports, 1887-1916. Reports usually gave the amount of literature distributed, places and means used, and the type of literature. Norfolk always distributed more than its share.

Mrs. Cora Ladd. The newspaper was published in Norfolk until 1893 when it was taken over by the Virginia WCTU and became the official state newspaper of the WCTU. After the state took over the newspaper, debt free, it was moved to Winchester for publication, although Mrs. Miley continued to serve as business manager for the Virginia Call until 1896.

The <u>Virginia Call</u> was used to publicize the evils of drink and the temperance messages of the WCTU. In addition to their own newspaper, the WCTU sought to have temperance information published in the daily newspapers. The women also attempted to publicize their beliefs by holding occasional prayer meetings in the streets, weekly prayer meetings in the city jail, and daily prayer meetings in the Florence Crittenden Home. On some occasions they publicized their efforts by open picketing and demonstrations against specific undesirable saloons. One such instance occurred in 1905 when the Norfolk WCTU waged an active campaign

¹⁹ WCTU Report, 1891, p. 7; WCTU Report, 1893, p. 10; and Mrs. Howard W. Hoge, "The Virginia WCTU" (a manuscript, University of Virginia, 1937), p. 5.

against the Brewer Street saloons. 20

The Morfolk WCTU joined the Virginia WCTU in publicizing a threat to temperance discovered in 1899. They condemned Hire's Root Beer. This apparently inoffensive drink was subjected to chemical analysis and was found to contain alcohol. To prevent this apparently innocent drink from leading children and temperate men astray, the Virginia WCTU officially condemned the drinking of Hire's Root Beer and exposed its true contents to public censure. The Virginia

The editorial from the <u>Norfolk Growler</u>, April 22, 1905, p. 8, reads:

"We want to applaud the women of the WCTU in their fight against the Brewer Street saloons opposite the market.

We know, personally, what respectable white ladies have to encounter along that street while passing the low gin mills. Crowds of nigger men almost always block the sidewalk, and respectable white people have to take to the street.

Judge Hanckel would do the ladies of Norfolk a favor if he would refuse to license these places, or at least make the proprietors or the police keep the repulsive niggers from the sidewalk."

WCTU Report, 1905, p. 80. During their campaign against these saloons the WCTU received the support of the local political opposition newspaper. In an editorial the newspaper, which showed a strong anti-Negro bias, indicated its support was due to an anti-Negro sentiment, not a belief in temperance. They seemed to imply that the Norfolk WCTU was acting for the same reason. These saloons were Negro saloons, however, and they were located on the edge of the market square where respectable women had to walk past them while doing their marketing. They were the only saloons so located. Since the Norfolk WCTU women did not demonstrate any unusual racial prejudice at any other time, it is doubtful that they were motivated by that impulse in this case.

WCTU used publicity as a method of attacking many other hidden dangers to the temperate. 21

During its many campaigns against the hidden dangers from alcohol, the Virginia WCTU attacked the practice of the doctors prescribing alcohol for medicinal purposes, and they attacked druggists for selling soda fountain drinks with an alcoholic content. They protested against grocers for selling dressings and sauces with alcohol as an ingredient and urged women not to use wine or sherry in their cooking. They had even exposed the perfidious subterfuge of Hire's Root Beer with its miniscule alcoholic content, but one covert source of supply of alcohol, frequently attacked on the national level, was never mentioned by the Virginia WCTU. This source of alcohol was the patent medicine trade. Some of the patent medicines were so potent that they were banned from the Indian Reservations and were threatened with the prospect of being forced to pay the Federal Alcoholic Beverage Tax, but they were not considered dangerous enough to merit the attention of the Virginia WCTU.

The three main patent medicines with high alcoholic

²¹WCTU Report, 1899, p. 15.

²² WCTU Reports, 1887-1916, and James C. Furnas, The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 184.

Bitters (88 proof), and Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound (42 proof). All of these products were advertised in the Morfolk Newspapers and, although no substantiating statistics are available, they were presumably sold and consumed in Norfolk. These particular patent medicines were especially popular with women, therefore it is possible that some of the WCTU women were among the steady customers of these products. This may account for the lack of activity against the patent medicines which were certainly more potent and potentially more dangerous to the temperate than Hire's Root Beer! 23

The WCTU activities to promote temperance education were numerous and covered a wide range. These activities were intended to promote temperance by moral and intellectual persuasion. They were no doubt successful in influencing public opinion toward temperance which was a necessary adjuvant to the WCTU efforts at promoting temperance by political action.

The Norfolk WCTU's efforts to promote temperance by political action through the structure of democratic govern-

²³Furnas, <u>The Life and Time of the Late Demon Rum</u>, pp. 183-184; and Ray Ginger, <u>Age of Excess; The United States</u> from 1877-1914 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 247.

ment met with varying degrees of success. Their normal means of action were petitioning, letter writing, personal appeals, public demonstration of support, and financial contributions to aid the temperance cause.

The Norfolk WCTU achieved its first political success early in its history. The women raised a petition in 1888, signed by over 1300 voters, requesting that all the saloons in the city be required to close on Sunday. This request to preserve the Sabbath was granted and a law was passed forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. This law constituted the first legal regulation on the sale of alcoholic beverages since the liquor license fees were first established in Norfolk. 24

The Women of the Atlantic City WCTU gave their moral support to, and raised petitions in behalf of, the attempt to require a local option election in that community. The attempt succeeded and the election resulted in establishing Atlantic City as a no-license area in 1891. The political action of the WCTU in Atlantic City was instrumental in winning the first victory for prohibition in the Norfolk 25 area.

²⁴ WCTU Report, 1888, p. 14.

²⁵WCTU Report, 1891, p. 22.

began in 1891 to send petitions to the state legislature requesting a law establishing a four mile radius "dry" some around all schools and churches. These petitions were renewed at each session of the legislature without success until the idea was finally abandoned in 1903. Many other petitions to the state legislature requesting liquor laws were sent without any results. The Norfolk WCTUs faithfully contributed their petitions and letters in these fruitless statewide efforts. At the same time they continued their political action on the local level with greater success. 26

The Norfolk WCTUs were active in supporting the successful campaign of the Prohibition Party in the 1894 municipal election. The reform-oriented Prohibition Party, with the aid of a crusading editor, the Reverend Sam Small of the Norfolk Daily Pilot, the musical appeal of the Silver Lake Quartette, and the WCTU, was victorious. The Reverend Charles W. Pettit was elected Mayor of Norfolk and the gity government was placed under the control of the Prohibition Party. 27

²⁶Ibi<u>d</u>., pp. 12-13.

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m For}$ further discussion of the Prohibition Party see Chapter III.

The triumph of the Prohibition Party in Norfolk did not mean that Morfolk was a "dry" town, nor did it reflect a majority sentiment favorable to temperance. It was the result of a split in the local Democratic Party organization with the reform minded Democrats adopting the name Prohibition Party for their faction. Regardless of the reason for the triumph, or the inaccuracy of its name, the Norfolk Prohibition Party victory was hailed as a major advance by the leaders of the WCTU.

In her annual address at the state WCTU convention Mrs. Richard H. Jones said,

I cannot close this address, already too long, without telling our sisterhood of the great victory in Norfolk for temperance and good government. The Prohibition Party, though weak in Norfolk, yet made out their ticket last February, and by the aid of Sam Small and the Silver Lake Quartette who spoke and sang temperance and prohibition until the people were at fever heat and voted prohibition almost straight.²⁹

²⁸ For a careful, detailed study of the Prohibition Party see: G. Clifford Boocks, "Experiment in Municipal Reform: The Prohibition Party in Norfolk Politics, 1892-1896" (an unpublished Master's thesis, Old Dominion College, 1967).

²⁹ WCTU Report, 1894, pp.16-17. Although Mrs. Jones exaggerated slightly while speaking in the full flush of victory, later historians of the WCTU writing in the post-Prohibition pallor of defeat managed to exceed her exaggerated claims. Ironmonger and Phillips, History of the Virginia WCTU, p. 224, claim that, "Norfolk went dry; Rev. Pettit was elected Mayor of the City of Norfolk; all the saloons were closed; the streets of Norfolk were safe for ladies to walk on." Rev. Pettit was elected Mayor and conditions in Norfolk did improve, but Norfolk did not go dry, nor were all the saloons closed.

Mrs. Jones was guilty of some exaggeration but her reaction demonstrated the fervor of the Norfolk WCTU women for the Prohibition Party.

ministration the Norfolk WCTU petitioned the City Council for a policy of high license fees in an attempt to reduce the number of saloons and liquor dealers in Norfolk. The WCTU demands and the proposed schedule of liquor license fees submitted by the Prohibition Party were not adopted; however, the schedule which was adopted constituted a significant rise in the fees. The WCTU also supported the Prohibition administration in its efforts to reduce drunkenness, gambling, and lewdness. Although much progress was made in these areas, the failure of the Prohibition Party in the 1896 election prevented any further improvements. 30

After the end of the Prohibition Party administration in Norfolk the WCTUs resumed their fruitless petitions.

They sought the enforcement of laws prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to boys under sixteen years of age, they petitioned for a Curfew Law in Norfolk, and they asked for a Federal Law prohibiting the issuance of licenses within a four mile radius of a Fort or other government property, all

 $^{^{30}}$ See Appendix XVI for liquor license fees in Norfolk.

without success.

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With the formation of the Anti-Saloon League in 1901, the Virginia WCTU had a well organized political action group to coordinate and utilize their efforts in promoting temperance by political means. The first opportunity for the WCTU to work with the Anti-Saloon League came during the 1901 Constitutional Convention. The Norfolk WCTU gave its support to the Quarles-Barbour Bill by sending a petition to the Norfolk delegates in response to the request of the Anti-Saloon League. This act would have written a provision into the state Constitution that licenses for the manufacture or sale of alcoholic beverages could only be granted on the written request of a majority of the registered voters in the precinct for which the license was requested. This severe form of local option was not accepted by the law makers despite many petitions supporting the measure.

The Norfolk WCTU again petitioned the state legislature in favor of the Mann Bill in 1902 and many members
sent personal letters to their delegates. At the 1907

Jamestown Exposition the Norfolk WCTU led the petitioning
to force the Exposition to close on Sunday to preserve the
sanctity of the Sabbath. They assisted in the unsuccessful

³¹ WCTU Report, 1898, p. 19 and WCTU Report, 1901, p. 16.

³²WCTU Report, 1901, p. 16.

gambling in Morfolk County. The Norfolk WCTU responded to the request of the Anti-Saloon League in 1908 and sent petitions and letters to the state legislature in support of the Byrd Bill. After the passage of the Byrd Act, the Anti-Saloon League officially thanked the WCTU for its aid and cooperation. 33

As a result of the Mann and Byrd Acts, 80 out of 100 counties in Virginia were "dry." The WCTU's assistance in temperance education and in political action were major factors in the rapid success of the prohibition movement which began in 1901. Despite the state WCTU's success, the Norfolk WCTU had not yet the means to convert Norfolk to prohibition. They did not have the strength necessary for a successful local option election. Knowing that they could not win a local option election in Norfolk, but believing that a statewide referendum election would force Norfolk to accept prohibition, the Norfolk WCTUs eagerly supported the efforts to pass an Enabling Act. With the passage of the Jordan Enabling Act in 1914, the Norfolk WCTUs conducted a vigorous campaign in support of the Anti-Saloon League in

³³wcTu Report, 1902, p. 62; wcTu Report, 1907, p. 82; and wcTu Report, 1908, p. 35.

The preferential election of September 22, 1914, resulted in Norfolk voting against statewide prohibition by a surprisingly small majority of less than 500 votes. rest of Virginia, with the exception of Richmond and Alexandria, voted for prohibition, and the prohibition option carried the state by 30,000 votes. Even Mrs. Hoge, the state WCTU president, who was highly critical of Norfolk, had to admit that the Norfolk WCTUs had done well in their efforts. She stated, in her annual address, that, "Norfolk, The great seaport city, so filled with saloons, going wet by only 500 votes. The women of Norfolk...have cause to rejoice at the fruits of their efforts."35 Norfolk WCTUs did not waste time rejoicing. With the ultimate victory of temperance assured, they devoted themselves to their charity, social service, and educational projects.

Although their primary objective was the promotion of temperance reform, the Norfolk WCTUs had a great interest in social and humanitarian reforms. The program of social reforms undertaken by the Norfolk WCTU resulted from their awareness of many undesirable consequences which they

³⁴ WCTU Report, 1913, pp. 30, 50.

³⁵WCTU Report, 1914, p. 25.

attributed to intemperance, and their humanitarian desire to correct the resulting social problems. The first major project in their social and humanitarian reform program was the Norfolk WCTU's Christian Home for Girls. The planning for this home began in 1889 and the home, named the Home for Friendless Girls, was established in Norfolk in 1890. At the same time that they were establishing the Home for Friendless Girls, the Norfolk WCTU was instrumental in the foundation of the Retreat for the Sick located at 113 Holt Street. In the Retreat for the Sick, the indigent sick were given free hospital care under the supervision of Mrs. C. E. Jenkins. This charity hospital was financed by donations and the Norfolk WCTUs continued to play a major role in raising funds for the facility's continued operation until it was replaced by the Norfolk Protestant Hospital. The Norfolk Protestant Hospital was later replaced by the Norfolk General Hospital which continues to fulfill the function which originally necessitated the creation of the Retreat for the Sick.

³⁶ WCTU Report, 1889, p. 24; WCTU Report, 1890, p. 20; and Ironmonger and Phillips, History of the WCTU of Virginia, pp. 226-227. The foundation of the Retreat for the Sick is not mentioned in the WCTU Report; however, newspaper references substantiate the activity of the WCTU members in raising funds for its operation. See, Norfolk Chat, March 17, 1891, p. 18; and December 5, 1891, p. 8.

for fallen women. Their work with the friendless girls had shown the existence of a need for prenatal and maternity care for unmarried women in Norfolk. While in the process of building their Home of Refuge for Fallen Women, the Norfolk WCTU women began working in the Mission Home where they helped the unfortunate in every way they could, including the teaching of temperance. 37

Finally, in 1893, the Norfolk Union was able to complete the work on the home for fallen women. The project was greatly aided by the efforts of Mrs. Richard H. Jones, who, as a delegate to the national WCTU convention held in Denver, Colorado, had the opportunity to procure \$1,000 of a \$5,000 gift by Doctor Charles Crittenden. The gift was made for the purpose of constructing such homes in five cities throughout the United States. Mrs. Jones was able to procure the funds for Norfolk due to the advanced work on the home that the Norfolk Union had made with their own resources and on their own initiative. ³⁸

The unexpected financial aid not only made possible the completion of the "White Anchorage," but also changed its

³⁷WCTU Report, 1891, p. 20.

³⁸ WCTU Report, 1893, p. 22.

crittenden a daughter, in whose memory the grant was made.

The immediate response to the home and its continued patient load demonstrated how badly a home for unwed mothers was needed in Morfolk.

The Florence Crittenden Home was not only busy, it was also a very successful enterprise. The WCTU efforts in the Home resulted in many reported conversions and were credited with saving many young girls from a life of sin. It was known for the quality of the care provided, and despite the large number of maternity cases, it did not experience a single death in childbirth until 1899. The Norfolk WCTU sadly reported the death, stating that the girl had received the best of care, "but she was an opium eater and her case helpless from the beginning."

The already well-established and crowded Florence

Crittenden Home added a new activity to its charitable social service work in 1902. The Home began accepting cases of illness and poverty brought to it by the local physicians.

For those ill people who were unable to pay ward rates in a

³⁹ WCTU Report, 1893, p. 23; and Ironmonger and Phillips, History of the WCTU of Virginia, pp. 226-227. Ironmonger and Phillips refer to the home as the "White Anchorage" before its completion with the Crittenden funds.

⁴⁰ WCTU Report, 1899, p. 59.

hospital, the Florence Crittenden Home became a charity hospital. The Home continued to function in its original capacity and was kept busy serving as a foundling home, adoption agency, orphans home, and maternity home for unwed mothers.

The limited facilities of the Florence Crittenden Home became so overtaxed by its many functions and patients that it was necessary to build an addition to the home in 1907. To keep pace with the growing demands on it, the house adjacent to the Home was purchased in 1910 to serve as an annex for the overcrowded home. The Florence Crittenden Home continued to grow with the city and still provides a variety of necessary social services to the Norfolk Community.

The Norfolk WCTU had a humanitarian interest in prison and insane asylum reforms. In 1890 the WCTU petitioned the state legislature for a prison matron at the state penitentiary. They were concerned that the female convicts were not receiving proper treatment without a matron being employed at the prison. Their petitions for a prison matron

⁴¹ WCTU Report, 1902, p. 62.

⁴² WCTU Report, 1907, p. 35; and WCTU Report, 1910, p. 93.

were repeated until the Governor appointed one in 1892.43

care, the WCTU began to petition in behalf of the female insane. They noted that the state insane asylum had no female physician to care for the female inmates, and they petitioned the state legislature requesting that a woman doctor be provided to care for the insane women. They were careful to ask the legislators and the doctors not to allow their masculine prejudice to interfere with their judgement. The petition emphasized that female physicians would inevitably be accepted and, since one was needed in the state asylum, it would do no good to resist the measure merely because it was contrary to the traditional role of women. This petition was frequently renewed but the legislature took no action to answer this request of the WCTU. 44

In another petition the women of the WCTU asked the state legislature to pass a law compelling the separation of adults and juveniles in the jails of the state, and to give employment to the prisoners in jail. They believed that employment would improve the morale of the prisoners and

⁴³ WCTU Report, 1890, p. 10; and WCTU Report, 1892, pp. 9, 52.

⁴⁴wcTu Report, 1892, pp. 9, 52.

assist in their rehabilitation.

The Morfolk WCTU held weekly prayer meetings in the city jail and spoke to the prisoners on the value of temperance. They occasionally became interested in the prisoners and tried to obtain pardons for them, especially if the prisoners were devout at the prayer meetings and signed the temperance pledge. This, no doubt, gave an added incentive to the prisoners to convert and take the pledge, especially since their situation in prison was rather conducive to a temperate existence. It is questionable how many of their conversions were really sincere and how many converted in the hope of receiving a pardon through the intercession of the WCTU. The same efforts were made among the prisoners in the Navy Brig with equivalent results. 1905 the Norfolk Union sought pardons for fourteen prisoners in the city jail; seven of these men received pardons. appealed to the Navy Department on behalf of eight prisoners in the Navy Brig and four of the men were pardoned. Norfolk Union also wrote sixty letters to prison officials concerning conditions in the jail and recommending changes

⁴⁵ WCTU Report, 1893, pp. 14-15.

that should be made to improve conditions there. 46

were incorporated into the prison and court reforms adopted by Norfolk in 1912. The reforms established a separate Juvenile Court in Norfolk and arranged for the special treatment of juvenile offenders in the city jail to prevent the juveniles from being encarcerated with hardened adult criminals. A special Probation Officer was appointed to look after juvenile probationers. All of these reforms had been advocated by the Norfolk WCTU for many years.

The WCTU, very early in its history, began to advocate woman's rights. In 1890 their role in the movement for female equality was praised and the members pledged themselves to continue to aid the woman's rights cause at every opportunity. The WCTU women supported the woman's rights reform, but their support was not often reciprocated. While the WCTU believed that if women had the vote, prohibition would soon follow, the woman's rights organizations did not want to openly support the WCTU for fear of alienating voters and interest groups which might favor woman's rights but not

⁴⁶ WCTU Report, 1905, pp. 72-73. The WCTU Reports contain yearly figures representing the number of the "conversions" made in the city jail and the pardons that were received through WCTU intercession.

⁴⁷ WCTU Report, 1912, p. 28.

prohibition. 48

Despite the lack of reciprocity, the WCTU continued to give their support to the woman's struggle for equality. addition to their moral and propaganda support the Norfolk WCTU adopted some practical measures to further the opportunities of women to seek employment in the city by providing means to make their employment possible while maintaining their propriety, and fulfilling their maternal responsibilities. The first such project was the construction of a Young Woman's Christian Home for Working Girls. boarding house was built by the Norfolk WCTU at a cost of \$1,931.63, to provide a decent, Christian, home environment for the increasing number of single girls who were being employed in the city. The boarding house was an immediate success and its popularity led to the purchase of a new and larger home in 1911. The new Girl's Christian Boarding House

⁴⁸ WCTU Report, 1890, pp. 10, 14-15. Miss Bessie Foster, the newly hired state organizer, said in her report to the convention that the Virginia women were finally breaking free from tradition and assuming the role of modern women. She was jubilant over the change and praised the WCTU lavishly. Miss Foster was formerly the assistant librarian of the Norfolk Law Library and a former civil service employee of the Pension Bureau in Washington. She was an avid woman's rights advocate and an experienced administrator. See also: Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965) for discussion of the relations between the WCTU and the woman's rights movement.

was built on Olmey Road in the fashionable Ghent neighborhood at a cost of \$10,831.53. The cost was high, but the WCTU considered the project a great success, well worth the price. 49

The same year the Norfolk WCTU saw its long cherished plan to establish a nursery reach fruition. The Norfolk Day Nursery was opened adjacent to the Florence Crittenden Home, and provided care for the children of working mothers at a low cost. This new service of the WCTU was greatly appreciated by the working mothers of Norfolk and it allowed more women to seek employment without neglecting the care of their children. 50

The Day Nursery was also recognized by the City of Norfolk as a valuable addition to the communities facilities. The City Council appropriate, in 1912, the sum of \$600 annually for the operation of the Day Nursery and later purchased the nursery for the City to operate as a social service. 51

The Norfolk WCTUs were interested in the Negro community

⁴⁹ WCTU Report, 1902, p. 34; and WCTU Report, 1911, pp. 48, 92.

⁵⁰WCTU Report, 1911, pp. 48, 92.

⁵¹WCTU Report, 1912, p. 44.

and frequently made efforts to promote temperance and improve conditions among the city's Negro population. In 1892 the Virginia WCTU decided to organize the colored women of the state into a separate WCTU. The Norfolk Union quickly organized 120 colored women into the Norfolk Colored Woman's Christian Temperance Union. After two years this union had split into two unions with a combined membership of 200 colored women. They established a home to provide proper care for the impoverished, elderly, Negro residents of Norfolk. 52

The colored unions had their own separate state organization and held their own separate state conventions.

The white unions occasionally assisted the colored unions in their work of promoting temperance, but apparently did not hold joint meetings or attempt to guide their work once the unions were formed. 53

The Norfolk unions cared for the poor of the city and annually donated funds to provide food and clothing for needy families. Their charity work was combined with their

⁵² WCTU Report, 1892, pp. 11, 32; and Ironmonger and Phillips, History of the Virginia WCTU, pp. 226-227.

⁵³WCTU Report, 1903, p. 58 mentions their state convention and the fact that there were four unions in Norfolk with the largest in Berkeley. Unfortunately no record of the work of the Negro unions has been located.

skirts of Morfolk. It was used for the reformation of drinking men, especially those who would otherwise soon be sent to the city almshouse. This project was abandoned after a short existence, probably because the results obtained did not justify the expenditure of funds which could better be used in other projects. 54

In addition to their charity work, the Norfolk WCTUS were concerned over the moral purity of Norfolk's young women. The first step by the Norfolk Union to improve moral purity was a petition to the state legislature in 1889 to raise the legal age of consent for girls from twelve years of age to a more reasonable age of eighteen. In 1903 the program to promote purity received added emphasis. The Norfolk Union's loan library acquired the Self and Sex Series by Dr. Mary Wood Allen. These books were used and it was reported that they had good results among the young girls and boys of Norfolk in promoting purity and virtue. By 1905, the purity library of Norfolk had grown to twenty-four volumes. The books, Almost A Woman and Almost A Man, were among the new additions to the library in 1909, and copies

⁵⁴ WCTU Report, 1889, p. 24. The number of families given relief was listed in each report and varied widely.

young women of the city. Although these well intentioned efforts continued throughout the period, it is impossible to assess their value, or verify the results that were claimed by the Norfolk WCTUs in improving the morality of the young people of Norfolk.⁵⁵

It is not possible, either, to assess the results of all the many reforms of the Norfolk WCTUs. However, it is possible and instructive to trace the growth of the WCTU in Norfolk. From the WCTU records, a clear pattern of development of the Norfolk WCTU is evident.

members constituted a major portion of the Virginia WCTU.

At their first state WCTU convention in 1888, the Norfolk

Union's prominence was recognized by the election of one of

its delegates, Mrs. Richard H. Jones, as president of the

Virginia WCTU, and by the appointment of Norfolk WCTU members

as Superintendents of three of the eighteen departments.

Mrs. Jones was reelected annually until her voluntary retirement, due to failing health, in 1898. During her terms as

president of the Virginia WCTU, the Norfolk unions never had

⁵⁵wcTu Report, 1889, p. 11; wcTu Report, 1903, p. 68; wcTu Report, 1905, p. 72; and wcTu Report, 1909, pp. 97-98.

favor than elx state officers each year. The Norfolk delegates constituted the largest single bloc at every state convention and, in cooperation with the state officers, they dominated the conventions. 56

The programs that the Norfolk unions introduced in the state WCTU covered a broad range of social and humanitarian reform measures. They demonstrated considerable leadership and initiative in their projects, organizing many new and progressive programs.

After Mrs. Jones resigned, the position of state president went to Mrs. Howard W. Hoge of the Lincoln Union in rural Loudon County. Although they had lost control of the highest office in the state WCTU, the Norfolk unions retained at least one of the top three offices throughout the period. Mrs. Willian D. Southall was Recording Secretary from 1898 to 1900, and Mrs. Lillian A. Shepherd was the state Corresponding Secretary from 1900 until 1937 and, after 1908, also held the office of Vice President at Large. The number of other state offices held by the Norfolk unions and their importance gradually decreased until only Mrs. Mary E. Webb remained as the Superintendent

⁵⁶See Appendices V-VII for comparison of Norfolk to Virginia WCTU and Appendix IX for state officers from Norfolk.

Norfolk WCTU from its formation, was an officer in the state union from 1891 through 1916, and was, by that time, the oldest active WCTU member in Virginia.

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their relative importance, it is clear that the Norfolk unions were very powerful in the Virginia WCTU from 1888 until the first years of the twentieth century. During the ten years that Mrs. Richard H. Jones of Norfolk served as president of the Virginia WCTU, the Norfolk unions dominated the state WCTU and provided the leadership to implement a broad scope program of social and humanitarian reform. After 1901 the Norfolk unions no longer were dominant, and the Virginia WCTU program was restricted to the issue of temperance and the goal of statewide prohibition. The Norfolk unions had always been, and continued to be, the largest, most financially solvent, and most active unions in the state, but they no longer controlled the state WCTU.

The main reason for the decline of the Norfolk WCTU from prominence in the Virginia WCTU occurred at the 1901 state WCTU convention held in Norfolk at the Epworth Methodist Church from October the second to the fourth.

This convention was well attended by 221 delegates, and it

was visited by local women who were not delegates, and by most of the dignitaries of Norfolk, including Nathaniel Beamm, the Mayor of Norfolk, who officially welcomed the ladies on behalf of the City of Norfolk. 57

A major change in the WCTU organization was made during this convention. The state WCTU was reorganized by counties. There were so many local unions that it was necessary to consolidate the local unions into a larger unit to better control and coordinate business between the state and the local unions. Under the new organization all the local unions in each county were members of the county WCTU.

Rather than an appointed vice president for each county, the elected president of the county WCTU became the state vice president for that county. Delegates to the state convention were no longer sent from each local union, but were sent from each county, with all the counties having equal representation. 58

⁵⁷ WCTU Report, 1901, pp. 9-11; and Norfolk Landmark, October 3, 1901, p. 1.

⁵⁸ WCTU Report, 1901, pp. 10-11. The Vice Presidents of the counties under the new system formed the direct link between the local and the state unions and exercised a measure of control over the local's activities. Norfolk was under the Vice President for Norfolk County, which was frequently combined with Princess Anne County, and in time included Portsmouth. See Appendix IX for Vice Presidents of Norfolk County.

This reorganization, although it was administratively

advisable, greatly reduced the power and influence of the

The loss of power and the inequitable representation is demonstrated by a comparison of the 1890 state convention with the 1904 state convention. At the 1890 convention there were 63 delegates; of these 20 were from the Norfolk area. If the state officers are counted, the Norfolk area delegation constituted over one third of the total number present and represented a proportionately large membership. By contrast, at the 1904 convention, Norfolk County had only two out of over 100 delegates present, but they represented over 19% of the total state membership!

Norfolk Landmark, November 19, 1890, p. 1 lists delegates at the Convention. The Norfolk area delegates were: NORFOLK WCTU: Mrs. W. S. Francis, Mrs. Willian Landers, Mrs. L. B. White, Mrs. Kenton C. Murray, Miss M. R. Reid, Mrs. Luther Sheldon, Mrs. E. C. Denning, Mrs. E. Hallett, Miss Mary Bradbury; BRAMBLETON WCTU: Mrs. Augusta C. Miley, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. William D. Southall; BERKELEY

This constitutional change in the Virginia WCTU allowed the rural counties to control the state mion and direct it as a one issue reform movement. The Morfolk unions supported the statewide effort for prohibition ander the guidance of the Anti-Saloon League, but they also comtinued their own social service work, their humanitarian efforts, and gave their support to progressive measures. In 1912, the year that Mrs. Richard H. Jones died, the WCTU president, Mrs. Howard W. Hoge, used the example of "wet" Norfolk to illustrate the evil influence of liquor. In her annual address she described the deplorable correct conditions in Norfolk with its many saloons, and claimed that one out of every twenty citizens of Norfolk was in jail during the last year. That Norfolk could be derided on the convention floor after so many years of praise as the pride of the Virginia WCTU, illustrates the extent to which Norfolk had fallen in prestige and prominence within the Virginia WCTU. 60

Norfolk still had the largest membership and contributed more, financially, to the state union and the

WCTU: Mrs. O. S. Baker; BAYSIDE WCTU: Mrs. £. K. Odell, Miss Ida E. Shelton, Miss J. L. Babcock; PORTEMOUTH WCTU: Mrs. S. E. Deemer, Mrs. Whitcome, Mrs. J. L. Forter and Miss Sallie Saunders.

⁶⁰ WCTU Report, 1912, pp. 30-32.

remperance cause than any other union in the state, but it had lost the leadership and the initiative that it had exhibited during the early years of the WCTU movement in the state. Despite their many good works the Norfolk unions had been unable to force Morfolk into the "dry" camp; therefore, they had failed to achieve their primary goal, and consequently they lost the admiration and respect of their WCTU sisters.

Having lost the leadership of the WCTU movement and being out of favor with the Virginia WCTU, the Norfolk unions had to face another problem. The Norfolk WCTUS did not appear to acquire any new, young leaders during its later period. This may well have been the result of a concentration of interest on the part of the young women in the woman's suffrage movement. The Norfolk Woman's Club was organized and active from 1907 to the end of the period, and the Norfolk branch of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia was active after 1912. It is quite likely that the young women of Norfolk were more interested in the woman's suffrage movement than in the temperance movement. 61

The suffrage movement appealed to women of the same

⁶¹See Appendix XII for the leaders of Norfolk Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Rights movement.

the burgeoning new societies were competing with the WCTU for members which must, of necessity, have detracted from the WCTU. Generally, the younger women were more interested in voting and taking a more active part in society than in promoting temperance. Perhaps they were discouraged by the lack of success that the temperance movement had experienced in Norfolk and looked forward to women going to the ballot box as the answer to the temperance reform. The suffrage movement, no doubt, drew some of the young women who would otherwise have been leaders in the Norfolk WCTU, thus hampering that organization while enjoying its support for their reform. 62

Despite their declining prominence in the Virginia WCTU and their competition with the suffrage movement in Norfolk, the Norfolk WCTUs were instrumental in promoting temperance in Norfolk, and, with the aid of the statewide referendum, they did realize the goal of prohibition. Even more important, the WCTU in Norfolk contributed numerous worthwhile and necessary social and humanitarian reforms. They helped advance the progressive spirit and led in the improvement of Norfolk.

⁶²Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman's Suffrage Movement, pp. 56-57, 282. The author points out that the women born before 1859, who became active in the suffrage movement, tended to be WCTU'ers and more for prohibition than those born after 1859. She also points out the closeness of the two movements and the common source of membership.

The Ring Politician is my shepherd,

I shall not want anything good during the campaign.

He leadeth me into the saloon

For my vote's sake;

He filleth my pockets with cigars,

My beer glass runneth over with foaming lager.

He inquireth particularly concerning the health of my family, Even to the fourth generation.

Yea, though I walk through mud and rain to vote for him, And shout myself hoarse when he is elected,

He straightway forgetteth me and mine.

Yea, though I meet him in his own office, He knoweth me not.

Surely the wool has been pulled over my eyes All the days of my life.

Letter to Editor of New Daily Pilot. April 11, 1896, p. 4. signed "Reb"

THE SALOON, THE SALOON MUST GO !!

Unofficial motto of Anti-Saloon League

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

The Prohibition Party and Anti-Saloon League

The political efforts of the temperance movement were mainly divided into two channels. The first effort during the period under study was the attempt to establish and promote the prohibition party in Virginia. The Prohibition Party came into existence in Virginia about 1880. It existed in a relatively ineffectual and insignificant fashion during the early 1880's. In 1882 it had an established statewide organization under the guidance of a state chairman. By 1884, the Prohibition Party in Virginia rated two members on the Prohibition Party National Committee.

At the 1885 National Committee meeting and National Conference of the Prohibition Party, held in New York City, the reports of the committeemen from Virginia and other southern states alerted the National Prohibition Party to the potential Prohibition strength in the South. It was decided at this meeting to make a concerted effort to organize the Prohibition

David Leigh Colvin, Prohibition in the United States:

A History of the Prohibition Party and of the Prohibition

Movement (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926), p. 656. For a list of leaders of the Virginia Prohibition Party, see Appendix XIII.

Party in the South. During 1885 and 1886, several Prohibition

Party leaders, including Frances E. Willard, campaigned in

the South.²

The growth of the Virginia Prohibition Party was very slow. It was not able to enter a candidate in a major state election until the 1889 gubernatorial campaign. The party continued to run unsuccessful candidates in the next three gubernatorial elections. The Prohibition Party was not very successful in Virginia. In its twelve most effective years it succeeded in electing only one representative to the state legislature and one mayor during the 1890's. Even the 1894 election of Reverend Charles W. Pettit as Mayor of Norfolk can not be considered a true Prohibition Party victory despite the fact that he ran as a Prohibition Party candidate and was himself a temperance advocate.

The Norfolk Prohibition Party made it quite clear during their 1894 municipal election campaign that they were not prohibitionists, but were reform minded Democrats protesting against the corruption of the city government and the

²<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 167-168. Other Prohibition Party leaders campaigning in the South were Rev. Sam Jones, Dr. C. H. Mead, Mr. A. A. Hopkins, Horace Waters, William Daneil, T. R. Carskadon, and Mrs. Lathrop.

³<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 254, 656.

Democratic Party organization. The Norfolk Prohibition Party Platform announced in its first Resolution,

Resolved, That no man who may vote for the candidate or even accept office at the hands of the Prohibition Party for municipal office in the election to be held in May next, shall thereby be held to be a prohibitionist, as he can only in this way record his effectual protest against the corrupt ring now in control of this city.

It was on the promise to reform the city government and to end political bossism in Norfolk that the Prohibition Party won the election. It is also quite clear from their campaign and their administration of the city after their election that the Norfolk Prohibition Party did represent, to a great extent, the temperance reformers of Norfolk.

The Norfolk WCTU campaigned for the Prohibition Party and many of the husbands of the WCTU women were active members of the Norfolk Prohibition Party. After their election the Prohibition Party did not try to establish prohibition in Norfolk, but they did take many steps to promote temperance. They attempted to raise the liquor license fees in Norfolk to prohibitively high rates in hope that the high license fees would reduce the number of saloons operating in the city. They were unable to do so due to the opposition from the Democratic members of the city council. A compromise schedule

⁴Norfolk Landmark, January 19, 1894, p. 1.

of liquor license fees, which raised the fees to almost double their former levels, was passed. The police department was purged and encouraged to conduct a vigorous campaign against both the liquor dealers and the drinkers. Even such expedients as entrapment, undercover agents, and paid informers were used in the effort to induce temperance.

The Prohibition Party administration successfully enacted the city's first comprehensive liquor laws during their term of office. Until these laws were passed the only legal

⁵See Appendix XIV for Prohibition Party leaders whose wives were leaders of the WCTU in Norfolk; See Appendix XVI for liquor license fees during the period under study; See also Appendix IV for Table of Arrests for drunkenness and for liquor law violations during the Prohibition Party's term of office as compared to other years. See also History of the Norfolk Police Department (Norfolk, 1910), p. 157. The author, referring to the Prohibition Party term 1894-1896, states that, "Never in the history of Norfolk were policemen so active in arresting persons for being intoxicated. slogan was down with liquor and those who drink it. If a man stubbed his toe against a cobblestone and staggered the least bit, a policeman was by his side to get a whiff of his breath to find out if he had been worshipping at the shrine of Bacchus; if the smell of liquor could be detected about the man, he was quickly arrested and locked up on the charge of drunkenness. During the two years of the reform regime there were many amusing and pathetic incidents.

A crusade was made against liquor selling and the "Red Light" District. The scarlet women were given orders to move from Avon and Washington and other streets where they had held forth for years. As a result of this activity against the houses of ill-fame, the inmates scattered all over the city. Mayor Pettit, although a minister, was conservative and strongly opposed this and many other acts of the Police Commissioners." The author goes on to give examples of the means used to catch liquor law violators during this period and tells of the trouble between the Mayor and his police commissioners.

restriction on the saloon operators was the 1888 law forbidding the sale of liquor on Sunday. The new laws established a complete set of minimum standards, legal practices, restrictions, penalties, and fines on the saloon operators.

The brief reign of the Prohibition Party in Norfolk ended in 1896. They failed to win re-election for several reasons. They had been elected on a promise of reform and an end to "ring rule" in Norfolk politics, but once in office used all means at their disposal to perpetuate their administration. Mr. W. W. Gibbs, the Virginia Prohibition Party state chairman, had moved to Norfolk in 1894 and had purchased a major share of the New Daily Pilot. He became the editor of the New Daily Pilot in 1895 and it became the party's official state newspaper in 1896. Mr. Gibbs and the Norfolk leaders acted to establish the party in Norfolk as a basis from which to build a statewide political machine. They indiscriminately fired city employees and replaced them with party supporters including many Negroes. 7

This attempt, labelled "Mahoneism" by the Democrats, coupled with an inept administration of municipal affairs and

⁶Norfolk, <u>City Ordinances</u>, 1902.

⁷ New Daily Pilot (Norfolk), April 2, 1896, p. 1; and Norfolk Virginian, March 8, 1896, p. 4.

an attempt to campaign as prohibitionists turned many of their supporters, even the ardent Sam Small, against the prohibition Party. As a result, the Democrats easily won the 1896 municipal election in Norfolk.

After the Prohibition Party had been replaced in office, the city abruptly returned to its normal state of affairs including an apparent disregard for the enforcement of the existing liquor laws. The Prohibition Party never again made a serious attempt to win election in Norfolk.

The Virginia Prohibition Party itself virtually disappeared as a force in Virginia politics after the foundation of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League in 1901. After 1900, the National Prohibition Party abandoned its single issue platform and adopted a multi-reformer platform while the Anti-Saloon League maintained a singleness of purpose. Many of the reforms advocated by the Prohibition Party were not popular in Virginia. This change in Party policy may have contributed to the depletion of Prohibition Party supporters in Virginia, as many of its former followers appear to have been drawn into the Anti-Saloon League. The Prohibition

⁸See G. Clifford Boocks, "Experiment in Municipal Reform: The Prohibition Party in Norfolk Politics, 1892-1896" (an unpublished Master's thesis, Old Dominion College, 1967).

⁹See Table of Arrests in Appendix IV.

Party effort was not successful, primarily because of the firmly entrenched power of the state Democratic Party. The temperance leaders generally abandoned the Prohibition Party after 1901 to support the Anti-Saloon League which used its political force to guide the already established Virginia Democratic Party into a temperance program. As a third party the Prohibition Party may have achieved some success nationally by influencing the platforms of the major parties and focusing attention on the prohibition cause, but the state Prohibition Party in Virginia was less successful. Only after the foundation of the Anti-Saloon League, which worked through the existing political structure, were the temperance forces in Virginia effective and successful in achieving their goals by political action. 10

The Virginia Anti-Saloon League was founded at Richmond in 1901. The Anti-Saloon League was not just another Temperance Society. It was a means of action for the existing temperance societies and the Protestant Church. The main features offered by the Anti-Saloon League were a centralization of authority within the temperance movement, a

¹⁰Colvin, Prohibition in the United States, pp. 175-177, 192-199, 656; and Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, National Party Platform, 1840-1960 (2nd ed.; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 82-83, 95, 100, 106-109, 118-124.

singleness of purpose, the means of political utilization of the powers of the Protestant Church, and the avoidance of entry into politics as a separate political party. The Anti-Saloon League provided paid professional officers and fulltime workers who were experienced and skilled at lobbying and the techniques of political pressure. They were financed by subscriptions garnered through the organizational machinery of the Protestant Churches. They applied political agitation and pressure for the "dry" cause and against the "wet" cause. The Anti-Saloon League concentrated solely on the liquor question and, although favoring other reforms such as woman's suffrage, wisely avoided dispersing their efforts in any other cause. They concentrated, at first, on the most obvious center of evil of the liquor trade: the saloon. Gradually, the Anti-Saloon League expanded its activities into all aspects of the liquor trade and ultimately focused upon its complete prohibition.

The single, most outstanding personality behind the

Anti-Saloon League (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), pp. 9-10, 17, 38, 79, 86; Virginius Dabney, Dry Messiah: The Life of Bishop Cannon (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 36; James C. Furnas, The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 319; and William H. Anderson, The Church in Action Against the Saloon: Being an Authoritive Statement of the Movement Known as the Anti-Saloon League (Westerville: Anti-Saloon League, 1906), pp. 1-65.

Reverend Doctor James Cannon, Jr. Dr. Cannon, who later became a Bishop of the Methodist Church and achieved further notoriety at that post, was active in the Virginia League from its foundation until the adoption of Prohibition.

Dr. Cannon was an ardent temperance believer from his early youth. His mother organized the first WCTU in their home town of Salisbury, Maryland, and James took the pledge at the age of twelve. He grew up as a member of the Loyal Temperance Legion and his later career seems to justify the motto of that organization—"Tremble King Alcohol, we shall grow up!" 12

In his experiences as a Methodist minister, the Rev. Cannon found many reasons to re-enforce his belief in the evil effects of alcohol. Armed with his personal convictions and the doctrine of the Methodist Church, he eagerly threw himself into the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League. Because of his fervor and undeniable ability, Cannon rose rapidly to a position of leadership in the League and became one of the most powerful men in the state. 13

Another leader of the state and national Anti-Saloon

¹² Dabney, Dry Messiah, p. 6.

^{13&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 6-36.

League was Mr. James W. Hough of Norfolk. Hough served as president of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League for many years while the Rev. Cannon was its State Superintendent. W. Hough was a well-known, civic minded, and prosperous Norfolk businessman. He was instrumental in the growth of the Norfolk Protestant Hospital, serving as chairman of the Building Committee, as president of the Protestant Hospital, and as a member of its Board of Trustees. As a businessman, Mr. Hough was a partner in an investment firm, the owner of two real estate corporations which developed his Larchmont neighborhood, and was the secretary and treasurer of a shoe manufacturing company. Despite his many business and civic interests, Mr. Hough and his wife were believers in temperance and both actively participated in the Norfolk temperance movement. Mrs. Hough was active in the local WCTU, and Mr. Hough, as a prominent leader of the Anti-Saloon League, became one of the closest and most trusted compatriots of the Rev. Cannon. 14

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 111; Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 21, 1914, p. 1; Norfolk Virginian Pilot, June 18, 1910, p. 14; Norfolk and Portsmouth Directory 1910 and 1914. Mr. Hough and Bishop Cannon later had a disagreement during the 1918 gubernatorial election when the Norfolk Anti-Saloon League refused to support the State League's candidate, and, although Hough soon renounced the decision of the Norfolk League and supported Cannon's candidate, their friendship and trust was never renewed. See Jack T. Kirby, "Alcohol and Irony, the Campaign of

to organize before it was presented with its first opportunity to advance the temperance cause. Its first efforts were made during the Virginia Constitutional Convention. A proposal called the Quarles-Barbour Bill was introduced. This bill would require a majority decision at the polls before any area could issue liquor licenses and would impose a schedule of high license fees for the state license. The bill was immediately opposed by the liquor interests, especially those located in the cities. 15

The Norfolk liquor dealers promptly met with the Board of Directors of the Board of Trade and Businessmen's Association to request support for their protest against the Quarles-Barbour Bill. After hearing the arguments of the liquor dealers, the Board retired into executive session and unanimously adopted a protest resolution and appointed a committee to proceed to Richmond to present their resolution and arguments to the Norfolk delegates at the Convention. In

Westmoreland Davis for Governor, 1909-1917," <u>The Virginia</u>
<u>Magazine of History and Biography</u>, LXXIII, No. 3 (July, 1965), pp. 271-274.

¹⁵ Norfolk Landmark, November 13, 1910, p. 3. See also: Robert A. Hohner, "The Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, 1901-1910" (unpublished Master's thesis, Duke University, 1963), pp. 31-34.

their resolution, the Norfolk Board of Trade and Business
Men's Association protested against the passage of the bill
and urged their delegates to use every honorable means at
their disposal to defeat it. 16

In the Norfolk protest resolution the reasons given for their opposition indicate the extent of the economic power of the liquor industry in Norfolk. It was pointed out that the liquor business in Norfolk employed over 1,000 residents; that these employees rented or owned a large number of dwellings; that there was nearly \$1,000,000 invested in the business fixtures of the trade; and that this trade contributed large sums to the city budget in the form of license and property taxes which Norfolk could not afford to lose. The obvious conclusion that the loss or reduction of this trade would result in serious hardship and damage to the city prompted the merchants to support the liquor dealers and demonstrated the economic importance of the liquor trade to the city of Norfolk. 17

The protest of the city delegations and the other delegates who opposed the sudden change to a policy of virtual prohibition, combined with the incomplete organization of

¹⁶ Norfolk Landmark, November 13, 1910, p. 3.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Barbour Bill. It demonstrated that the Anti-Saloon League was not strong enough to take such a radical step and suggested a policy of gradual elimination of the liquor trade while increasing the strength of the League. 18

The Virginia Anti-Saloon League moved slowly but steadily forward in its battle against "Demon Rum." When the League came into existence, Virginia already had taken the first steps against the liquor trade. It had established a special liquor tax and license, and had a general township local option law passed in 1886. After the failure in the Constitutional Convention, the next measure supported by the League was the passage of the Mann Act on December 10, 1903. The Mann Act provided a general county local option law and increased the state liquor license tax. Once again the liquor dealers protested, but they were not able to prevent the passage of the Bill. 19

The next step forward was taken by the passage of the Byrd Act on March 12, 1908. This Act established prohibition

¹⁸ Hohner, "The Anti-Saloon League in Virginia, 1901-1910," pp. 31-34. See also, <u>Journal of the Constitutional</u> Convention for petitions concerning the liquor license laws.

¹⁹Colvin, Prohibition in the United States, pp. 370-372; Dabney, Dry Messiah, p. 49; Norfolk Landmark, March 2, 1903, p. 1; and Acts of Assembly, Virginia, 1902-1904, pp. 577-578.

elections could provide a further extension of the no-license area. It also established markedly higher license fees for all forms of the liquor trade than the previous state license fees. The result was that the saloon and liquor dealer were driven from the rural areas and small towns where the license was either prohibited or was of such a prohibitive cost as to make the operation of saloons in these low density population areas impractical. The high cost of the state license, coupled with the exorbitantly priced city license fee, also reduced the number of saloons in the city of Norfolk, although the overall effect throughout the state was an increase in the number of saloons as the number of "wet" areas decreased.

The Virginia Anti-Saloon League held its 1909

Convention at the Epworth Methodist Church in Norfolk. The major issue of the Convention was a lively debate on whether the League should continue its policy in support of local option or undertake a campaign for statewide prohibition.

The Norfolk delegates favored statewide prohibition because

²⁰Colvin, <u>Prohibition in the United States</u>, pp. 372-375; Dabney, <u>Dry Messiah</u>, p. 50. Colvin notes that as the number of "dry" counties increased, from 50 in 1908 to 66 in 1914, the number of saloons and the number of liquor licenses increased steadily from 600 in 1910 to 914 in 1914. The figures for Norfolk given in Appendix III indicate that such was not the case in Norfolk and tend to question the accuracy of the statistics given by Colvin.

they candidly admitted that they did not believe a local option election in Morfolk could be won, but they did believe that a statewide prohibition election could be successful. 21

The movement for statewide prohibition was defeated and the policy of local option, enjoying the support of the State Superintendent, the Rev. James Cannon, was continued, but no effort was to be made for an immediate local option election in Norfolk. The Norfolk liquor dealers were eager for an immediate test which they were confident that they could win. This eagerness on the part of the liquor dealers was given, by the temperance leaders, as one of the reasons that no election was planned for the immediate future. 22

In 1910 William Hodges Mann, supported by the Anti-Saloon League, was elected Governor of Virginia and the Anti-Saloon League changed its stand on statewide prohibition by favoring an Enabling Act introduced under the direction of Superintendent Cannon. This Enabling Act failed in the House

Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, February 9, 1909 to February 12, 1909; Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, February 12, 1909, p. 3 said that "It is admitted to by them /local temperance leaders/ that there is a need for a further campaign of education in Norfolk, which is going on quietly but effectively." It further quotes the Rev. R. J. Bateman of the Norfolk Anti-Saloon League as saying that he did not think Norfolk would go "dry" at present, which was the reason he wanted statewide prohibition which he thought could succeed.

²²Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, February 11 to February 12, 1909.

as was expected. It was re-introduced in the 1912 session of the Virginia Legislature and passed the House by a vote of 62-30, but if failed in the Senate by a 15-23 vote. In 1914 the Enabling Act was once again introduced and was again passed by the House on a vote of 64-31, but in the Senate the vote was deadlocked at 20-20. The tie breaking vote was cast by Lieutenant Governor J. Taylor Ellyson. Ellyson had already been pledged to support prohibition before he was endorsed for Lieutenant Governor by the Anti-Saloon League, therefore it was no surprise when he voted in favor of the Enabling Act. 23

The Enabling Act required a statewide referendum election which was held on September 22, 1914. The campaign was very lively. The Anti-Saloon League campaigned on the slogan that the election was a vote for or against the saloon. Those opposed to the principle of statewide prohibition as a matter of personal preference formed the Self-Government League, a very prestigeous group. They argued that Virginia should retain local option since this was the highest form of democratic self-government and should not impose prohibition on communities where it was not wanted by the people. Both of these groups made their headquarters

²³Dabney, <u>Dry Messiah</u>, pp. 73-80.

in Richmond. 24

matter of personal interest, made its headquarters in Norfolk.

Paul Garrett of Norfolk, the chairman of the executive

committee, led the fight for the Brewers, Wine and Spirit

Merchants of Virginia. They aided the Local Self-Government

Association of Virginia in the fight to preserve local option

and added many economic issues to the campaign as well as

financial support. 25

Both sides conducted a pamphlet and speech-making fight. The Anti-Saloon League expounded on the evils of intemperance, the resulting poverty, disease, immorality and high crime rates. The cost of these results to the community in taxes and morality was emphasized. Anti-Saloon League propaganda made use of the menace of the drunken Negro, and the contrast between the temperate, native born, white, middle-class,

^{24&}quot;Facts for Consideration Relative to State-wide Prohibition," prepared by Virginia Association for Local Self-Government (Norfolk: Burke and Gregory, 1914), pp. 9-9; "StateWide Prohibition Effects of Taxation in the State of Virginia," prepared by Virginia Association for Local Self-Government (1914), pp. 1-12; "The Issues Involved in State-Wide Prohibition; A Speech Delivered by Royal E. Cabell of Richmond Virginia," sponsored by Virginia Association for Local Self-Government (Norfolk: Burke and Gregory, 1914), pp. 1-22; and Dabney, Dry Messiah, pp. 81-87.

²⁵Dabney, Dry Messiah, pp. 81-87; Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 21, 1914, p. 1.

werful appeal to the voters. foreign born (or particularly effective and, combined with the temperance preached as a part of the Protestant morality, produced a powerful appeal to the voters.

The Self-Government League could only counter with rational appeals. They emphasized that a vote for the Enabling Act was not a vote against the saloon, but against the principle of local option, and extolled the democratic ideals implicit in the local option method. They countered, with statistics, the charges that the results of allowing the licensing of saloons increased the poverty and crime rate, and destroyed the morality of the community. They pointed out that both the Democratic and Republican Parties had endorsed local option in their Party platforms, and that prohibition does not prohibit, being so unsuccessful as to be repealed by 15 out of the 24 states that sad tried it.

They recognized that the strength of the Anti-Saloon League

²⁶ Odegard, Pressure Politics, pp. 29-32, 62. According to Robert A. Hohner, "Prohibition and Virginia Politics, 1900-1916," pp. 153, 164. The population of Virginia at this time was 98 % native born, 75 % rural, and 50 % church members, most of them evangelical Protestant sects. These figures are taken from the U.S. Census Reports 1910 and 1920 and from the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Cansus, Religious Bodies, 1916, p. 110. Virginia had an urbar complation equal to 23.1% of the total population of the state compared to the national average of 46.3%.

was in the rural areas, and argued that the loss of revenue from the liquor licenses and taxes would necessitate a raise in the property tax on rural lands. The rational appeals on the basis of proven results, political ideals, and economic sensibility were insufficient. The emotional appeals were feeble. One such emotional appeal was made by referring to Kansas, the "dry" state, as the state where John Brown was worshipped. The efforts of the Local Self-Government League did not create a great enthusiasm as did the temperance crusade.

All the bars in Norfolk closed the day before the election and remained closed until after the polls closed. This was probably a maneuver to insure that the large bloc of supporters of the saloons, their customers, would be in proper condition to vote. It may also have been meant as a demonstration of what the future would hold if the movement for prohibition were not defeated. 28

28 Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 22, 1914, p. 1. The temperance leaders objected to the unnecessary closing of the bars the day before the election.

^{27 &}quot;Facts for Consideration Relative to State-Wide Prohibition, Virginia Association for Local Self-Government" (Norfolk: Burke and Gregory, 1914); "State-Wide Prohibition Effects on Taxation in the State of Virginia," Virginia Association for Local Self-Government (Norfolk: Burke and Gregory, 1914); and "Issues Involved in Statewide Prohibition, A Speech Delivered by Royal E. Cabell of Richmond," sponsored by Virginia Association for Local Self-Government, May 19, 1914 (Norfolk: Burke and Gregory, 1914).

Election day in Norfolk was extraordinary. Both sides predicted a close election resulting in their victory. police were given careful instructions for policing the polls and their instructions were published in the daily press for everyone to read in order to prevent any charges of malpractice in enforcing order at the polling places. The church bells throughout the city rang at six in the morning for the first call to prayer. A second bell ringing and prayer service was held at noon. The women of the Norfolk WCTU and many of the ladies from church societies did not attend the second service. They were busy distributing beef and ham sandwiches with coffee and milk to all the workers at the polling places and to those waiting in line to vote during their lunch hour. At some places children were gathered to sing for those going to vote. 29

There was a heavy turnout and the vote was close.

Only a surprisingly small number of ballots were challenged.

After the polls closed a direct wire brought in telegraphic results from throughout the state which were announced to the waiting crowd who were in a gay, carnival, but sober mood. (The bars had been closed for two days.) By late

Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 21, 1914, p. 1;
Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 22, 1914, pp. 1, 13.

evening the results were fairly accurately known and the prohibition advocates went home triumphantly to celebrate their victory; presumably it was a temperate celebration. 30

In Norfolk, the "wets" won by the surprisingly small margin of 493 votes out of a total 7,162. In the surrounding area, Portsmouth went "dry" by a mere 63 vote majority and Virginia Beach and Princess Anne County went "dry" by larger margins. The State of Virginia voted in favor of the Enabling Act and statewide prohibition by a margin of 30,365 votes. Only the cities of Norfolk, Alexandria and Richmond returned majorities opposing prohibition. 31

As a result of the Enabling Act Referendum Election the State Legislature enacted a moderate statewide prohibition law which went into effect on November 1, 1916.

This law allowed the manufacture of alcoholic beverages for sale outside the state and permitted residents to bring into the state one quart of liquor, three gallons of beer, or one gallon of wine, per month for their personal consumption.

Despite the leniency of this law, soon replaced by the more

³⁰ Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 23, 1914, p. 1.

³¹Colvin, Prohibition in the United States, p. 373; Dabney, Dry Messiah, pp. 81-87; and Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 23, 1914, pp. 1, 12. See also: Table of Voting in Norfolk in Appendix XIX.

stringent Volstead Act, it marked the ultimate triumph of the temperance movement in Virginia and was largely due to the efforts of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League, aided by the Protestant Churches, the WCTU, and the other temperance societies. 32

The action of these groups, which resulted in the victory of the temperance reforms and prohibition legislation, were the result of two major factors: the concern of the groups for the social, economic and political conditions they observed, and their belief that temperance reform would improve these conditions. The Norfolk reformers, in particular, could observe many needed reforms for their city, and pursued the temperance movement as the most effective means of improving Norfolk.

³² Dabney, <u>Dry Messiah</u>, pp. 101-103.

We wash our hands of the liquid foe,
The offspring of perdition,
And to the ballot yearly go
To vote for Prohibition!
For no man has a moral right
To deal out to another
A licensed curse to swell his purse
Regardless of his brother.

Quoted in James C. Furnas, The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum

CHAPTER TV

CONDITIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

It is necessary to study some indicators of the physical conditions prevalent in Norfolk during the period from 1880 to 1916 in order to understand how these existing conditions motivated the temperance reformers. It is difficult to find the factual evidence necessary to accurately reconstruct the conditions in Norfolk over this thirty-six year period. It would be impossible to do so within the scope of this paper. However, a study of a limited number of significant statistics can yield a relatively reliable indication of the actual conditions which existed and helped to stimulate the temperance movement in Norfolk.

The first indication of the conditions existing in Norfolk during this period can be obtained by the study of its population statistics. The entire period from 1880 to 1916 was one of constant growth of the population in Norfolk. The city had an average yearly growth rate of almost 5% which was more than double the national average. It was a period of rapid expansion during which the city grew from 21,966

residents in 1880 to an estimated 91,000 in 1916.1

This period was one of extensive expansion of the city limits. Norfolk grew from the original four wards comprising its old waterfront and business section to a greatly expanded size, which included the incorporation of the old communities of Brambleton, Atlantic City, Park Place, Berkeley, and other residential areas including Larchmont, Lambert's Point, Huntersville, Colonial Place, and Ghent. This expansion in all directions extended the city limits from the southern branch of the Elizabeth River in a semi-circular sweep to the mouth of the Lafayette River. It annexed a large residential area to provide living space for the city's rapidly increasing population and commercial sites for its growing trade facili-Three of the areas annexed were legally dry. Brambleton, Atlantic City, and Park Place communities, which were largely middle class, white, residential areas, had held successful local option elections and were retained as nolicense areas when annexed by the City of Norfolk. areas which were annexed, such as Berkeley and Huntersville, were license areas with a relatively large number of saloons. These areas had a mixed population including a high percentage of lower class whites and Megroes. They were both

¹See Appendix II.

residential and commercial areas. As a result of the annexations of these sections, with their diverse composition and their opposite views on temperance, the general concensus of opinion on the temperance question in Norfolk was unchanged. A majority of the city's population continued to favor the issuance of liquor licenses in Norfolk. 2

Other statistical indications of the conditions in Norfolk during this period can be found in an analysis of the number of saloons in operation in the city and the proportion of liquor licenses to the total population of the city. Since figures for the actual liquor consumption are not available, these figures are the best available indication of the extent of the liquor traffic in Norfolk. study of the crime rate in the city gives a further insight into conditions. By determining the number of arrests per 1,000 inhabitants, the number of arrests for drunkenness per 1,000 inhabitants, and the number of arrests for morals offenses an estimate of the extent of crime, drunkenness, and vice can be made.

²Norfolk, The Ordinances of the City of Norfolk and Acts of Assembly of Virginia Relating to the City Government, 1885; Norfolk, The Ordinances of the City of Norfolk with the Amended harter and an Appendix Containing Special Ordinances, Acts of Assembly of Virginia Relating to the City Government, etc.: 894; Norfolk, The Ordinances of the City of Norfolk...: 1902.

 $^{^3}$ See Appendix III and Appendix IV.

These statistics indicate that Norfolk had a disproportionately high number of saloons and an unacceptably high percentage of arrests for drunkenness. The Bureau of Municipal Research concluded, in a 1915 report, that Norfolk had an inebriety problem to solve. Their concern was for the high percentage of arrests directly related to intoxication. The unnecessary load that this high rate placed on the police department, and on the courts, was responsible for reducing the efficiency of these important agencies. In 1915 only 22% of the arrests for that year were due to intoxication. This was a slight decrease in the average from 1910 to 1915. It was a great improvement over the 35% in 1889 and the 26.2% average for the years from 1888 to 1901. If 22% was enough to pose an inebriety problem in 1915 then Norfolk was indeed an intemperate city throughout the period, and the temperance reformers were justified in their concern. They were attempting to solve a serious problem and improve their city.4

The moral tone of Norfolk was often attacked during these years. The opposition party in municipal elections frequently alluded to the great extent of gambling and prostitution flourishing in Norfolk and intimated that these

⁴Bureau of Municipal Research, Report on a Survey of the City Government, p. 182. See also Appendix Iv.

and the administration. This was probably most often a political device, but the experience of the Prohibition Party reform government seems to indicate that there was some truth to such allegations. Official visitors, such as the Bureau of Municipal Research, also criticised this aspect of the City of Norfolk.

The Prohibition Party Administration was greatly concerned with the number of gambling dens in Norfolk and arrested many of the operators and participants. They also took a special interest in the city's prostitution trade. In 1895 they arrested eighty people for operating houses of ill repute; fifty white and thirty Negro establishments. The following year they arrested fifty-eight more white and twenty more Negro operators of houses of ill fame. Other administrations were not as keenly interested in the city's prostitutes; at least they were not interested in closing the houses or arresting the operators and their girls. The Administrations preceding and following the Prohibition Party administration made only token arrests on this charge. In 1905,

⁵<u>Ibid</u>. Also see references in many periodicals such as: Norfolk Chat, February 28, 1892, p. 4; Norfolk Growler, March 18, 1905, p. 5; Norfolk Free-Lance, September 9, 1905, p. 2; and Norfolk Virginian, March 3-8, 1893.

The Bottol Service listed was of the city's best known establishments, giving the names of the operators and the addresses of the houses, but no action was taken by the police. A visitor to the city, in that same year, wrote a letter to the editor saying that he had traveled extensively and seen much of life but thought that Norfolk was the most immoral place that he had ever visited. He complained of being approached in broad daylight, on a main thoroughfare, by two brazen street-walkers, while a policeman stood by and watched. From this information, it seems fair to conclude that the moral climate in Norfolk was somewhat below the level that the puritanical southern Protestant churches sought to establish and maintain.

Reverend Cannon of the Anti-Saloon League did not have a good opinion of Norfolk, but he did not consider Norfolk to be as bad as Richmond in one respect. He believed that in Norfolk the churches were not under the domination of the upper class as they were in Richmond. That meant that there was more hope of converting Norfolk to temperance because of

See Appendix IV for arrests. The Norfolk Growler, May 6, 1905, p. 4; and The Norfolk Growler, March 18, 1905, p. 5 list the Houses of Ill Fame and the operators, some with interesting names such as: "Madame" Levy, "Nannie" Fisher, "Belle" Brown, etc. None of these places are in operation today. The Norfolk Growler, May 13, 1905, p. 4 has the letter referred to above. See W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Random House, 1941), pp. 59-60, 231-236 for Puritanism aspect of Southern mind.

The Richard churches, under the control of the upper class, could not be made to take an active part in the temperance effort because their members would cling to their custom of drinking. In Norfolk the churches were controlled by the middle class and were middle class oriented; therefore, they could be more active in the temperance reform.

This situation in the Norfolk churches was most likely a result of the recent growth of Norfolk. Because of its dependence on trade, Norfolk had a more solid middle class, a flexible class structure, and an almost non-existent dominant upper class. Many residents of Norfolk were rural oriented, and susceptible to temperance ideas. As a result, the middle class, rural oriented people and the Protestant churches of Norfolk became actively involved in the temperance movement.

Norfolk was a seaport and, as such, it had its waterfront saloon and "red light" districts. The city was expanding rapidly and constantly changing. The civic-minded
residents were faced with a continuing struggle to keep their
city a decent community in which to live. The excessive
drinking in the numerous saloons and the excessive drunken-

⁷Dabney, <u>Dry Messiah</u>, p. 77.

gradation, seemed to defeat the efforts of the decent citizens to improve their city. It appeared that temperance reform was the only way they could guide Norfolk to improved social conditions. Because of their desire to improve the conditions in Norfolk, and because they were stimulated by their moral and intellectual beliefs, they became active in the temperance reform movement.

There were two classes of reasons for which people became actively involved in the temperance reform movement. These two classes of reasons were the stated and the unstated; the apparent and the underlying; or, the overt and covert reasons. The stated, apparent, overt reasons were why the people themselves thought they had become reformers. The unstated, underlying, covert reasons were what other people thought were their reasons for becoming reformers. The arguments that sociologists and historians, studying the phenomena, presented on behalf of the reasons that they ascribe to the temperance reformers are quite convincing. The arguments that the reformers themselves espoused indicate that they actually believed they were acting because of the impulses which they expressed. The motivating impulses which the reformers expressed during the period of the temperance

advanced are the more numerous and should be considered first.

The reformers believed that they were motivated by compelling moral, intellectual, economic, and humanitarian impulses. They expressed a moral obligation to save the souls of those whom they considered to be sinners. Protestant morality considered intemperance to be sinful. The evangelical nature of the Protestant Church was conducive to a crusading spirit. The result was an evangelical Protestant crusade to save the drinker from his sins. do this it was apparent that it was necessary to remove the temptation to sin from the weak sinner. Consequently, the church and its members became active in the temperance reform movement to obtain laws forcing the moral ideal of temperance on society. It was in the nature of a Christian duty to aid the work of the church to perfect society and speed the day when the world could be freed from sin and redemption could be achieved.

The number of ministers involved in the Prohibition

Party and the Anti-Saloon League in Morfolk, and the number supporting the WCTU illustrates the role of the church in

Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 4-7; Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 32-33, 111; Odegard, Pressure Politics, pp. 30-31; and Colvin, Prohibition in the United States, p. 334.

Presbyterian charches had made total abstinence their official solicy and prohibition a desirable goal before 1880. The prominence of members of these churches in the temperance movement was a result of their allegiance to the doctrines of their church and their moral commitment to its tenets. They feared that liquor would lead young men to moral ruin and a life of crime and degradation if they were not protected by legal means.

The intellectual impulse for the reform came from the residual American belief in the perfectability of man and his society, and the popular American faith in science.

Scientific data were accumulated, analyzed, and the findings were promulgated to show clearly the destructive results of drinking. Diseases, from liver ailments to birth defects and mental illness, were "proven" to be caused by alcohol. High divorce rates, low birth rates, and high crime rates were all statistically demonstrated as being directly related to alcoholic consumption. A mass of "scientific evicence" was compiled and, when evaluated, alcohol was clearly indicted

⁹Colvin, Prohibition in the United States, pp. 244-265; Norfolk Virginian, March 1, 1893, p. 4; and Norfolk Virginian, March 2, 1893, p. 2.

gation and exposure of alcohol was a clear call for reform to sliminate the adverse effects which drinking produced. This scientific information showed one way in which man and society could be improved and perfected. This perfection could be accomplished by eliminating the destructive influence of alcohol.

The Norfolk reformers expressed their belief in the panacea of prohibition. One reformer wrote, in a letter to the editor of the Norfolk Virginian, that

I notice, both in the editorials and in the locals, that the sale of liquor is at the foundation of much of the lawlessness of some localities; and this leads me to make the suggestion that this is a good time to unite all good citizens in an effort to suppress the liquor traffic in this community.

Can all the people be brought together in one good cause? It seems to me that the time has come when all good men of all parties, of all races and colors, should unite to suppress an evil that is a blight to morals, an injury to business, and the foundation of crime. ...

Cannot partys and creeds be swallowed by a common brotherhood to save the community from shame and wrong? Let the pure and upright combine to stamp out the infamy and pollution which are born of this evil of drink. 11

His suggestion was not adopted at the time, but it demonstrated the willingness of the reformers to turn to pro-

¹⁰ Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, pp. 30-43.

¹¹ Norfolk Virginian, March 4, 1893, p. 2.

hibition in the hope of improving society.

passion for efficiency. The results of drinking were shown to be a decrease in employee efficiency, a reduction in market potential, and an increase in on-the-job industrial accidents. All of these facts influenced the employers to become active in the temperance reform movement. Another economic aspect was the reduction in the credit rating of a drinking man. An intemperate man was considered to be a poor risk by creditors, consequently, bankers and the retail merchants urged temperance. Those who had the need to borrow funds or use credit found that sobriety was an important asset. With the creditor-debtor relationship based, to an extent; on sobriety, the market value of temperance was greatly enhanced. It paid good dividends. 12

The belief of the Norfolk reformers in the economic implications of prohibition was well stated at a political rally by a Prohibition Party spokesman who said,

Drunkards are consumers not producers; break up the bar-room and they will be made sober and industrious, and will add to the general wealth of the country. Capitol won't come to a town with dishonest government. Manufacturers want a sober town where labor is

¹² Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, pp. 76-94; and Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 34.

zellade. 13

At the same rally, Sam Small, the leading Norfolk Prohibition Party erator, called the attention of the people to their material interests. He pointed out that saloons caused a rise in taxes by increasing the cost of government. He later repeated the argument that capital and manufacturers do not come to corrupt saloon ridden towns, and claimed that the per capita bonded debt and the tax rate in Norfolk, as a result of the liquor traffic, were among the highest in the nation. These arguments all reflect the economic motivation of the Norfolk temperance reformers. 14

The humanitarian impulse arose from the natural Christian desire to help a fellow man rise from his poor social and economic level to a better life. The widespread belief that drinking was one of the main causes of poverty and degradation made it the natural target of the Humanitarians. The only way to help the poor and needy uplift themselves was to attack the basic cause of their plight—intemperance. The best way to eliminate intemperance was to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages. 15

¹³ Norfolk Virginian, April 27, 1894, p. 1.

¹⁴ Ibid., and Norfolk Virginian, April 29, 1894, p. 1.

¹⁵ Timberlake, <u>Prohibition and the Progressive Movement</u>, pp. 40-43. See Appendix XVII for an expression of this impulse in the 1896 Norfolk Prohibition Party Platform.

the American faith in progress and the value of social welfare. The belief in progress was an argument for reform.

One manifestation of the belief came during the Progressive Era. The progressive spirit motivated people to see the liquor industry as the cause of much of the corruption in American politics. The power of this big business and its corrupting influence on the individual voter were the objects of reform in the progressive spirit. 16

During the 1894 Prohibition Party campaign in Norfolk,
Sam Small charged that the saloons were operating illegally
under the protection of the police because the police received their orders from the police board which was under
the domination of the liquor element. He further charged that
one-sixth of the city councilmen were in the liquor business
and this control by the liquor industry resulted in the
corruption of the city government. But even before the
Prohibition Party, the editor of the Norfolk Virginian had
stated in an editorial that,

No intelligent citizen will deny that the body politic of this city is suffering from a serious disease; that an influence is dominant, demoralizing

^{16&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 76-94, and Gusfield, <u>Symbolic Crusade</u>, pp. 32, 99-100. See also Appendix XVII for expression of this impulse in the 1896 Norfolk Prohibition Party Platform.

its effects, destructive to the material prosperity

Ris south long campaign against the saloons of Norfolk made clear that he believed the liquor trade had corrupted the city government and the police department. The support that his attack received demonstrated that many people in Norfolk concurred with his opinion. The belief of the Norfolk reformers in the corrupting influence of alcohol on politics was made clear in the 1896 Citizens Reform Party Platform which contained the statement, "Abolish the saloon and you strike a blow at the taproot of all political corruption." 18

Some sociologists and historians argue that less lofty reasons underlie the temperance reform movement. They find the reformers motivated by the social status impulse. They believe that the temperance reform movement and prohibition were the result of a social status struggle. They believe that the temperance reformers were motivated by the desire of the middle class to maintain its cultural and institutional dominance over the lower classes. The Protestant morality included temperance as an ideal. The middle class

¹⁷ Norfolk Virginian, February 26, 1893, p. 2.

¹⁸ Norfolk Virginian, April 26, 1894, p. 1; Norfolk Virginian, April 29, 1894, p. 1. Quotation is from New Daily Pilot (Norfolk), April 12, 1896, p. 6.

considered temperance to be one of its own characteristics. To establish the permanent dominance of their Protestant middle class morality, the reformers sought to secure laws establishing temperance as a norm of behavior required of society. This would justify their claim to the superiority of the middle class Protestant morals and their claim to a superior social status.

One result of that status struggle was the desire of the middle class Protestant Americans to win a symbolic victory by insuring the public dominance of their morality through the means of legal standards. This desire naturally led them into the struggle for prohibition. This motivation was frequently utilized by the propaganda of the temperance reformers during the prohibition movement. The correlation of the temperate with the native born, Protestant, white, rural, middle class people and the correlation of the intemperate with the foreign or Negro, Catholic, urban, lower class people was a theme frequently repeated in the temperance propaganda.

¹⁹ Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 1-12, 35, 111.

²⁰ Ibid.; Odegard, Pressure Politics, p. 31; The Norfolk Chat, March 14, 1891, pp. 10-11, had a two page cartoon on the immigrant coming to America, going into the liquor business, becoming a corrupt politician and contractor, and abusing the taxpayers. Both The Norfolk Chat and Norfolk Growler frequently had ethnic jokes about drunken immigrants and referred to them by derogatory slang names.

Another evidence of the status struggle was the desire of the southerner to maintain social control of the Negro. The image of the drunken Negro was frequently used in order to raise the inherent fear of race riots and the rape complex in the southern mind. An appeal to the inherent southern racism was especially effective among the lower class white southerners who supported temperance, not because of their desire to be temperate or their belief in the value of temperance, but primarily because of their fear of the Negro with whom they were economic equals and only able to maintain their superiority by the fine balance of social supremacy. It was easier to maintain the proper social relationship with a sober Negro and it enhanced their own social supremacy to be able to force their morals upon the Negroes. class and upper class whites considered both the Negro and white lower classes to be poor drinking risks and, therefore, they joined the temperance movement. 21

²¹ Odegard, Pressure Politics, p. 62; Furnas, The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum, p. 319; Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, pp. 119-121, and W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1941), pp. 232-233. Despite the fact that the police records consistently show a disproportionately larger number of whites arrested for drunkenness, even though the general tendency of the police during this period was to arrest Negroes for less provocation than whites, this characterization of the drunken Negro was used in the Norfolk newspapers. For example: Norfolk Growler, April 22, 1905, p. 8;

The Norfolk reformers generally covered all the reasons for promoting the temperance reform. The reformers in Morfolk were middle class, white, Protestant, native born Americans. Mrs. Richard H. Jones was the wife of a Protestant minister. Her successor as president of the state WCTU, Mrs. Howard W. Hoge, was also the wife of a Protestant minister. The early temperance reform movement in Norfolk had the support of the local ministers, particularly the Methodist and Baptist ministers. The reformers were almost exclusively members of the Protestant Church and usually were members of the more evangelical sects. The reformers who were members of the elite churches, such as the Episcopalian Church, were not normally active leaders of the movement, despite their high social position and prominent status in the community. 22

and Norfolk Growler, April 8, 1905, p. 4 tells of a low "Grog-shop" where relations between both sexes of both races take place and implies that these relations occur because of drink.

Robert A. Hohner, "Prohibition and Virginia Politics, 1901-1918" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1965), pp. 152-180. Hohner's study of the prohibitionist leaders, including 50 from Norfolk, re-affirms that the leaders were almost exclusively native born, white, Protestant, middle class people. The great majority were Baptists and Methodists with Presbyterians a poor third. A similar study, with a smaller sampling, made in the preparation of this paper merely confirms the conclusions of Hohner and others who performed similar sociological analysis of the prohibitionist leaders.

wes W. Bough, the Borfolk Anti-Baloon League leader, es a native born. Protestant with a middle class background. He began as a traveling salesman, became a partner in an investment firm, founded his own real estate company, and entered into manufacturing. He rose easily from the economic middle class to the upper class due to the numerous opportunities presented by the period of prosperous growth in Norfolk and the fluidity of the class structure. Norfolk did not have a large and well established social elite, such as existed in Richmond. The fluctuations in trade created new economic upper class families, but these families generally did not have a vast social ascendency. The fluid social structure, caused by the economic conditions, had helped to firmly establish the middle class in Norfolk as a large and powerful social class. The middle class was not greatly threatened by a new immigrant lower class. However, the mere existence of such a class coupled with the numerous Negro lower classes in Norfolk was considered to be a threat. The use of these two groups by political parties in the city government to stay in office despite inefficiency and corruption was a real threat to the Progressive reformers. 23

²³ Norfolk and Portsmouth Directory, 1910-1916. See also: G. Clifford Boocks, "Experiment in Municipal Reform: The Prohibition Party in Norfolk Politics, 1892-1896" (unpublished Master's thesis, Old Dominion College, 1967) for a

The role of the Megro and lower class white population in Morfolk in opposition to reform, and especially opposition to prohibition, made them the object of enmity from the reformers. The wards with a high percentage of Negro and lower class whites normally voted against reform and against prohibition. The attitude of the reformers toward the Negro varied. The Prohibition Party tried to court their votes by promising them more jobs on the city payroll, but did not allow Negroes to join the party. The WCTU gave evidence of a possible anti-Negro sentiment in their actions against the Brewer Street Saloons and within their own organization they displayed a typical, southern, Christian attitude by disdaining to integrate with the Negro women. The establishment of a separate organization for Megro women was only to be expected as any other action would have been radically liberal, if at all possible. Generally, the late nineteenth century activities of the WCTU among the Negroes seem to have been of the nature of patronizing humanitarianism; a virtuous giving of themselves to help those poor unfortunates who were unable to help themselves. This attitude, in the twentieth century, changed to one of allowing the Negroes to try to

discussion of the means used by the Democratic Party and the Prohibition Party to try to retain power in Norfolk by soliciting Negro patronage and other types of "Mahoneism."

help themselves without the white women becoming directly inwolved in their unique problems. 24

Strongly motivated by a social status struggle or a struggle to maintain control over the Megro population. Their motives were, more typically, the improvement of their fellow man, their society, and their city. They displayed a real Christian, humanitarian concern throughout their activities. Their humanitarian concern and the influence of Progressivism seem to have been the real motivating forces in the Norfolk temperance reform movement.

Blakely, The Sale of Liquor in the South, pp. 28-32. See Appendix XV for a breakdown of voting in Norfolk; and see the chapter on the WCTU for Negro programs and attitudes.

But Prohibition was more than a symbol -- it was a means by which the reforming energies of the country were transmuted into mere peevishness.

Richard Hofstadter The Age of Reform

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

undesirable conditions existing in the city. There was an overabundance of saloons, an excessive amount of drunkenness, and a high percentage of arrests for intoxication. There was an overabundance of houses of ill repute, an excessive amount of immoral behavior, and a high percentage of illegitimate births. The moral condition of the city was corrupted to a level considerably below the standard desired by the dominant southern Protestant Church causing a social and moral concern among the reformers.

The period was one of overall economic expansion and prosperity, but Norfolk had considerable poverty. The liquor trade in the city constituted a powerful economic interest group; an interest group of sufficient strength to have an influence on the city's political affairs. The liquor interest generally supported and influenced the municipal Democratic organization. This arrangement resulted in some apparent corruption in law enforcement and electioneering practices. This condition caused a humanitarian and political concern among the reformers.

people to become active in the temperance reform movement for a variety and a combination of reasons. These people then joined, or supported, the temperance organizations and became temperance reformers. Their activities varied from the social and humanitarian activities of the WCTU to the political activities of the Prohibition Party and the Anti-Saloon League.

The temperance reformers conducted a long range temperance education program. Largely through the efforts of the WCTU this program began to mold a public opinion favorable to temperance ideals. The successful passage of the Scientific Temperance Education Law in 1900 legalized and made requisite the teaching of temperance truths in the public schools of the state; a practice which had earlier been successfully instituted in Norfolk.

The formation of the Anti-Saloon League in 1901 gave the temperance reformers a powerful political arm to promote temperance by legal coercion. The successful series of laws beginning with the Mann Act of 1903, followed with the Byrd Act of 1908, and leading to the Enabling Act of 1914, resulted in statewide prohibition under the Mapp Act of 1916. The quick success of the prohibition forces was due to the

Climate of opinion created by temperance forces, such as the WCTU and the earlier temperance societies, and the prevalence of an electorate naturally predisposed to an attitude favorable to temperance. The organization and direction of the Anti-Saloen League capitalized on these attributes to coerce the state's conservative political machine to the support of prohibition.

The people who became active in the temperance reform movement were overwhelmingly native born, white, middle class Protestants. They were usually members of the more evangelical Protestant sects, predominantly Methodists and Baptists. The reformers in Norfolk differed from those in Virginia in a number of ways. The Norfolk temperance reformers were more inclined to be members of the upper middle class, while those throughout the state tended to be members of the lower middle class. This was most noticeable in the ranks of the WCTU leaders in Norfolk, as compared to those in the rest of the state.

Hohner's study of the Virginia prohibitionists concluded that they were fundamentally political opportunists who dis-

Robert A. Hohner, "Prohibition and Virginia Politics, 1901-1916" (an unpublished Doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1965), pp. 169-173, presents his sociological analysis of the Virginia prohibitionists and comments on their class status on a study obviously inspired by Gusfield's study in his Symbolic Crusade.

That the reverse was not true. As a matter of exminency, the Virginia Anti-Saloon League consistently mapported and courted the conservative Martin machine and the Progressive group. The Virginia prohibitionists, he inds, were one issue reformers who often saw temperance as panacea, a cure-all for the ills of society.

The Norfolk Anti-Saloon League showed its Progressive

mititude by refusing to support the candidate of the Virginia

muti-Saloon League and the conservative Democratic machine in

me 1917 Gubernatorial election campaign. Rather than

support J. Taylor Ellyson, the Lieutenant Governor who had

mast the deciding vote of the Enabling Act, the Norfolk Anti
maloon League backed John G. Pollard, the organizer and

leader of the Virginia Progressive Democratic League. In

midition to this support of a Progressive politician, the

musident of the Norfolk League, Mr. James W. Hough, was

active in promoting reform in the municipal courts, the

mulice department, and aided in the development of Norfolk

motestant Hospital. The Norfolk Anti-Saloon League, and its

leading member, demonstrated a progressive spirit quite unlike

²<u>Ibid</u>., pp. iii-v, 173-180.

the Virginia Anti-Saloon League.

with a keen interest in social and humanitarian reforms as well as political and municipal reforms. The large number of such reforms directly attributable to the temperance reform movement in Norfolk, especially those fostered by the Norfolk WCTU, clearly attest to the multi-reformer attitude of the Norfolk temperance reformers.

The social reforms of the WCTU in Norfolk were a real and lasting contribution to the growth and improvement of the city. The foundation of the Florence Crittenden Home established a needed charity institution for unwed mothers and served as a foundling home and an orphans' home. Retreat for the Sick and the acceptance of charity cases for care in the Florence Crittenden Home led to the foundation of the Protestant Hospital, which later became the Norfolk General Hospital. The Christian Boarding House for Working Girls answered the need for a reputable rooming house for the increasing number of young girls employed in the offices, stores and shops of the growing city. The need for the care of the children of working mothers was answered by the WCTU's Day Nursery which was later purchased by the city and is, today, the Norfolk Day Nursery. The advocacy by the WCTU of

forms on behalf of female prisoners and the insane was commendable. The advocacy of the separation of juvenile offenders from hardened adult criminals in the jails and the courts was a step toward modern criminological care. The educational reforms which established night schools and kindergartens, and supported the public schools and Sunday schools, were beneficial and progressive measures. The foundation of libraries, even if they did contain a preponderance of temperance literature for propaganda purposes, added to the educational and intellectual opportunities in the community. The value of the secondary reforms of the WCTU and the reforms themselves, have long outlasted the primary reform of prohibition. Whatever the intrinsic value of temperance may be, the temperance reform movement conducted by the WCTU was invaluable in promoting progress in the City of Norfolk.

The Norfolk reformers were not one issue reformers; they were strongly motivated by social and humanitarian concerns, and they supported social and humanitarian reforms. They were often Progressives, much more than the average Virginia temperance reformer. Beginning with the twentieth century, the Norfolk temperance reformers evinced a pronounced progressive spirit. The Norfolk reformers were, al-

Live Stan retaining rural ideals, urban, native born, waite middle class Protestants; the description generally attributed to the Progressives.

the results that the temperance movement obtained in Worfolk were quite different from those obtained throughout The Norfolk reformers succeeded on their own the state. initiative and under their own power in attaining numerous social, humanitarian and progressive reforms. They could not, on their own strength, succeed in swaying Norfolk into the "dry" area of the state. Elsewhere in Virginia, the temperance reformers easily succeeded in making their areas "dry," but did not attempt to achieve the other reforms sought in Norfolk. Indeed, the Norfolk reformers were so aware of their limited strength that they did not even attempt to seek a local option election, but took the realistic attitude that only a statewide referendum could succeed in forcing prohibition on Norfolk. It was only by the power of the rural areas of Virginia that the temperance reformers in Norfolk could reach their goal of prohibition.

The result of prohibition in Norfolk was a decrease in the crime rate and certainly a great reduction in drunkenness. No more was the city saturated with saloons and its streets walked by drunks. However, the lack of such es-

tablishments to provide a leisure time and recreational activity for the city's male population presented a new problem. The city was faced with a lack of recreational facilities at a time when its growth and the number of young unmarried males was increasing at a phenomenal rate due to the military construction expansion caused by the First World War.

The actual revenue lost to the city, with the end of liquor license fees, was not significant. The loss of business from the workers' recreational funds and the resulting shortage of recreational facilities did pose a problem. Without the saloon as a center for the working man to meet, hold discussions, meet women, and enjoy their leisure time, the men sought new centers to satisfy their social impulse. This led to an increase in immorality and corruption through houses of prostitution, gambling dens, speakeasys, and bootlegging.

An analysis of the success of the temperance reform movement leaves considerable doubt as to the wisdom and value of prohibition. The other reforms accomplished by the temperance groups as a collateral function of their organizations were of great benefit to the social conditions in Norfolk, and the progressive measures they instituted

the negatory results of prohibition, the overall results of temperance reform in Norfolk were sufficiently beneficial to make the temperance movement a worthwhile endeavor. At the very least, the temperance reform movement in Norfolk illustrates the differences which existed during the period between Norfolk and the remainder of Virginia, and provides an interesting study of the means that an organized pressure group can use to successfully influence public opinion and political affairs in a democratic society.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

SONS OF TEMPERANCE OFFICERS AND NORFOLK AREA DELEGATES

1859-1860

Alfred Beckley James Morgan Thomas Evans John Fregusson William Barnitz Samuel Staples Rev. W. W. Greene

1860-1861

Peterfield Trent
Arch. Alexander
Thomas Evans
John Fergusson
John F. Butt (Norfolk)
George Percival
Rev. Thomas Hume (Portsmouth)

Norfolk Delegates

N. S. Angel
George Grover
John F. Butt
S. T. Oliver
Charles H. Smith
William B. Audlett
William Bean
William Thomas

GWP

GWA

SCRIBE

TREASURER

CONDUCTOR

SENTINEL

CHAPLIN

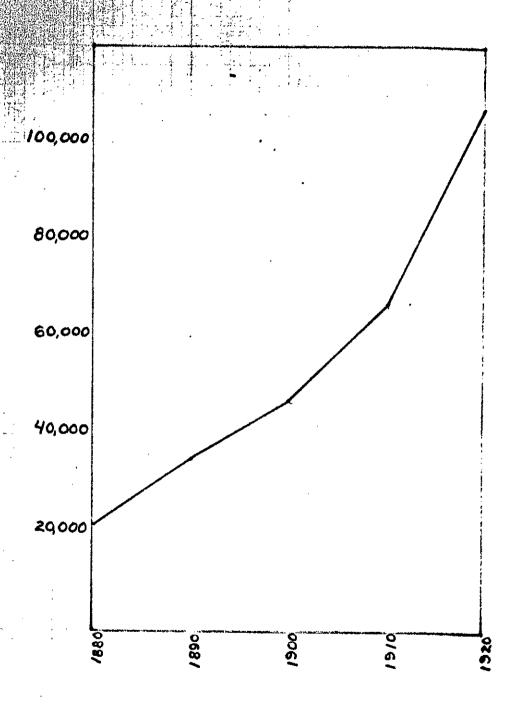
James Buchanan
A. J. Coffman
S. F. Snowden
B. K. Taylor
James Simmons
L. T. Jones
Benjamin Davis
William H. Murphy

Portsmouth Delegates

Rev. Thomas Hume
B. F. Rudd
B. M. Presson
H. E. Orr
W. H. Walters
A. C. Mathieson
Thomas George
T. J. Williams

William Wright
G. M. Bain
W. Oliver
T. Harding
William F. Whitehurst
R. G. Staples
William Gleason
William Richardson

POPULATION OF NORFOLK 1880-1916



APPENDIX III TABLE OF SALOONS AND LIQUOR LICENSES IN NOFROLK

Year	Estimated Population	Number of Saloons	Residents per Saloon	Retail Liquor Dealers	Whole- sale Dealers	Residents per License	Political Social Clubs	Comment's
1880	21966	39	563	13	5			
1882	25000	47	5 3 1	33	6	385 29 0		
1883	26000	67	388	28	7	25 4		
1885 1886	29000	69	420	24	6	29 2		
	30000	7 3	410	2 5	5	291		
1887	31000	62	500	30	6	318	_	
1888	32000	65	491	32	6	310	5	WCTU formed
1889	34000	7 2	535	23	5	340	5	Brambleton annexed
1890	34871	74	460	23	5		7	
1891	36000	79	452	20	6	332	8	Atlantic City annexed
1892	37000	80	463	34	5	342	9	
1893	38000	87	436	26	3	310	14	
1894	39000	98	398	25	3	327	. 16	- March Carlette Table
1895	41000	99	414	19	6	309	. 19 	Prohibition Party elected
1896	42000	88	477	18	6	330	17	
1897	43000	75	574	14	5	375 457	18 .	The state of the s
1898	44000	81	542	20	3	457	22	* ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** *
1899	45000	93	485	10	4	423	19	Spanish-American War
1900	46624	104	448	16	4	420	14	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
1901	49000	108	454	10	4	376	15	
1902	51000	122	418	10	6	401	16	Anti-Saloon League formed
L903	53000	129	411	13	9	418	20	Park Place annexed
1904	55000	99	555	14	7	350 450	19	Mann Act passed
L905	57000	102	559	16	8	4 58	16	
.906	59000	115	513	13	7	452	19	
.907	61000	144	423	15	5	436 382	18 17)	Berkeley annexed

(continued)

Year	Estimated Population	Number of Saloons	Residents per Saloon	Retail Liquor Dealers	Whole- sale Dealers	Residents per License	Political Social Clubs	Comments
1908	64000	178	360	15	6	320	17	Byrd Act passed
1909	66000	129	510	12	4	455	15	DYIC ACC PARRECT
1910	67624	124	54 5	12	4	484	16	the second secon
1911	71000	114	623	12	5	542	18	Ninth Ward annexed
1912	75000	116	645	11	6	5 63	21	MINCH WATO ANNEXSO
1913	79000	114	690	21	5	565	20	
1914	83000	116	715	18	7	588	22	Enabling Act passed
1915	87000	101	861	15	7	706	19	Enabling Act passed
1916	91000	88	1034	15	5	836		Chaba analist to Fig.
1917	94000	0		0	ō		10	State prohibition

The estimated population tables were compiled by the use of the <u>U.S. Census Reports interpolating</u> between the official censuses at the mean growth rate for the decade and are, therefore, subject to error, but error within a tolerable range.

The table for the number of saloons and other liquor licenses was taken from the Norfolk and Portsmouth Directory for the years in the table. The use of the Directories yields an inaccurate figure since some saloons were not listed, some listed did not operate, and no account is taken of hotel bars and restaurants serving drinks. However, the other possible source, the Corporation Court Order Books do not yield a more accurate figure since the licenses were occasionally granted and not used, some granted were revoked, and the accurate tabulation of these licenses is rendered extremely difficult and excessively time consuming by the organization of this record. These factors make their use inadvisable for the purpose of this paper.

All computations are made to only slide rule accuracy; however, the overall result is an accurate indication of the actual conditions.

CRIME IN NORFOLK

	1							CRI	ME IN	NORFO	DLK						The first of the state of the s
Year		Drunk	Dri Di	unk and sorderly	Rea	Drunk Bisting Crest	ı o	runk ther orms	Su. Dr	btotal unken	,	orals rrests	~ į	uor Vio- Lons**	by 1	aths Alco-	Comments
	W	C	W	С	W	С	W	С	W	· C	W	C	W		 		The state of the s
1880	1	198				·*	 		+		 "		 	C	W	C	
1881	L	629	2	285		83	1	148		•			1	1			ll houses ill fa
1882	1	025	2	294		46	'	89	1]]	.3		n Gally	32
1888		153	109	92	9	10	42	43	571	298	3	10			`	,	
1889	387	125	86	72	6	3	31	16	510	216	3	10 12			1	_	
1890	398	160	119	118	2	1	33	25	552	304	8	38	١.,		2	1	
1891	664	232	209	169	16	13	49	31	938	445	45	68	1		٠,	در	
1892	532	201	160	160	6	1	37	22	735	384	9	48	2			3	2 houses closed
1893	893	350	131	119	1		23	13	1047	482	25	28	33	A.c.	9		Liquor law viol
1894	629	312	77	131	7	8	21	18	734	469	12	148		45	4	_	tion for Sunday
	1296	570	21	22	14	4	30		1361	622	95	112	6 88	6 42	3	1	9 houses closed
1896		628	44	5 4	1.0	5			1518	E	122	1	126	1		5	80 houses close
	1250	ſ	228			112			1590	007	92	130	7	81	4	1	83 houses close
1898	488	493	94	117	13	23			595	633	15	87	· 5	3	3	6	6 houses close
1899	971	538	83	137	21	28	6	9	1081	712	38	72	6	3	4 2	1	8 houses close
	1257	603	76	124	14	12			1347	739	37	66	11	2	5	2	
	1354	557	119	110	20	13			1493	680	5 3	90	7	4	11	1 5	
902		ĺ				1							•	7	7.7	3	•
1903					1	1]		Ì				- 1	
904		1						1		j				1		1	
.905					ĺ							ł				- 1	
.906	2002	500						1		}						- 1	,
907	2092	687						- 1		İ							
909	1105	4	۰					-		ĺ				- [- 1	
910	1133	524	95	138	4	2		:	1234	664	59	105	7	16			
911																l	
912										-						1	
913				1				1									
914										- 1							0 H
915		-						l		1		1					Č

Crime in Norfolk (continued)

In Summation

	Estimated	Sub !	Total of	Total	Arrests Per	Total Arrests	Drunk	Per Cent
Year	Population	Ar	rests	Arrests	1000	for	Arrests	Arrests
		W	С		Population	Drunkenness	per 1000	for Drunks
1880	21,966	630	831	1461	63	198	9	716.0
1881	23,000	1346	1163	2 509	108	1145	49	40.5
1882	25,000		}	3024	120	1450	58	47.5
1888	32,000	1093	1422	2 515	78	869	27	34.5
1889	34,000	988	1552	2540	75	726	21	35.0
1890	34,871	1031	1610	2641	76	85 6	25	30.9
1891	36,000	1628	2220	3848	101	1383	38	27.8
1892	37,000	1367	2116	3483	94	1119	32	32.0
1893	38,000	1967	2613	4580	111	1529	40	33.4
1894	39,000	1528	2590	4118	107	1203	31	29.2
1895	41,000	2917	3251	6168	150	1983	48	32.2
1896	42,000	3210	3905	7115	169	2205	53	31.0
1897	43,000		1	5491	128	1590	37	29.1
1898	44,000	1606	4224	5830	132	1228	28	21.0
1899	45,000	2677	4716	7393	164	1793	40	24.3
1900	46,624	2778	4331	7109	152	2086	45	29.4
1901	49,000	3358	4518	7876	160	2173	44	27.6
1902	51,000							
1903	53,000				 		ĺ	
1904	55,000		ļ					
1905	57,000		1					
1906	59,000		}					
1907	61,000	6315	5910	12225	200	2779		22.6***
1908	64,000						Ì	
1909	66,000	3831	5 6 00	10431	158	1898	29	18.1
1910	67,624		}				ļ	
1911	71,000							
1912	75,000		İ				ļ	
1913	79,000		ļ		l		j	•
				(cont:	inued)	1	1	j
								A T T
							1	•

Year	Estimated Population	otal of ests	Total Arrests	Arrests Per 1000 Population	for	Arresta	Per Cent Arrests
1914	83,000						for Drunks
1915	87,000	ļ			,		
1916	91,000				* A	12434	22.0
1917	95,000						
							A 100 10 100

^{*}Morals Arrests include Adultery, Rape, Fornication, Illegal Cohabitation, Indecent Exposure, Lewd Behavior, Street Walking, Insulting Ladies, Prostitution, Operating a House of Ill Fame, and Seduction.

^{**}Liquor Law Violations were for Selling to Minors, Selling on Sunday, Violation of Curfew, Selling Without a License.

^{***}Only partial figures for drunkenness.

Motes on Appendices V-VIII

Appendix y

- rise with stagnation or regression after each legislative advance. Probably this was due to a feeling of complacent satisfaction with the advance and an increase in the "dry" area of the state which detracted from the urgency of the movement in these areas.
- 2. No total membership figures for the early years were located, but a decreasing slope to the graph as it approaches an origin at 1882 can safely be assumed.

Appendix VI

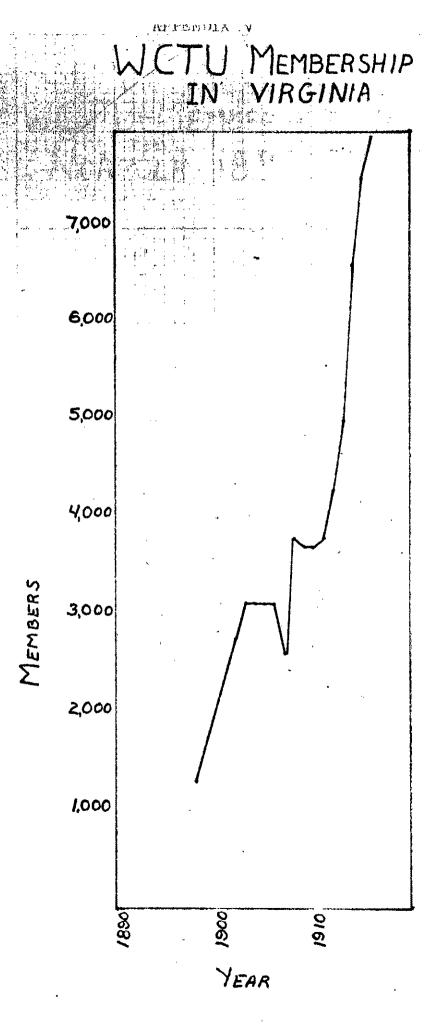
- 1. Norfolk Union membership no doubt constituted a larger percentage of the statewide membership in the period from 1888-1894, perhaps even approaching 50%.
- 2. Norfolk Union membership shows the opposite reaction to legislative advances than the state membership. The Norfolk membership rose after each legislative advance, perhaps because these steps raised their hopes of curtailing the liquor traffic in Norfolk under the new laws, only to have their hopes frustrated after a few years. This is reflected in the subsequent decrease in membership.

Appendix VII

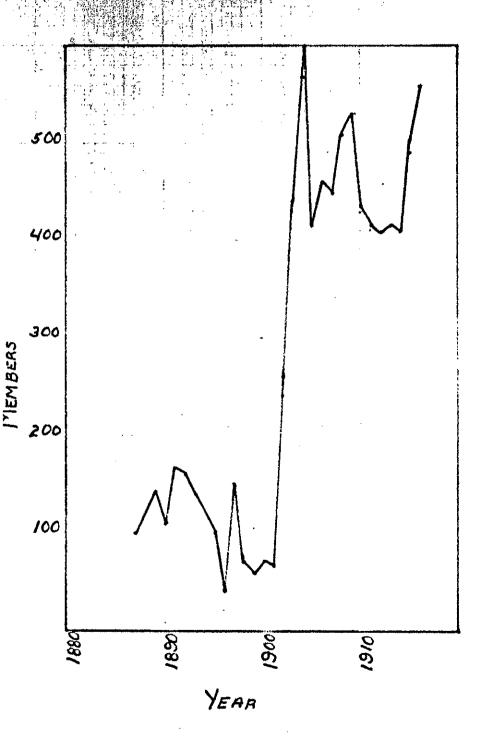
1. Norfolk expenditures were always a large and disproportionate percentage of statewide expenditures. This is due largely to the extensive program of social reform and charity work which the Norfolk unions conducted.

Appendix VIII

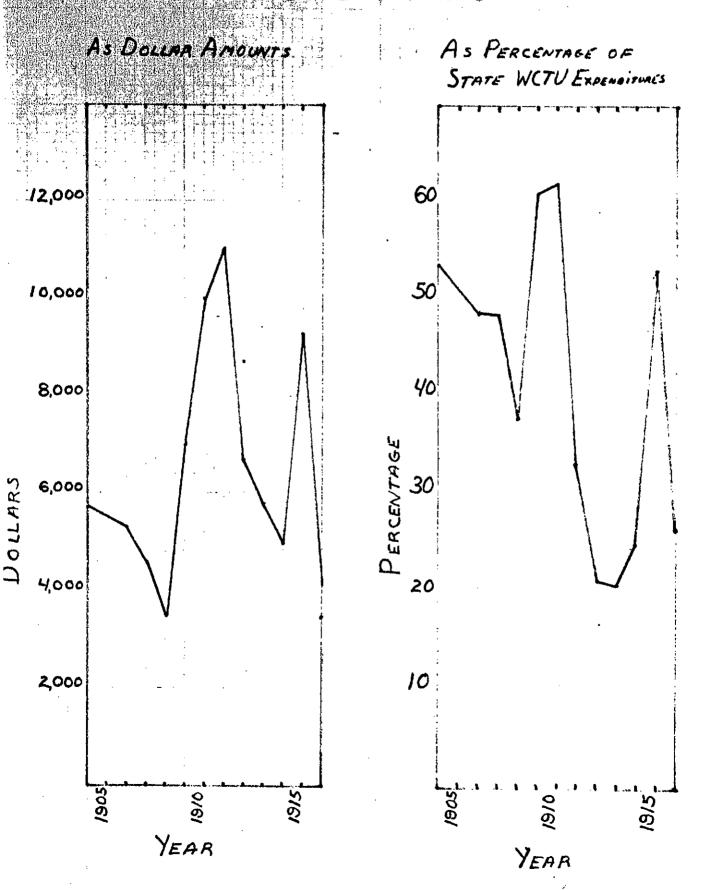
1. The very gradual beginning and the rapid acceleration after the legislative restrictions were passed seems to indicate that the churches were conservative institutions slow to adopt reform measures. They did not seem to support the temperance cause on principle, but rather preferred to wait until the popularity of temperance and the passage of laws forced them to reform.



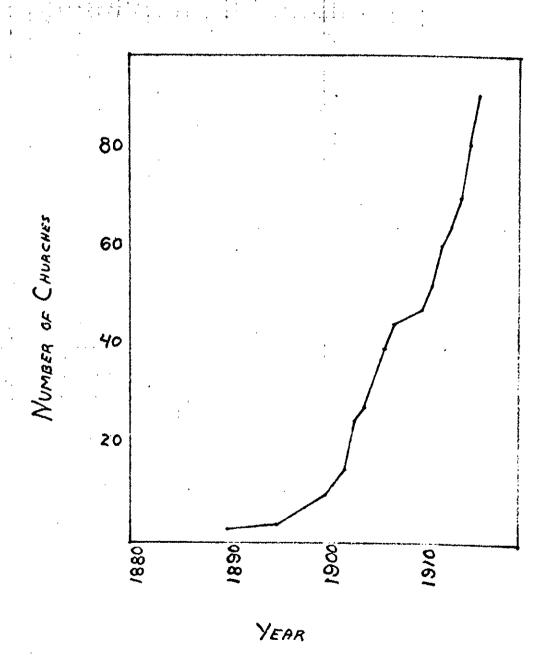
WCTU MEMBERSHIP IN NORFOLK 1887-1916



NORFOLK WCTU EXPENDITURES



NORFOLK CHURCHES USING UNFERMENTED WINE



Notes on Appendix IX

- decline after Mrs. Jones resigned from the presidency. The marked decline in power after the reorganization of the state WCTU can be seen in the number of officers and their positions from 1902 to 1916.
- 2. Note the way that the addresses of the officers reflect the gradual dispersion of members outward from the center of the city as the city grew. For example: Mrs. Jones moved from 130 Granby Street, to 216 Granby Street, to Cape Henry, then back to 229 York Street. Mrs. Mary Webb moved from 122 Duke Street, to Central Avenue, and finally to Ocean View. This gradual shift to the edge of the city and to the suburbs is generally a sign of middle class status.

APPENDIX IX

STATE WCTU OFFICERS FROM NORFOLK

1888

President: Mrs. Richard H. Jones, 130 Granby St., Norfolk Superintendents of Departments: 18 departments varied yearly Evangelistic: Mrs. E. O. Scott, Norfolk Soldiers and Sailors Work: Mrs. James W. Gilmer, Mariner St. Sabbath Observance: Mrs. James Armstrong, Norfolk

Note: The title Mrs. will not be used in the remainder of this Appendix; it can be assumed, and other titles will be indicated. The addresses are provided when known and are given when any change occurs to indicate distribution throughout the city and the general pattern of relocations with city expansion and growth.

1889

President: R. H. Jones Vice President, Norfolk County: E. A. Hallett Evangelical and Sabbath Work: E. A. Scott Soldiers, Sailors, and Railroad Workers: Augusta C. Miley

1890

President: R. H. Jones Vice President, Norfolk County: E. A. Hallett Evangelical Work: E. O. Scott

1891

President: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: W. E. Thompson, 30 Park Ave.,

East Norfolk
Vice President Princess Apre Co.

Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller, Thalia, Princess Anne

Evangelical Work: E. O. Scott
Sunday School Work: August C. Miley, 9 Resevoir Ave., Norfolk
Literature: Wm. D. Southall, 32 Park Ave., East Norfolk
Juvenile Work: J. Hamilton Wemple, Portsmouth
Promotion of Social Purity: Mary E. Webb, 174 Bank St., Norfolk

President: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: August C. Miley
Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller
Literature: Wm. D. Southall
Parlor Meetings: R. Y. Zachary, 21 Duke Street, Norfolk
Social Purity: Mary E. Webb
Unfermented Wine: W. E. Thompson
Influencing Physicians: Wm. H. Osborne, Berkeley

1893

President: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: A. C. Miley
Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller
Temperance Literature: Wm. E. Southall
Purity: Mary E. Webb
Parlor Meetings: R. Y. Zachary
Unfermented Wine: Wm. E. Thompson
Business Manager, Virginia Call: A. C. Miley

1894

President: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: A. C. Miley
Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller
Temperance Literature: Wm. D. Southall
Unfermented Wine: Wm. E. Thompson
Homes for Homeless Children: R. H. Jones
Soldiers and Sailors: R. Y. Zachary
Purity: Mary E. Webb
Business Manager, Virginia Call: A. C. Miley

1895

President: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: A. C. Miley
Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller
Temperance Literature: Wm. D. Southall
Unfermented Wine: Wm. E. Thompson
Homes for Homeless Children: R. H. Jones
Purity: Mary E. Webb
Business Manager, Virginia Call: A. C. Miley

President: R. H. Jones, 216 Granby Street, Norfolk
Vice President, Worfolk County: A. C. Miley, 126 Bank Street,
Norfolk

Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller Sunday School Work: Wm. D. Southall The Press: Malinda Cleaver Faville, 6th Ward, Norfolk Unfermented Wine: Wm. E. Thompson Purtiy: Mary E. Webb

1897

President: R. H. Jones Vice President, Norfolk County: A. C. Miley Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller

Note: There were no Superintendents of Department listed; however, judging from the following year there was probably very little change in 1897.

1898

Recording Secretary: Wm. D. Southall, 32 Park Ave., E. Norfolk Vice President Honorary: R. H. Jones Vice President, Norfolk County: A. C. Miley Vice President, Princess Anne County: Fannie Miller Sunday School Work: Wm. D. Southall The Press: Wm. Freemason, 301 Charlotte St., Norfolk Purity: Mary E. Webb Legislation and Petitions: R. H. Jones

1899

Recording Secretary: Wm. D. Southall
Vice President at Large: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: A. C. Miley, Mays Ave., Ghent
Vice President, Princess Anne County: S. K. Odell, Bayside
Temperance Literature: Miss Mamie Ewell, Norfolk
Homes for Homeless Children: G. M. Thompason
Legislation and Petitions: R. H. Jones

Corresponding Secretary: W. J. Shepherd, Mary's Ave., Norfolk Vice President at Large: R. H. Jones Vice President, Norfolk County: F. Hayes Temperance Literature: Miss Mamie Ewell Homes for Homeless Children: G. M. Thompson, 200 N. Park Ave. Purity: Mary E. Webb, 122 Duke St. Legislation and Petitions: R. H. Jones

1901

Corresponding Secretary: Lillian A. Shepherd, 403 Fairfax Ave. Recording Secretary: Wm. D. Southall, 200 N. Park Ave. Vice President at Large: R. H. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: F. Hayes
Temperance Literature: Miss Lena James, Debree Ave., Norfolk
Purity: Mary E. Webb
Legislation and Petitions: R. H. Jones

1902

Corresponding Secretary: Lillian A. Shepherd Vice President at Large: R. H. Jones Vice President, Norfolk County: Fannie Hayes Colored People: Fannie Hayes, 146 Charlotte St. Purity: Mary E. Webb Legislation and Petitions: R. H. Jones

1903

Corresponding Secretary: Lillian A. Shepherd, 135 York St. Vice President at Large, Norfolk and Princess Anne County:

R.H. Jones
Colored People: Fannie Hayes, 440 Bute St.

Temperance Literature: Wm. Freeman, 305 Charlotte St. Open Air Meetings: W. D. Southall, Cape Henry Legislation and Petitions: S. A. Jones, Cape Henry

1904

Corresponding Secretary: Lillian A. Shepherd, 199 York St. Vice President at Large, Norfolk and Princess Anne County:
R.H. Jones

Temperance Literature: Wm. Freeman Legislation and Petitions: S. A. Jones, 229 York St.

Corresponding Secretary: Lillian A. Shapherd Vice President at Large, Norfolk and Princess Anne County: R.H.Jones

Temperance Literature: Wm. Freeman

Press: Ada Hough, Berkeley

Open Air Meetings: Wm. Southall

1906

Corresponding Secretary: L. A. Shepherd

Vice President at Large, Norfolk and Princess Anne County:

S.A. Jones

Evangelism: Ada Hough
Purity: Mary Webb

Legislation and Petitions: S. A. Jones

1907

Corresponding Secretary: L. A. Shepherd

Vice President at Large, Norfolk and Princess Anne County:

R.H. Jones

Moral Education: Mary E. Webb, Central Ave. Legislamon and Petitions: R. H. Jones

1908

Corresponding Secretary: Lillian A. Shepherd
Vice President at Large, Honorary: Susan A. Jones
Vice President Morfolk County: Hugh Simpkins, Lamberts Point

1909

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd

Vice Propert, Honorary: S. A. Jones

Vice ____ Norfolk County: Hugh Simpkins

Purities Mary Webb

Organ Mary L. Newton

1910

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd

Vice Monorary: S. A. Jones

Vice Morfolk County: Hugh Simpkins

Purity Webb

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd Vice President, Honorary: S. A. Jones
Vice President, Norfolk County: Hugh Simpkins
Purity: Mary Webb

1912

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd Vice President, Norfolk County: Hugh Simpkins Purity: Mary Webb

1913

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd Vice President, Norfolk County: Hugh Simpkins, West 27th St. Purity: Mary Webb

1914

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd, 605 Western Ave.

Vice President, Norfolk: Hugh Simpkins

Purity: Mary Webb

1915

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd Vice President, Norfolk and Princess Anne County: Hugh Simpkins Purity: Mary Webb, Ocean View

1916

Corresponding Secretary and Vice President at Large: L. A. Shepherd Vice President, Norfolk and Princess Anne County: Hugh Simpkins Purity: Mary Webb

APPENDIX X

OFFICERS OF NORFOLK AREA WCTUS

Year	Pres.	Corr. Sec.	Treas.
	Nor	Folk Union	-
1887	C.M. Scott	R.H. Jones	Virginia Nock
1888	11	Ħ	L.B. White
1889	Eliza O. Scott	Kenton C. Murray	11
1890	11	")
	Mary E. Webb	Luther Sheldon	n .
1892	Ħ	S.J. Fosque	Kelsoe
	E.T. Ivey	Mary Powers	Ella Charles
	J.H. Wemple (Ports.)	M.A. Bradbury	F.C. Francis
1895	11	н ,	11
1896 1897	R.H. Jones	Cora Wemple (J.H.)	Florence Francis(F.C.)
1898	11	Miss Lena Shepherd	M4114 T 01 1
1899	н	man neur puebuero	William J. Shepherd
1900	H	****	Lillian A. Shepherd (W.J.)
1901	**	Kenneth R. Gallup	11
1901	п		John W. Crider
1903	11	11	Lillian Shepherd
1904	u		Fannie Hayes
1905	51	11	"
	S.A. Jones (R.H.)	Robert W. Webb	
1907	"	" MEDD	Miss Lena Shepherd
1908	, tı	11	u
1909	Robert Webb	Thomas H. Webb	n
1910	\$1	"	11
1911	11	n	
1912	11	11	n ·
1913	n	tt	li .
1914	ii .	Charles Metz	Lena Baxter(Shepherd)
1915	*1	11	"
1916	John T. Steele	Mary Thompson	Leme Butes
		yside Union	") 1
1891	L.T. Mason	Fannie Miller	J.L. Babcock
	S.K. Odell	11	U.L. Babcock
1893	n .	44	II .
1894	85	ts	
1895	п	bi .	11
1896	S.F. Reese	S.K. Odell	11

Year	Pres.	Corr. Sec.	Treas.
	Gilme	ton Union	,
1908	J.Y. Buckman	F. Patrick	J.P. Krouse
	Portsn	outh Union	
1887	Thomas J. Barlow	Wm. B. Wilder	
Д.			
	S.T. Whitcomb	A. Brinkley	M.E. Saunders
1892	Wm. T. Lame	6\$	le .
1902	Mallowy A Moomo	YY Y.7 - Yo - 3- 3 -	- • • • • •
1902		H.W. Robie	Robert E. Glover
1904		14	
1905		H -	**
1906		Mamie Diggs	11
1907	tí	u	H
1908	ti	Fletcher Caine	#
	Saunders Memoria	l (Portsmouth) Union	
1914	M.A. Moore	R.A. Rosser	R.E. Glover
1915		11	u Grover
1916	Hannah Porter	J.W. Longacker	Albert Epps
	<u>Be</u> rke	ley Union	
1891	Orin S. Baker	L.V. Hawkins	Orin S. Baker
1892	26	E.F. Truitt	Mary E. Lindsay
1893	Wm. H. Osborn	O.S. Baker	n nary no namesay
1894	#1	n	ti
1895	н	11	11
1896	O.S. Baker	Andrew J. Callis	Eva West
1897	H	Ħ	18
	Ernest West	Jonas West	A.L. Hough (C.F.)
	C.F. Hough	David A. Graves	George Simpson
1900	11	H	11
1901	Ada Hough (C.F.)	"	Daisy McGeher
1902		George Jones	David A. Graves
1904	SE	Wm. F. White	11 11
1905	11	11	
	David A. Graves	31	E.A. West
1907	11 024400	84	E.A. West
1908	11	#	11
1909	11	Hendron	Isaac T. Bell
			
1914	u	Isaac T. Bell	Wm. Godwin
1 9 15	11	18	81
1916	11	Emert J. West	H.

Park View Union 1903 M.F. Porter	Year	Pres.	Corr. Sec.	Treas.
1903 M.F. Porter H. Bromley L. W. Williams 1914 Holland J. Ballard L.M. Harrell 1915 "B.T. Lawrence Walter T. Maynard Brambleton Union 1892 George E. Watson Abram Moses John W. Baylor 1894 """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	**	Par		
## B.T. Lawrence Walter T. Maynard	1903			L. W. Williams
### Brambleton Union 1892 George E. Watson Abram Moses John W. Baylor 1893	1914 1915	Holland J. Ballard		L.M. Harrell
1892 George E. Watson Abram Moses John W. Baylor 1893 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1916	et .		Walter T. Maynard
1893		Bra	mbleton Union	·
1893 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		George E. Watson	Abram Moses	John W Raylow
1895 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		31		" Bayror
1896 G.M. Thompson		11	ti .	II.
1897 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			n ,	45
1897 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1896	G.M. Thompson	11	C.D. Coke
1899			ti .	
1899			W.A. Howard	G. Watson
1900		II.	J.K. Hopkins	
1902		11	-	
1903		II .	Abram Moses	H
1904 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	_	н	11	21
1905	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		H	11
1906 J.Littleton Smith " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			Ħ	н
1907 James E. Lakes Kate Brown " 1908 " " " " 1914 C.Roberta Drury Augusta B. Dobbs Joanna Gourly 1915 " " " " " 1916 Miss Berta Drury " " " 1916 Miss Berta Drury " " " 1891 C.H.Hostetter R.J. White Miss Clara Ewell 1892 " S.J. Paine " " M. Lee 1893 P.D. Richards " " M. Lee 1894 " " M. Lee 1895 " " M. Lee 1896 S.J. Paine Malinda C. Faville Annie A. Barnes 1897 " " " Annie A. Barnes 1898 Miss Carrie Lambert S.J. Paine " " 1899 Miss Carrie Lambert S.J. Paine " " 1890 S.J. Paine A.J. Makinson Amanda Wolcott 1902 " Walter Thornton "			31	# 1
1908 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			H	11
1914 C.Roberta Drury Augusta B. Dobbs Joanna Gourly 1915 " " " 1916 Miss Berta Drury " " Atlantic City Union 1891 C.H.Hostetter R.J. White Miss Clara Ewell 1892 " S.J. Paine " 1893 P.D. Richards " " 1894 " " M. Lee 1895 " " M. Lee 1895 " " " Annie A. Barnes 1897 " " " 1898 Miss Carrie Lambert S.J. Paine " 1899 " " " 1900 " " " " 1901 S.J. Paine A.J. Makinson Amanda Wolcott 1902 " Walter Thornton "		James E. Lakes	Kate Brown	, n
Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Miss Clara Ewell S.J. Paine M. Lee M. Lee Malinda C. Faville Malinda C. Fav	19 08	19	e.	n
Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Atlantic City Union Miss Clara Ewell S.J. Paine M. Lee M. Lee Malinda C. Faville Malinda C. Fav	1914	C.Roberta Drury	Augusta B. Dobbs	Joanna Gourly
Atlantic City Union 1891 C.H.Hostetter R.J. White Miss Clara Ewell 1892 "S.J. Paine " 1893 P.D. Richards "M. Lee 1895 " M. Lee 1895 " Malinda C. Faville Annie A. Barnes 1896 S.J. Paine Malinda C. Faville " 1898 Miss Carrie Lambert S.J. Paine " 1899 " " 1900 " " " 1901 S.J. Paine A.J. Makinson Amanda Wolcott 1902 "Walter Thornton "	1912	••	11	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
1891 C.H.Hostetter 1892	1916 1	Miss Berta Drury	u	14
S.J. Paine S.J. Paine S.J. Paine M. Lee M. Lee Malinda C. Faville Mannie A. Barnes			tic City Union	
S.J. Paine		_ ·· +-	R.J. White	Miss Clara Ewell
1894 " " M. Lee 1895 " " " Annie A. Barnes 1896 S.J. Paine Malinda C. Faville Annie A. Barnes 1898 Miss Carrie Lambert S.J. Paine " " 1899 " " " " " 1900 " " " " " 1901 S.J. Paine A.J. Makinson Amanda Wolcott 1902 " Walter Thornton "	·		S.J. Paine	
M. Lee 1895 " " " Annie A. Barnes 1897 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			ft	91
1895 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			tr	M. Lee
1897 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			II .	
1898 Miss Carrie Lambert S.J. Paine " 1899 " " " 1900 " " " " 1901 S.J. Paine A.J. Makinson Amanda Wolcott 1902 " Walter Thornton "			Malinda C. Faville	Annie A. Barnes
.900 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "				
.900 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1898 N		S.J. Paine	11
.901 S.J. Paine A.J. Makinson Amanda Wolcott .902 " Walter Thornton "			11	n
.902 " Walter Thornton "			67	11
.902 " Walter Thornton "			A.J. Makinson	Amanda Wolcott
903 Procton Adams	L 9 02			
	1903 P	reston Adams	н	II .

1904 Walter Thornton George C. Faville Amanda Wolcott 1905 Preston Adams " 1906 A.J. Makinson " 1908 " " " 1909 Miss Carrie Lambert Preston Adams Nancy Thornton 1914 " S.B. Gildea " 1915 " " W.T. Hopkins Scottsville Union 1903 George Bunston Gertrude Bohannan Harry Furiall Churchland Union 1908 M.F. Hayes Julia Mackie J.E. Ames Lamberts Point Union	Year Pres.	Corr. sec.	Treas.
1905			
1907	•	Preston Adams	
1908		51	H
1909 Miss Carrie Lambert Preston Adams 1914	— — - ·		#1
1914 " S.B. Gildea " " W.T. Hopkins 1916		· ·	Ħ
1915	1909 Miss Carrie Lamber	Preston Adams	Nancy Thornton
1916		S.B. Gildea	18
Scottsville Union 1903 George Bunston Gertrude Böhannan Harry Furiall Churchland Union 1908 M.F. Hayes Julia Mackie J.E. Ames Lamberts Point Union 1896 C.W. Lumpkin Miss Anne Pool Miss Anna Friend 1902 Maggie A. Minter James E. Lakes M.E. Jones 1903 " " " " Maggie Minter 1904 James E. Lakes Robert Webb A.J. Belcher 1905 Della Jones Julia Jenkins Maggie Minter 1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	-	**	ži.
Churchland Union	1916 "	83	W.T. Hopkins
Churchland Union 1908 M.F. Hayes			
1908 M.F. Hayes	1903 George Bunston	Gertrude Bohannan	Harry Furiall
Lamberts Point Union 1896 C.W. Lumpkin Miss Anne Pool Miss Anna Friend 1902 Maggie A. Minter James E. Lakes M.E. Jones 1903 " " " Maggie M.E. Jones 1904 James E. Lakes Robert Webb A.J. Belcher 1905 Delia Jones Julia Jenkins Maggie Minter 1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	<u>Chu</u>	rchland Union	
1896 C.W. Lumpkin Miss Anne Pool Miss Anna Friend 1902 Maggie A. Minter James E. Lakes M.E. Jones 1903 " " " " Maggie Minter 1904 James E. Lakes Robert Webb A.J. Belcher 1905 Delia Jones Julia Jenkins Maggie Minter 1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " Rice Cooper 1908 " " " Susan Jones Union 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1908 M.F. Hayes	Julia Mackie	J.E. Ames
1902 Maggie A. Minter James E. Lakes M.E. Jones 1903 " " " " " " Maggie M.E. Jones 1904 James E. Lakes Robert Webb A.J. Belcher 1905 Delia Jones Julia Jenkins Maggie Minter 1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Lambe	rts Point Union	
1903	1896 C.W. Lumpkin	Miss Anne Pool	Miss Anna Friend
1904 James E. Lakes Robert Webb A.J. Belcher 1905 Delia Jones Julia Jenkins Maggie Minter 1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " Rice Cooper 1908 " " " " Rice Cooper 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell(Miss) " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		James E. Lakes	M.E. Jones
1905 Delia Jones Julia Jenkins Maggie Minter 1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " " Rice Cooper 1908 " " " " Susan Jones Union 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		H	21
1906 Hugh Simpkins J.O. Lanier C. Keister 1907 " Rice Cooper 1908 " " " Susan Jones Union 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " Ella Whitehurst			A.J. Belcher
1907 1908 " " Susan Jones Union 1914 Rice Cooper 1915 " " 1916 John Lambert Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell(Miss) South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley 1914 W.F. Harris 1915 " 1916 P.E. Hobbs Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst " " Susan Jones Union " ARice Cooper " Rice Cooper Rice Cooper Norgan Fany Sawyer Amy Sawyer E.C. Hamburg V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst			Maggie Minter
Susan Jones Union 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " " 1916 P.E. Hobbs " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			C. Keister
Susan Jones Union 1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " " 1916 P.E. Hobbs " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " Ella Whitehurst			Rice Cooper
1914 Rice Cooper Mary E. Jones John Organ 1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			H
1915 " " Amy Sawyer Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " " South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " Ella Whitehurst		an Jones Union	
Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris """ 1915 """ 1916 P.E. Hobbs """ Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass """ E.E. Redfern Amy Sawyer "" "" "" "" Amy Sawyer "" "" "" "" "" "" South Norfolk Union "" E.C. Hamburg Nita Kella "" V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "		Mary E. Jones	John Organ
Port Norfolk Union 1900 Lola Stowell (Miss) " " South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		n	\$1
South Norfolk Union South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1916 John Lambert	E.E. Redfern	Amy Sawyer
South Norfolk Union 1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " Ella Whitehurst	Port	Norfolk Union	
1903 Fannie Hayes O.J. Meginley E.C. Hamburg 1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " Ella Whitehurst	1900 Lola Stowell (Miss)	31	lt .
1914 W.F. Harris Z.R. Jernigan Nita Kella 1915 " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " "	South	Norfolk Union	
1915 " " " V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst "" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1903 Fannie Hayes	O.J. Meginley	E.C. Hamburg
1916 P.E. Hobbs "V.W. Smith Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " "		Z.R. Jernigan	Nita Kella
Pleasant Grove Union 1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst 1908 " " " "			
1907 Mattie Cooper Sarah Cass Ella Whitehurst			V.W. Smith
1908 " " "			
1916 J.C. Davis Miss Mary Tones "			Ella Whitehurst
	1916 J.C. Davis	Miss Mary Jones	11

Corr. Sec.	Treas.
k County, Tanner Creek)	Union
199 Aug. 1	S.B. Ferratt
	1)
n.G. Cromwell	**
	31
eep Creek Union	
Ida Culpepper	O.C. Kidder
Miss Blanche Culpepp	er Anna Costine
Oceana Union	
Fannie Brock	George Parker
ess Women's Union	
Lillian A. Shepherd	A.F. Black
W.H. Culpenner	.
" Carpepper	Besse Morgan
L.W. Martin	L. Spekter
mount Park Union	
E.W. Edwards	Ada Johnston
11	n cointa foll
C.W. Keeton	O .
olk County Union	
k) Miss Carrie Persons	Lillian A. Shepherd
11	(Norfolk)
Eva West (Berkelev)	Ada Hough (Berkeley)
li li	19
н	n
## **	Eva Steele(Norfolk)
**	Ada Hough (Berkeley)
si .	_
G.C. Faudlia/a41	David A. Graves (Berkeley)
City)	
Eva West (Berkelev)	n
"	n
11	11
	Miss Blanche Culpepp Oceana Union Fannie Brock ess Women's Union Lillian A. Shepherd tage Place Union W.H. Culpepper " L.W. Martin mount Park Union E.W. Edwards " C.W. Keeton olk County Union k) Miss Carrie Persons " Eva West (Berkeley) " " G.C. Faville (Atlantic City) Eva West (Berkeley) "

APPENDIX XI

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE EDUCATION LAW

January 24, 1900. Chapter 132. Re-enact section 1497 of the Code of Virginia.

1. Be it enacted by the general assembly of Virginia, that section fourteen hundred and ninety-seven of the Code of Virginia, prescribing the subjects to be taught in the Public free schools in the state, be amended and re-enacted so as to read as follows:

1497. What to be taught in the schools. -- In every free public school shall be taught orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, physiology and hygiene, history of the United States, and history of Virginia. In the teaching of physiology and hygiene approved text-books shall be used, plainly setting forth the effects of alcohol and other narcotics on the human system, and such effects shall be as fully and thoroughly taught as other branches of said last named subjects. No other subjects than those specified in this section shall be introduced except as allowed by special regulations to be devised by the board of education; but the superintendent of public instruction is hereby authorized to make arrangements for the gradual introduction of civil government and drawing.

2. This act shall be in force from its passage.

Underlining is my own. Reference is: Acts of Assembly, Virginia, 1900, pp. 133-134.

APPENDIX XII

OFFICERS OF THE NORFOLK WOMAN'S CLUB

· Otto Alleria	1907	1000
President:	Miss Virginia Gatewood	<u>1908</u> Miss Virginia Gatewood
lst VP:	Mrs. James R. Hubard	Mrs. James R. Hubard
	Mrs. Willoughby T. Cooke	
	Mrs. J. Ernest Thacker	Mrs. Inman Payne Mrs. J. D. Neugebauer
·	Mrs. Henery B. Reardon	Miss Nannie Smith
Treasurer:	Mrs. S. T. Dickinson	Mrs. Charles G. Elliot
	1909	1910
President:	Mrs. Charles G. Elliot	Miss Leta Serpell
lst VP:	Mrs. Henry N. Castle	Mrs. L. W. T. Waller
2nd VP:	Mrs. L. W. T. Waller	Mrs. W. W. Old
Rec. Sec.:	Mrs. Nimmo Old	Miss Clara Bagley
Corr. Sec.:	Mrs. W. J. Adams	Miss Virginia Old
Treasurer:	Mrs. J. Leland Boush	Mrs. Charles Wales
	1911	1912
President:	Miss Virginia Gatewood	Miss Virginia Gatewood
lst VP:	Mrs. E. B. Hodges	Mrs. H. N. Castle
2nd VP:	Mrs. W. W. Old	Mrs. W. W. Old
Rec. Sec.:	Miss Clara Bagley	Miss Clara Bagley
Corr. Sec.:	Miss Virginia Old	Mrs. R. A. Saunders
Treasurer:	Miss Evelyn Nimmo	Miss Roberta L. Martin
	<u> 1913</u>	1914
President:	Miss Virginia Gatewood	Miss Virginia Gatewood
lst VP:	Mrs. H. St. George Tucker	Mrs. R. A. Robinson
	Mrs. H. N. Castle	Mrs. E. B. Hodges
	Miss Clara Bagley	Miss Clara Bagley
Corr. Sec.:	Mrs. R. A. Saunders	Mrs. R. A. Saunders
Treasurer:	Miss Roberta L. Martin	Miss Roberta L. Martin
	<u>1915</u>	<u> 1916</u>
President:	Miss Virginia Gatewood	Miss Leta Serpell
lst VP:	Mrs. R. A. Robinson	Miss Clara Bagley
2nd VP:	Mrs. E. B. Hodges	Mrs. W. W. Old
	Miss Clara Bagley	Mrs. Lewis White
	Mrs. R. A. Saunders	Miss Donald
Treasurer:	Miss Roberta L. Martin	Mrs. W. H. Terry

EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF VIRGINIA (MORFOLK BRANCH)

1912 1913

President: Mrs. Pauline Adams
Rec. Sec.: Miss Sadie Sandridge
Mrs. Pauline Adams
Mrs. Pauline Adams
Mrs. Sadie Sandridge

Corr. Sec.: Treasurer:

<u>1914</u> <u>1</u>915

President: Mrs. C. E. Townsend Mrs. C. E. Townsend Rec. Sec.: Mrs. L. L. Mathews Mrs. L. L. Mathews Corr. Sec.: Miss Katherine Wicker Miss Katherine Wicker

Treasurer: Miss Fannie Goldsmith Miss Fannie Goldsmith

President: Mrs. C. E. Townsend
Rec. Sec.: Mrs. L. L. Mathews
Corr. Sec.: Miss Katherine Wicker
Treasurer: Miss Fannie Goldsmith

APPENDIX XIII

LEADERS OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY IN VIRGINIA

Candidates for Governor 1889 Thomas E. Taylor 1893 James R. Miller 1897 L. A. Cutler 1901 O. C. Rucker

State Chairmen 1882 Capt. A. H. Fultz 1888 M. M. Sibert 1890 J. M. Newton 1893 W. W. Gibbs Col. J. R. Miller 1894 1895 B. Lacy Hoge 1896 1900 W. T. Bundick 1901 1902 J. O. Alwood 1906 1907 James W. Bodley 1909 1910 G. M. Smithdeal 1911 1912 William A. Rife 1914 1915 F. M. Hammond 1916 Dr. E. R. McIntyer 1929

National Committee Members

Thomas E. Taylor, 1884-1888
Rumsey Smithson, 1884-1888
James W. Newton, 1888-1896
R. H. Rawlings, 1888-1892
W. W. Gibbs, 1892-1896
J. R. Miller, 1896-1900
James W. Bodley, 1896-1912
W. T. Bundick, 1900-1904
G. M. Smithdeal, 1904-1912
William A. Rife, 1912-1916
H. M. Hoge, 1912-1916
T. M. Hammond, 1916-1920
Dr. E. R. McIntyer, 1916-1924
Mrs. E. R. McIntyer, 1920-1921

APPENDIX XIV

PARTIAL LIST OF NORFOLK PROHIBITION PARTY LEADERS

Robert Y. Zachary* William F. Gregory

S. N. Brickhouse

C. W. Kellinger

Rev. Charles W. Pettit

Kenton C. Murray*

Joseph G. Fiveash

Michael Glennan

Luther Sheldon*

John L. Roper

T. C. White*

John W. Borum

W. A. Walker

James L. Winston

Ira B. White*

W. J. Lawrence

George W. Arps

M. J. W. White

Frank Dusch

J. D. Couper

G. S. Bruce

F. D. Pinkerton

J. H. W. Walters

John T. Ballen

C. E. Virdier

Major David Humphreys

Harry B. Goodridge*

Emanuel Campe

William Thorogood

William B. Wilder*

 W. W. Gibbs - Virginia Prohibition Party Chairman moved to Norfolk in 1895 and purchased <u>New Daily Pilot</u>
 Rev. Sam Small - owned <u>Norfolk Virginian</u>, left Norfolk in 1895

*Indicates men whose wives were active leaders of the Norfolk WCTU.

APPENDIX XV
NORFOLK MUNICIPAL ELECTION, 1894

Ward R	Registration May			Mayors	yors Vote			Majority		
W	C	Total	D.	_	Tota			D P *		
First Ward	**				······································					
1st Precinct 681	149	830	343	346	689	532		3		
2nd " 880	110	990	312	522	834	770		210		
Totals 1561	259	1820	655	868	1523	1302		213		
Second Ward		•	-							
1st Precinct 402	144	546	316	135	451	2 58	18	1		
2nd " 448		474	198		422	422	J. O.	26		
Totals 850		1020	514	359	873	680	15			
mate a company of			4 – =			000		•		
Third Ward										
1st Precinct 367		6 85	126	471	597	49		34 5		
2nd " 817	216	1033	249	637	886	601		3 88		
Totals 1184	534	1718	37 5	1108	1483	650		733		
Fourth Ward										
1st Precinct 64	932	996	109	58*:	* 167	86	58 5	1		
2nd " 358	640	99 8	385	205	5 9 0		32 1 8			
Totals 422	1572	1994	494	263	757		50 23			
Fifth Ward										
lst Precinct 1210	8	1218	158	893	1051	1202		735		
Sixth Ward										
1st Precinct 400	115	515	162	29 1	453	285		129		
Totals 5627	2658	8285	2358	3782	6140	2978		1424		

*W = White; C= Colored; D = Democratic Party; P = Prohibition Party.

**686 votes were thrown out in this precinct. The votes were from Negro voters who claimed to have voted for the Negro Prohibition Party candidates. The voters in this ward were normally Republican in National Elections such as the 1888 election, and were swayed to the Prohibition Party because of their anti-Democratic leanings and the promise of jobs in the Street Department and Police force for Negroes. The Prohibition Party candidates in this ward were all Negroes and were led by a very popular local Negro. It does not reflect the Negro support of Prohibition, but it does indicate the corrupt voting practices of the incumbent Democratic administration since the disqualified votes would have given control of the ward and its council seats to the Prohibitionists.

APPENDIX XVI

NORFOLK CITY LIQUOR LICENSE TAXES AT VARIOUS YEARS

	1885	1894	1902	Prop.
Wholesale liquor dealer	\$150	\$150	\$250	\$ 500
Wholesale and retail liquor dealer	\$200	\$2 50	\$250	\$ 500
Retail liquor dealer	\$ 7 5	\$125	\$450	\$ 500
Bar-room license	\$ 85	\$ 150	\$250	\$1000
Wholesale malt liquor dealer	\$100	\$200	\$250	\$1000
Wholesale and retail malt dealer	\$ 50	\$ 150	\$300	\$1000

The above figures are taken from the <u>City Ordinances</u> for the years given in the table. The 1885 rates were those in existence at the beginning of the period. The 1894 rates were those passed in 1888 and in existence when the Prohibitionists came into office. The 1902 rates were those passed by the Prohibition Administration. They remained in effect throughout the period. The fourth column is the rate scale proposed by the Prohibition Party and supported by the WCTU, but they were not passed by the Council due to the opposition of the Liquor Dealers and the Democrats.

Coupled with the State License Tax in effect after the Byrd Act in 1908 the cost of a Saloon License in Norfolk was \$750 per year. There is no doubt that this high license fee was responsible for forcing some Norfolk saloons out of business.

APPENDIX XVII

PROHIBITION-REFORM PARTY PLATFORM 1896

- 1. The prohibition of the liquor traffic, for beverage purposes, as soon as possible; regarding it as we do, and as all intelligent men now concede, as the chief cause of crime, pauperism, and misery. We affirm upon the facts of the statistical history that the modern saloon causes three-fourths of the crime and pauperism of the country and that reform--city, state, or national--can be lasting only in proportion to the nearness of approach to the prohibition principle. Abolish the saloon and you strike a withering blow at the taproot of all political corruption.
- 2. Suppression of gambling in all its forms; of profanity and obscenity in public places; or wanton breaches of the holy Sabbath and of lawless disorder at all times and all places.
 - Municipal reform

New Daily Pilot (Norfolk) April 14, 1896, p. 6.

APPENDIX XVIII

PARTIAL LIST OF THE LEADERS OF THE NORFOLK ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

James W. Hough - State League President

Rev. George W. Perryman - First Baptist Church

H. H. Kratzig - Union Mission Superintendent

Rev. C. R. Arendalt - Park View Baptist Church

Rev. B. Lacy Hoge - former Prohibition Party State Chairman

Rev. James T. Taylor - Queen Street Methodist Church

Rev. T. McN. Simpson - State League Executive Committee

Capt. W. E. Taylor - State League Executive Committee

Rev. Richard A. Robinson - Cally Memorial Presbyterian Church--Active Prohibition Party Leader, 1894

J. Sydney Smith - Attorney at Law

Rev. R. J. Bateman -

Note: Six of the Anti-Saloon League Leaders, in 1914, were Protestant Clergymen.

APPENDIX XIX

WORFOLK VOTING IN 1914 ENABLING ACT ELECTION

	,			•	Majority	
Ward	Precinct	For	Against	For	Against	Comments
Washington	1	225	220	5		This ward contained
	2	247	92	155		Berkeley and
	3	236*	106	130		Brambleton areas
	4	169	226		57	
Adams	5 '	21	259		23 8	This ward contained
	6	50	346		296	old 1st and 4th
•	. 7	35*	75		40	wards of downtown Norfolk
Jefferson	8	83	227	•	144	This ward contained
	9	97	243		146	the old 2nd and 3rd
	10	112*	192		80	wards of the down-
	11	108	138		30	town area
Madison	12	327	294	33		This ward contained
	13	244*	273		29	Atlantic City and
	14	184	194		10	Lambert's Point
	15	2 66	279		14	areas
Monroe	16	187	135	52		This ward had Park
	17	224	190	34		Place, Villa Hgts.
	18	270	195	75		area to old 4th
	19	2 50	154	96		ward
		3334	3838		504	
					*493	

"There were 11 votes thrown out as illegal; 3 in the 3rd precinct, 1 in the 7th precinct, 3 in the 10th precinct, and 4 in the 13th precinct. Since the margin of 493 was reported and the margin shown in the returns was 504 it must be assumed that the 11 votes were lost by the "wets." There are two minor mistakes in the tabulations which may have been arithmetical or printing errors.

The above table is from the Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, September 23, 1914, p. 12. A map showing the area of the wards as revised in 1912 is given in the Norfolk Ledger Dispatch, April 5, 1912, p. 1. Areas are defined in The Charter of the City of Norfolk, Virginia, as adopted March 14, 1906, and as amended to and including March 25, 1914, (Norfolk: Donaldsen Ackin Press, 1914)

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