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"Omens of Good and Evidences of Evil":

Gender and Respectability in the *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 1875-1895

A thesis submitted to:

Lakehead University
Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of History
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for the degree of Master of Arts

Carrie Gibbons

Thunder Bay, Ontario
2001

Our Strength and Weakness

-

Port Arthur's Elements of Stability and Moral Turpitude

-

Omens of Good and Evidences of Evil

...I have no desire to make little of our town. I have an unbounded faith in its future. But every rotten place in social, political and business life weakens our faith, and repels the right thinking people who come to sojourn amongst us... We have a capable and intelligent population. Houses and shops won't do much for a town; don't make a town without the right kind of people in them. I say nothing to flatter. I say what the past proves true, that the people of Port Arthur like the people in most of our western towns are capable, intelligent, progressive. They are not the kind who wait round corners for a boom, - for something to turn up. There are a few such characters, but we are for the most part those who take hold of things and make something turn up.

The Weekly Sentinel, 22 April 1887.

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The support of my family has been incredible and I thank them for it (even though I know they wondered when I was going to finish!). I also thank them for giving me the confidence, space and freedom to follow an academic interest. I have been privileged to have the most amazing set of friends who continually inspire me. (They know who they are...) Their love, encouragement and patience are some of the reasons why this thesis has been completed. And of course Shawn Patterson - the man with whom I share my life - I dedicate this thesis to him.

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Introduction

The 1885 Masonic Ball was an event that represented all of the "youth, beauty, wealth and fashion" to be found in Port Arthur, Ontario. The local newspaper, the *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, boastfully records that:

> Ladies were present whose beauty would command admiration anywhere, and we hope we may be pardoned for saying there were many fine, handsome men there too. Port Arthur could not have made the astonishing progress that has made her famous were her men not men of vigor and intellect and amply endowed with the highest manly qualities. We may therefore say that Port Arthur may feel proud of the manliness of her men as well as of the beauty and regal virtues of her women.[1]

At the turn of the century, Port Arthur was on the periphery of the province of Ontario and endeavoured to contradict the perception by those outside of the community that it existed in a barbaric hinterland. One of the ways that it attempted to illustrate its degree of success and respectability was through monitoring the appearance and behaviour of the women and men of Port Arthur in the pages of the local newspaper. From 1875 to 1895, the *Sentinel* was printed on a weekly basis with the intention to "publish communications of a local or business interest, and to seek to draw out, some at least, of the well[-]known ability that exists in town and around this District."[2] Articles in each edition of the newspaper demonstrate this proposed mandate and provide a mix of local, regional, provincial, national and international interests. In publishing the paper, numerous editors, journalists and contributors provided a public voice in the community and, by doing so, shaped and reflected community views on respectable womanhood and manhood. The resulting constructions of

"vigourous" masculinity and "virtuous" femininity indicate the gendered nature of respectability and form the basis of this textual analysis of Port Arthur's *Thunder Bay Sentinel*.[3] Drawing upon race and class constructions where relevant, I examine the *Sentinel* for its prescriptive gendering of respectability in Port Arthur in relation to community building and the broader context of Canada and the British Empire from 1875 to 1895.[4]

An important part of my analysis is the recognition that although the editors and journalists of the *Sentinel* clung to the ideals of respectable Victorian masculinity and femininity, there is also clear evidence in the newspaper of distinctive gendered identities specific to Port Arthur. In her analysis of the gendered images in the *Halifax Herald* at the height of the Maritimes Rights movement, Angela Baker finds evidence of unique and "regional" examples of masculinity and femininity.[5] The *Herald* prescribed attitudes and actions that were intended to ensure the prosperity of the Maritimes. Baker argues that these constructions resulted in a "muscular regionalism" specific to the area. Similarly, the *Sentinel* championed ways of being for women and men that were particular to Port Arthur. As citizens of a newly-formed community, they were encouraged to behave in a manner that would ensure Port Arthur's respectable development.

This look at the *Sentinel* is the first gender study of the norms of masculinity and femininity in Port Arthur during the late-Victorian period. I have relied extensively on the theories of gender history in order to explore the manner in which womanhood and manhood are constructed by the newspaper.

Lykke de la Cour, Cecilia Morgan and Mariana Valverde have elucidated what is meant by the phrase gender history. These three have defined it as an analysis of "the shifts in the relations between masculinity and femininity... [It] attempts to look at history as a whole from the point of view of shifting relations among race, class, gender and other forms of social power."[6] As a more recent addition to the disciplinary field, gender history has aroused considerable debate both in Canada and the international context.[7] While these debates over gender history are an ongoing concern within the discipline, I have chosen my topic as an example of gender history because I am interested in the images of femininity *and* masculinity within the pages of the *Sentinel*. I have no theoretical disputes with doing either women's history or men's history. There is certainly enough historical evidence in the newspaper to explore constructions of *only* femininity or *only* masculinity; however, in this thesis I have chosen to emphasize the point of comparison between the constructions of both respectable womanhood and respectable manhood.

To explore the constructions of femininity and masculinity prescribed in the *Sentinel*, I have divided the articles relating to respectability into three main subject areas. The first examines constructions of appropriate and inappropriate sexual conduct for women and men. The second key theme considered is gendered respectability within the context of paid and unpaid labour in the private and public realms. Finally, the last section examines the manner in which respectable leisure activities for women and men are discussed in the newspaper. While I have arranged the *Sentinel* material into the categories of

sexual conduct, labour and leisure, I want to point out that these categories are not operating in isolation from each other. There are "slippages" across the main topics of analysis.[8] Crosscutting and intertwining with the gendered examination are constructions of race and class which played an essential role in the ideals of respectable masculinity and femininity expounded in the *Sentinel*.

For the purposes of this thesis, I am not making any claims concerning the use of the *Sentinel* as evidence for the every-day lives of the women and men in late nineteenth-century Port Arthur. Historians have noted the disparity between constructed images in the media and the wide-ranging actual lived experiences among men and women.[9] The *Sentinel* may have expressed views of respectable femininity and masculinity which had very little to do with Port Arthurites' actual daily lives. Thus, the intent here is to focus on the constructed images in the newspaper of the gendered ideals of respectable behaviour for the citizens of the town and surrounding area.

To develop the basis for examining the ideals of masculinity and femininity that appear in the *Sentinel*, chapter one provides the necessary background knowledge and historical context. To situate Port Arthur within the broader context of the nineteenth century, this chapter begins by examining Canada's placement within the British Empire and Canadian ideals of nation-building. A major portion of this contextual research is an examination of the ideals of Victorian manhood and womanhood. Next, the development of Port Arthur is traced from its founding to the mid-1890s to explore the kinds of people who were coming to the community and why. Finally, to round out the historical

analysis, the chapter concludes with an examination of the origins, structures and staffing of the *Sentinel* newspaper. The arrival and continued existence of the *Sentinel* was heralded by the town as an important symbol of community growth and success.

Chapter two turns to the content of the *Sentinel* to explore constructions of respectable sexual conduct as defined by the ideal of marriage. It begins by exploring the institution of marriage within the Victorian context. Marriage was considered the natural and proper role for both adult women and men in the nineteenth century. Consequently, the proper union was promoted by the *Sentinel* as the way to civilize the town and reproduce the ideal Anglo-Saxon and middle-class home. Expectations regarding the sexual conduct of women and men began when at a young age. The newspaper advocated that the readership raise their daughters to be pure and virtuous wives within the domestic sphere. Sons were encouraged to develop the characteristics of an honourable breadwinner to provide for an appropriate middle-class household. As they grew into adults, women and men were reminded by the *Sentinel* that their behaviour was closely scrutinized during the courtship period. The chapter concludes with an analysis of marriage when the ideal wife and husband lived out their years together in marital bliss.

The labour performed by women and men was also attentively monitored by the *Sentinel* to protect the level of respectability of the community. Chapter three examines articles and ads related to the paid and unpaid labour of women and men in the public and private realms. The chapter starts by exploring

expectations of paid and unpaid labour of women and men in Victorian Canada as a whole. For a woman to uphold her reputation, her labour, both paid and unpaid, needed to centre on tasks constructed as womanly and related to skills that were seen to flow from her idealized position in the domestic sphere. A man's respectable labour was focused primarily on his role within the public realm. This included his waged work and also public duties that were constructed as essential labour for a man to be considered truly respectable. The chapter then establishes the manner in which respectable paid and unpaid labour is discussed in the *Sentinel* for the women and men of Port Arthur.

Chapter four concludes the textual analysis by examining the ways in which leisure is gendered in the *Sentinel*. The chapter starts by considering Victorian norms of respectable leisure for women and men and then returns again to the *Sentinel*. Similar to the policing of male and female sexuality, leisure practices were reported differently for women and men. Women's idealized role was that of ornamental and passive observer and, when they did participate in events, their involvement was frequently devalued. Alternatively, the respectability of the town could be demonstrated through the reasoned and active participation of men in a variety of sporting and fraternal organizations. When opportunities arose for women and men to jointly take part in a wide array of community social events, the *Sentinel* constructed them as respectable if leading to courtship and a proper marriage.

I consider the theoretical framework developed by gender historians to be the most effective approach for my analysis of the *Sentinel*. The newspaper

attempted to characterize traits of respectable femininity and masculinity through monitoring women's and men's lives in both the public and private aspects of their sexual conduct, labour and leisure. Community building was an important focus of the *Sentinel* and if the citizens of Port Arthur followed the gendered ideals set forth in the newspaper, the town would become both civilized and successful.

1."The Masonic Ball," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 2 January 1885.
2.*Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 July 1875.
3.The *Thunder Bay Sentinel* changed names a number of times during its years of publication. It was known as the *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, *The Weekly Sentinel*, *The Weekly Sentinel and Northshore Miner* and *Weekly Sentinel*. For purposes of this examination, references in the body of the thesis will refer to the newspaper as the *Sentinel* and the appropriate endnote will supply the full title. Additionally, although a daily edition of the *Sentinel* was published starting in February 1882, the focus here will remain on the weekly editions for two primary reasons. Firstly, the weekly *Sentinel* was in continuous run throughout the period under examination. The daily newspaper had an interrupted publication run and lacks the fuller picture presented in the weekly. Secondly, many of the articles originally published in the daily edition of the *Sentinel* were often reprinted in the weekly edition as a summation of events that occurred during that seven day period.
4.While the first edition of the *Sentinel* appeared in 1875, there is some ambiguity as to when the *Sentinel* newspaper disappeared from Port Arthur. George B. Macgillivray states that the *Sentinel* ceased publication in 1895. See George B. Macgillivray, *A History of Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers from 1875* (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1968), 63. However, there is evidence that the newspaper continued beyond this date. The last editor of the *Sentinel*, James Dickinson, did not leave Port Arthur until 1896 when he took over a newspaper in North Bay. See James Dickinson, Biographical Files, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society. Existing editions at the Brodie Street Library in Thunder Bay end mysteriously in May 1896 and the Thunder Bay Historical Museum only has copies of the *Sentinel* to December 1895. However, there is possibility that the *Sentinel* remained operating for several more years. D. Smith wrote in 1914 that the *Sentinel* ceased publication in 1898 "when the sheriff sold the plant and it was removed to the Soo." See D. Smith, "The Newspaper," *Thunder Bay Historical Society 5th Annual Report Papers* (1914): 23.
5.Angela Baker, "A Muscular Regionalism: Gender and the 'Manly Appeal' of Maritime Rights in the *Halifax Herald* of the 1920s," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (1996): 53, 57-58.
6.Lykke de la Cour, Cecilia Morgan and Mariana Valverde, "Gender Regulation and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Canada," in *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*, eds. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 164.
7.Traditional historians have tended to argue that national histories transcend "the experiences of region, ethnicity, class, family and gender," making specific or narrowly focused study unnecessary. Other historians have struggled with the addition of poststructuralism to the field of historical scholarship. Similar to traditional historians, this group is threatened by the decentered and fragmented approach of poststructuralist gender history that does not allow for a single definition of what it means to be a man or a woman. There has also been much criticism and skepticism of the value in examining the history of masculinity. Some believe that a focus on masculinity will takeover the field of gender history and ultimately women's history. For the Canadian context of the gender history debate, see Joan Sangster, "Beyond Dichotomies: Re-assessing Gender History and Women's History in Canada," *left history* 3, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1995): 109-121. For their response to Sangster's critique, see Karen Dubinsky and Lynne Marks, "Beyond Purity: A Response to Sangster," *left history* 3-4, no. 2-1 (Fall-Spring 1995-1996): 205-220, and France Iacovetta and Linda Kealey, "Women's History, Gender History and Debating Dichotomies," *left history* 3-4, no. 2-1 (Fall-Spring 1995-1996): 221-238. For the conclusion to their debate Sangster's final response in "Reconsidering Dichotomies," *left history* 3-4, no. 2-1 (Fall-Spring 1995-1996): 239-248. Other Canadian historians have also taken part in the gender history discussion, see Mariana Valverde, "Comment," *Journal of Women's History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 121-125 and "Poststructuralist Gender Historians: Are We Those Names?" *Labour/Le Travail* 25 (Spring 1990): 227-236. Also see Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," *Canadian Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (September 1995): 354-376 and Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Post Modern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (December 1991): 441-470. For his critique of the work done by gender historians, see J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers, Ltd., 1998), 12 and especially chapter three. For another

criticism of gender history, see Joan Hoff, "Gender as a Postmodern Category of Paralysis," *Women's History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 149-168. On the international level, some relevant data for analysis include Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University, 1988); John Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity?: Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (Autumn 1994): 179-202; Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (1994): 368-404; and Michael Roper and John Tosh, "Introduction: Historians and the politics of masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London and New York), 1-24.

8.Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991), 13-14. Although not directly using the term "slippages," Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham draws an applicable and eloquent analogy when she states that "in South Africa until very recently, ..., little black girls learned at an early age to place themselves in the bathroom for 'black women,' not that for 'white ladies." From this example, she points out that race (particularly in a country so divided along racial lines), gender (male bathroom as opposed to the female bathroom) and class (upper-class ladies vs. lower-class women), continuously intersect in society. See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17, no. 2 (1992): 254.

9.See for example Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 110. Parr argues that during a strike by female employees at the Penman's knitting mills in Paris, Ontario in 1949, the women saw their experiences defined by "squads of big city reporters." As a result gender roles were "simultaneously assumed and ascribed, and the author often found she had little control over how her part was perceived." For an analysis of images of women in a warplant newspaper, see Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich, "Beauty and the Helldivers:' Representing Women's Work and Identities in a Warplant Newspaper," *Labour/Le Travail* 44 (Fall 1999): 71-107. They make clear how differently the newspaper and female employees defined their work experiences. Also see Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 10. She raises the point that in the experience of Aboriginal women, "norms of femininity are articulated by those who wield social and economic power" and thus do not reflect the lives of marginalized women. Regarding the "ongoing social construction of race" that does not reflect the actual lived experience of those depicted in the media see Gillian Creese and Laurie Peterson, "Making the News, Racializing Chinese Canada," *Studies in Political Economy* 51 (Fall 1996), 117-145. For an analysis of research into the images of women in American mass media, see Carolyn Kitch, "Changing Theoretical Perspectives on Women's Media Images: The Emergence of Patterns in a New Area of Historical Scholarship," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 477-489.

Chapter 1

Chapter one begins by examining Canadian nation-building activities to develop an understanding of the economic landscape and immigration policies. Canadian society was strongly attached to middle-class Victorian ideals which stemmed from notions developed within the nation and also from ties to both Britain and the United States. Constructions of womanhood and manhood during the late nineteenth century are examined to define respectability according to the values of the time. Having explored the broader context, the focus then narrows to centre on the frontier community of Port Arthur during the late 1800s. The *Sentinel* was an important symbol of community-building and an examination of the newspaper concludes the chapter.

Canada was a developing nation in the late nineteenth century. The country was following an international trend of industrialism, and by the 1870s the once agricultural country was increasingly urbanized and industry-based.[1] Government economic policies in the period immediately following Confederation were seen alternatively as helping or hindering industrial development. Doug Owram and Kenneth Norrie argue that this first industrial revolution was one of the factors which aided in the growth of the economy. However, even with this expansion in the late nineteenth century, other "new" countries (such as the United States) were developing more quickly, a situation that did not change until the mid-1890s.[2]

The national policies of the government also shaped the social outlook of the country. Valverde states that Canadians had a "self-image as healthy

citizens of a new country of prairies and snowy peaks."[3] This positive image was also linked to the creation of a national identity that, while remaining true to its British roots and separate from the ever-growing American nation to the south, could demonstrate the country's own character.[4] R. G. Moyles and Doug Owram, in their analysis of nineteenth-century sources, point out that "the predominant Canadian attitude until the First World War, was not born of stupidity or indecisiveness but of a genuine belief that Canada could still remain 'British,' could reject independence, annexation and imperial federation, and yet hope to build a nation that would have an equal voice in imperial affairs."[5] Nineteenth-century Canada's elite believed that the ideal nation was comprised of civilized and able citizens of Anglo descent.

A preoccupation with racial superiority led groups outside of the dominant Anglo-Saxon norm to be treated with suspicion. To this end, Canadian nation-building "stressed the need to conserve, preserve, and shape human life" to create ideal and respectable Anglo-Canadian citizens.[6] The dominant English-speaking majority "assumed that white Anglo-Saxons were racially superior and immigrants were welcomed according to the degree to which they approached this ideal."[7] Non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants arriving in Canada became a concern. As the American frontier filled up and Canada became desirous of increasing its population through immigration, slowly more and more people arrived "from the non-Anglo-Saxon world."[8] At the top were those of British or American descent, followed by "northern and western Europeans, and after them the central and eastern Europeans... and last of all the Asians and blacks."[9] McLaren notes that

Canadians recognized that immigrants were necessary "to do the hard, dirty work of building a country, but worried about the sort of country that would result."[10] Through careful regulation of immigration policies, the intention was to assimilate, as much as possible, these groups to Canadian Anglo-Saxon culture. The Canadian government had a similar policy for Aboriginal peoples. The general perception of the government was that they were barbaric and backward. Jean Barman writes that the government's intention "was to socialize them into the dominant culture."[11] One of the ways that it attempted to do so was through setting up reserves to end the previous Aboriginal association with a hunting lifestyle and encourage Aboriginal men to take up farming, "the profession best suited to a virtuous civilized person."[12] The government held that the end result of these policies would be the creation of a civilized nation.

However, the ideal Canadian had more than just a racial component. The ideals of respectable masculinity and femininity that existed in Canada were based on middle-class values. Andrew C. Holman points out that for men, personal definition came from work in the public realm, whereas a woman's respectable position centred on her position within the home and was associated with "purity, beauty, warmth, sincerity, cultivation, [and] domesticity."[13] Holman goes as far as arguing that one of the key components of the "glue" that held the Canadian Victorian society together was the fact that "[m]iddle-class men and women believed in the doctrine of separate spheres."[14]

Victorians celebrated an Anglo-Saxon woman's sexual purity and constructed her value through the powerful image of the "Angel in the House"

that was tied to the Protestant religion. In the British context, which was imitated in Canada, her expected and highly celebrated role was that of a married and sexually-pure wife and mother. By remaining in the home, she was an easily recognizable sign or symbol of masculine economic success and social status.[15] A true "Angel" had servants to attend to the practical care of the house, while she dedicated herself to the spiritual and moral well-being of her family. From her position within the middle-class home, it was believed that such a woman would remain untainted by physical labour and the evils of capitalism that were found in the world of paid labour. Most important, by not entering into the public realm, her chastity could also be ensured. Such protection and isolation resulted in her high degree of virtue and in exchange the "Angel" became the "housekeeper of the male soul."[16]

Medical discourse tended to support the "Angel in the House" role for women. By the late-nineteenth century, reproductive well-being played a large role in the lives of respectable women. The ideal was changing from fragile womanhood to the "cult of the robust,' which stressed the need to develop strong, healthy girls, physically able to endure their future maternal responsibilities."[17] In Canada, the arrival of people from countries regarded as less than ideal gave rise to fears of race degeneration. To combat what was seen as the destruction of society, respectable Anglo-Saxon women were required to play a very important role within the private and public realms in reproducing the proper nation. Valverde argues in her study of first-wave maternal feminism in Canada that "[w]omen did not merely have babies: they

reproduced 'the race.' Women did not merely have just enough babies or too much sex: through their childbearing they either helped or hindered the forward march of (Anglo-Saxon) civilization."[18] Using their mothering role "as a buttress against the destabilizing influences in Canadian society," many of these women entered into the public realm.[19] Respectable, white, middle-class women regarded their greater degree of virtue and maternal instinct as tools that they could use to improve society as a whole.

By the late nineteenth century, women were also entering the public world of paid labour in greater numbers. Predominantly working-class women took on employment in places such as "factories, offices and shops."[20] Opportunities for paid employment for middle-class women in Canada also increased as the nineteenth century progressed. However, respectable jobs, such as a domestic servant or dressmaker, were defined by skills that were seen to originate from within the private sphere. Parr points out that women who were employed outside of the home "took satisfaction in their work skills but drew their worth from their domestic roles."[21]

For men, personal identity was seen to come mainly from their paid labour, even though respectable manhood was expressed in gendered expectations that intertwined the public and private spheres. Holman argues that Victorian men needed to achieve a fine balance between domesticated behaviour and being guilty of spending not enough time in the public realm.[22] Men were expected to take part in activities within the home in their roles as fathers and husbands, (and surrender to the moral healing provided by their

wives). However, manliness also focused on a man's ability to act as a breadwinner in the professional world outside of the home. Economic success would support a middle-class household and thereby indicate a man's success and degree of masculine respectability.

Respectable men were not only active in providing material wealth for the home, but the ideal also demanded that men be active in the promotion of their community's well-being. Similar to the maternal role for respectable women, men were also expected take on caring roles within their communities. Parr has termed such activities as "social fathering."[23] Men who were involved in volunteer commitments and politics often assumed a language and role in the public realm that were consistent with parenting and protection. Such treatment of those perceived to be the weaker members of society offered men of the right (middle) class and (Anglo-Saxon) race a privileged public space and drew upon Victorian constructions of chivalry.[24] In the British context, Judith Rowbotham points out that the ideal of chivalry was drawn from medieval times and adapted by the Victorians. She argues that the construction of chivalry "was taken up with enthusiasm by diverse groups of men, particularly those members of the Protestant middle-classes eager for social advancement and the accolade of 'gentleman."[25] Within the public sphere men could demonstrate their bravery and heroism by protecting women who were regarded as frail and submissive. The respectable chivalrous knight would act in defence of his community and property.

However, in the increasingly industrial and urban landscape of the Canadian economy, masculinity was thought to be threatened. Men, especially middle-class men, were employed in positions that demanded little physical exertion. The lack of opportunity for the development of muscular masculinity was further combined with homes and schools where there was a perceived "dangerous growth of female influence over boys."[26] To counteract the loss of middle-class masculine character, the ideal male in the late nineteenth century became the "Muscular Christian." The "Muscular Christian" was a Protestant concept that drew upon chivalric ideals such as "piety, temperance, chastity, fidelity [and] truthfulness."[27] Furthermore, as Jeff Keshen summarizes, the "Muscular Christian" possessed desired physical traits which included "vigour, forcefulness, and mastery."[28] In this way men played an important role in ensuring the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race. Keshen states that in order for Canada to "stand effectively alongside Britain in its various campaigns to spread democracy and other qualities associated with Anglo-Saxondom," men needed to develop physical strength which would result in "disciplined and self-reliant manhood."[29]

The gendered ideals of the "Angel in the House" and the "Muscular Christian" were important and influential images in Victorian Canada and the manner in which they were interpreted by the press in Port Arthur is unique and worthy of study. In the *Sentinel's* attempts at community-building, these ideals took on special meaning in a town, similar to much of the north, that "had to continually deflect and reshape criticism of the region as a wild and immoral

netherland."[30] Lakehead University historian Elizabeth Arthur argues that since the 1840s and the days of Hudson's Bay Company rule over the area north of Lake Superior, Upper Canadians thought of the region as barbaric and violent where the uncivilized "Indian" lived in a harsh landscape and few Europeans were to be found.[31] Prince Arthur's Landing, the name of the community until 1883 when it was changed to Port Arthur, had come into existence in the late 1850s.[32] Simon Dawson, chief surveyor for the Gladman and Hind government-sponsored exploration of the northwest, deemed the area a suitable starting point for a road and eventual railway connecting eastern parts of Ontario to the interior of the country.[33] Dawson all but ignored the existing community of Fort William that had been located on the banks of the Kaministiquia River since the North West Company's use of the area as a transshipment point during the fur trade era of the early 1800s. Local myth has it that upon viewing the spot that became Port Arthur, Dawson jumped upon the shore overlooking Lake Superior and declared that "Here will be a mighty city."[34]

However, it was not until the period of Confederation that Canadians became increasingly interested in the region and desired to control HBC lands. Interest in the northwest was motivated in part by the need not to settle the area, but to pass through it. The transportation difficulties encountered by the Wolseley expedition of soldiers on its way west to quell the conflict between the Métis and Canadian authorities in 1870, confirmed for the new Canadian government the desirability of improving mobility across the continent. The government was also anxious to populate the west with loyal subjects and

wanted to stem the flow of possible settlers who were drawn to the United States because of difficulties in traveling to homesteads in Canada's prairie west.[35] Thus the first wave of Euro-Canadian settlement in Prince Arthur's Landing was composed of men who came to the area in the 1870s to work on Dawson's road to the west and were later followed by labourers who performed the work necessary to join the country by rail.[36]

Even though it was decided that Fort William would be the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a decision that reinforced the continuing conflict between the two small communities, Port Arthur became a commercial centre. It touted itself as possessing a vast array of mineral-based wealth and was the hub for public and private mining activity.[37] Stock was taken of the apparently limitless timber resources and several saw mills opened in the area. Although agricultural recruitment to the Lakehead was not actively promoted by the Canadian government, farmers were eventually drawn to the region by the free land available under the Homestead Act of 1868.[38] It did not take long before "[a]ll this new activity attracted tavern owners, shopkeepers [and] professionals of various types," and as Arthur argues, "many of the new residents came from southern Ontario bringing with them the conviction that their way of life there was good and exportable."[39] The boom of business and settlement activity continued relatively unchecked into the 1890s when a depression hit the community and mining, industry and agricultural prices experienced a downturn.[40]

The primary census in 1871 reported that the population in all of Kaministiquia was 503; however, by 1881 Prince Arthur's Landing alone had a population of 1275 and by 1891 that total had reached 2698.[41] In his examination of the census manuscripts from 1871 and 1881, Thorold J. Tronrud argues that there was a pattern of relative community homogeneity in Prince Arthur's Landing. He states that although there were "small groups of Frenchmen, Germans, Scandinavians, and 'Africans' in 1881," the community was predominantly of Anglo-Saxon descent.[42] The largest cohort of foreign-born immigrants composed about a third of the population and came from the United States and the British Isles. Many of these were English miners who settled in Prince Arthur's Landing. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of arrivals to Prince Arthur's Landing were Canadian-born men.

According to census returns, throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the number of males continued to exceed the women who lived in the town. Furthermore, because the census was taken before hundreds of male railway labourers and miners arrived from the east each spring, it is safe to say that the ratio undoubtedly increased during these busy months. Tronrud argues that, as a result of this sex imbalance, "there was a severe shortage of eligible women of marriageable age. The most competitive situation was at the Landing, where 175 single men could choose from only 75 women."[43] In pioneer situations, the tendency to create a perceived shortage of marriageable women was a tactic intended "to encourage white women to emigrate."[44] Adele Perry has found that in British Columbia during the settlement period, women were seen as "civilizing

agents who could quell the disorderly masculine behaviour associated with the frontier. They could also, colonial promoters hoped, deter white men from wedding aboriginal women."[45] Similarly, in Port Arthur interracial marriages that had occurred between Euro-Canadian men and Aboriginal women until at least 1871 were no longer regarded as acceptable by Lakehead society ten years later.[46] Anglo-Saxon women had become the desired and acceptable mate.

The fact that Port Arthur was comprised of a large Anglo-Saxon majority also impacted on class relations in the community. Steven High, in his examination of municipal ownership in Port Arthur, concludes that the "relative ethnic homogeneity in Port Arthur... eased potential class differences."[47] Interestingly, the limited number of economic elite of the village was comprised of "government inspectors, a civil engineer, three lawyers, and several prominent businessmen and landholders," all of whom were Irish.[48] This is a unique aspect of Port Arthur as Irish immigrants typically formed the working-class population of communities in eastern parts of Canada.[49] One of the most prominent and relevant examples is Thomas Marks, a shareholder in the *Sentinel* and a leading member of the community. Marks, a Protestant Irish immigrant who came to Canada in 1842, originally settled in Bruce Mines where he opened a store.[50] He made Prince Arthur's Landing his permanent residence in 1872 and went on to become a leading business man, family patriarch, reeve and mayor. Most pertinent to this examination, Marks played a major role in the establishment of the *Sentinel* as one of his many activities to promote the small community and ensure its continued and respectable growth.

Marks and similarly-minded citizens in the communities at the Lakehead were no different from those in the rest of Canada in terms of seeing a locally-published newspaper as a sign of development. Paul Rutherford points out that newspapers in Canada during the late-Victorian era were widespread and "by the end of the 1890s the number of daily and weekly editions of daily newspapers exceeded the number of families in the country, a sure sign that Canada's first mass medium had arrived."[51] Newspapers played an important role in nation-building and were arguably one of the prime sources of moral guidance within a community. Conservative newspapers, such as the *Sentinel*, that were published during the late-Victorian period are characterized by:

> a fulsome commitment to the community, supposedly bound together by tradition and self-interest, which translated into a strategy of preservation emphasizing resistance to social and political change... as well as a strategy of nation-building emphasizing growth and bigness, railways and factories. Conservatives happily dress up in the garb of nationalism...[52]

Commitments to nation-building and community growth are clearly evident in the *Sentinel* throughout its publication run. In fact, it could be argued that newspaper communication in Port Arthur was more important and influential in the developing community for the simple fact of its geographical isolation from events and decisions occurring in the political centres of more southeastern locales.[53]

The types of articles that describe respectable behaviour for women and men in the *Sentinel* come from a number of sources and in a wide variety of forms. Many of the articles examined were written locally by the editors and contributors to the paper. This variety of article may describe local events and

discuss the citizens of Port Arthur, either by name or inference. Some of the prescriptive articles related to manhood and womanhood however, were taken from papers published in other parts of Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Although copied from sources outside of the community, these articles can be seen as reflective of the desired images of masculinity and femininity within the specific community of Port Arthur. Cecilia Morgan, in examining the press in Upper Canada during the early nineteenth-century, argues that many articles dealing with social behaviour came to the area "from across both the ocean and the colony's southern border."[54] She states that "given that this was a colonial society with a white population that was mostly descended from, or directly connected to, Britain or the United States, it should be far from surprising that these codes of behaviour and morality were reiterated in Upper Canada."[55] The press in Port Arthur was, in many ways, quite similar. The majority of the population was of British and American descent and it is reasonable that press reports and articles from these places would be reprinted in the pages of the *Sentinel*.

The largest group of articles studied for constructions of manhood and womanhood in the *Sentinel* are of the feature genre. While Rutherford argues that the feature article was perhaps the least important type of press report that was read in the nineteenth-century newspaper, it did consume a great deal of the available space in any given edition.[56] This is certainly true in the *Sentinel* where at times an entire page in a four-page edition would be dedicated to feature articles. They were constructed or chosen by the editor to do three main

things for the reading audience. The first desire was to provide entertainment for the readership and this was most frequently done through poetry or excerpts of novels.[57] Secondly, the feature genre also allowed space for personal comments in the form of letters to the editor. Although selected for publication by the editor, articles written by the readership gave a place for select voices of community to be heard. These pieces litter the pages of nineteenth-century newspapers.[58] The final type is articles written with a desire to educate the reading public. Rutherford explains that feature articles of this nature found in papers originating in English-speaking Canada were "likely to specialize in moral guidance or homespun philosophy."[59] Through the paper's densely packed pages, journalists and editors attempted to popularize "the belief that the community was shaped by a thicket of moral and social concerns."[60] They considered it their duty to the readership to inform, educate and also to provide "some practical instruction to guide a person's living and working."[61] In promoting certain ways of behaving the newspaper played a role in constructing the community. As Lynne Marks argues, the creation of "a common culture of shared values, beliefs and lifestyles can provide the basis of a shared identity."[62] The repetition of articles around the three key themes of sexual conduct, labour and leisure within the pages of the *Sentinel* carefully served to reflect the dominant discourse on what was considered respectable masculinity and femininity.

The start of the *Sentinel's* publication occurred on July 28, 1875 when it "respectfully present[ed] to the public" its first edition.[63] Its four-page, typeset

design was a common format for papers of the late-Victorian period in Canada.[64] Both communities at the Lakehead had produced short-lived, handwritten papers in early 1875, although these efforts were in publication less than a year.[65] However, the "public spirited" citizens of Prince Arthur's Landing had put forward the finances as early as 1872 hoping to draw a newspaper editor to the small hamlet.[66] A general description of the men who started the *Sentinel* and financially supported the venture as well as those men (and one woman) who held the editorial pen is relevant given that they controlled the content of the newspaper. The *Sentinel* was based on values perpetuated by Anglo-Saxon middle-class professional males who determined what appeared in the pages of each edition. Thus, the discussion of respectable feminine and masculine sexual conduct, labour and leisure is informed by these men.

Elinor Barr argues that the motivation behind the start of the *Thunder Bay Sentinel* was a three-part plan initiated by local business men to "give them control over municipal government, communication, and transportation" in the wake of Fort William being declared the terminus of the CPR.[67] Barr continues that within the space of a few months in 1875, Thomas Marks, businessman and Conservative politician, was elected reeve, a private railroad was proposed to join Prince Arthur's Landing to the activity going on along the Kaministiquia River and the *Thunder Bay Sentinel* published its first edition. Marks was a majority shareholder and frequent advertiser in the paper; F. S. Wiley, his nephew and local hotelier and land developer, also owned shares in the paper; and Samuel Wellington Ray, local bank owner and relation of the Wiley family,

was a shareholder and director.[68] This clan's control of the financial support of the *Sentinel* indicates the middle-class ownership of the paper. Although very few articles in the paper appear to have been directly written by these men or other members of this family compact, it is abundantly clear that the *Sentinel* was firmly supportive of all business, political and social ventures initiated by this family. Besides numerous ads for the Marks family businesses, there were frequent updates on business deals, vacations, marriages and births that occurred within this seemingly tight-knit group and the *Sentinel* was ruthless to those in the community who opposed Marks or his family.[69] Perhaps the most self-serving article to appear was the obituary published after the death of S. W. Ray's beloved dog that seems to have been the most brilliant animal ever to lift a leg in Prince Arthur's Landing.[70] It should come as no surprise considering the political leanings of Marks, his family and associates, that the *Sentinel* was a Conservative paper.[71] If the editor of the *Sentinel* wanted to retain not only community readership but more importantly the good feelings and support of the shareholders, he did well to express Conservative views. Editors during the late 1800s, as Rutherford argues, were "men of strong opinions perhaps but rarely of deep convictions."[72]

In 1875, Michael Hagan, of Irish descent, arrived on the north shore of Lake Superior to take up the challenge of editing the region's first typeset newspaper and soon became well-known for his red-hot editorials in the *Sentinel*.[73] Hagan was followed by W. S. Dingman, who was both editor and publisher of the *Sentinel* from 1884 to 1886.[74] The Dingman family, from

southern Ontario, was middle class and owned several newspapers in that region. Over the next several years D. T. Fairbairn, and D. L. McIntyre ran the *Sentinel*. Finally, James Dickinson took over at the helm of the *Sentinel* in 1892 and continued until it ceased publication completely in 1896.

Dickinson's editorial reign is perhaps the most interesting in that it provided the opportunity for his daughter Martha to run the paper during his frequent illnesses. James Dickinson had worked in England with the *Manchester Guardian* before making his way to Canada to work as a journalist for the *Toronto Globe* and then as editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*.[75] When he came to the Lakehead, Dickinson ran not only the *Sentinel* but also the *Fort William Echo* (which he printed on the *Sentinel* press) and the *Port Arthur Weekly Herald*. When the family took an extended vacation to Florida due to Dickinson's poor health, he purchased a paper and set about running it with his "daughters Martha and Paullie [sic] as typesetters and general handymen. He has been quoted as saying that such employment during a summer vacation would keep girls out of trouble."[76] Upon returning to the Lakehead, Martha Dickinson's involvement in the newspaper business obviously continued as she worked as a typesetter, manager and editor of the *Sentinel* when her father was ill.[77] While it is outside the scope of this examination to explore how the material in the paper may have changed under the leadership of a woman, Martha Dickinson's involvement with the *Sentinel* indicates that although the nineteenth-century ideal of womanhood focused on their domestic skills, not all women could or did see this play out in their daily lives.

It should be noted that the gendered expectations of respectable behaviour expressed in the *Sentinel* focus upon ideals of manhood and womanhood and do not necessarily correspond to actual lived experiences. To this end, chapter two will follow with an examination of the ideals of sexual conduct for women and men. In the *Sentinel,* a middle-class marriage is constructed as the proper expression of sexuality for women and men. Such respectable behaviour was regarded by the newspaper as necessary to ensure the civilized development of Port Arthur. The ideals of the chivalric "Muscular Christian" and "Angel in the House" are also played out in the *Sentinel's* discussion of respectable paid and unpaid labour for men and women. Chapter three will examine gendered constructions of work and duty presented in the newspaper. Finally, chapter four will look at the numerous articles relating to leisure activities, focusing on the gendering of respectable masculinity and femininity in the *Sentinel* in relation to "free-time."

1. Brian D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstruction of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* (Toronto: Butterworth and Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1983), 66.
2. Kenneth Norrie and Doug Owram, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), 297.
3. Valverde, *Light, Soap, and Water*, 17.
4. R. G. Moyles and Doug Owram, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 22.
5. Moyles and Owram, *Imperial Dreams*, 35. This line of thought is evident in the *Sentinel*, see for example 13 June 1884, 10 August 1888, "Canadian Energy," 21 September 1888 or "Equal Justice for All," 27 December 1889.
6.Valverde, *Light, Soap, and Water*, 24
7. Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1990), 47.
8. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 47.
9. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 47.
10.McLaren, *Our Own Mater Race*, 48.
11.Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 2nd ed., eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1991), 220. Also see Carter, *Capturing Women*.
12.Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian In Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 203.
13. Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 98.
14. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 98.
15. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siécle Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 7 and 18. For more information about the Angel in the House, also see Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 52, Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), especially chapter 1, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (New York: Blackwell, 1988) and Barbara Corrado Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisure and Charitable Women in Nineteenth Century England and France," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, eds. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977): 296-324.
16. Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, 8.
17. Michael Smith, "Graceful Athleticism or Robust Womanhood: The Sporting Culture of Women in Victorian Nova Scotia, 1870-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 1 and 2 (Spring-Summer, 1998): 121.
18. Mariana Valverde, "When the Mother of the Race Is Free: Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 4.
19.Veronica Strong-Boag, "Ever a Crusader:' Nellie McClung, First-Wave Feminist," in *Re-thinking Canada* 3rd ed. eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 274.
20.Strong-Boag, "Ever a Crusader," 273. Also see Mercedes Steedman, *Angels of the Workplace: Women and the Construction of Gender Relations in the Canadian Clothing Industry, 1890-1940* (Toronto, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
21. Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 105.
22. Andrew C. Holman, "Cultivation and the Middle-Class Self: Manners and Morals in Victorian Ontario," in *Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader*, ed. Edgar-André Montigny and Lori Chambers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 106-107, 109-110.
23.Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 188.

24.Carolyn Strange, "Wounded Womanhood and Dead Men: Chivalry and the Trials of Clara Ford and Carrie Davies," in *Gender Conflicts*, eds. Iacovetta and Valverde, 151-152.
25.Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives*, 169.
26. Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996),128. Also see Morris Mott, "One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914," *Urban History Review* 12, no. 2 (October 1983): 58.
27.Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives*, 171.
28. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 129-130.
29. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 130.
30.Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 145.
31. Elizabeth Arthur, "Beyond Superior: Ontario's New-found Land," in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, ed. Roger Hall, William Westfall and Laurel Sefton MacDowell (Toronto: Dundurn Press, Ltd., 1988), 134, 141-142. Also see Arthur, *Thunder Bay and District*, lxii.
32.For more information regarding the change of name, see Frederick Brent Scollie, "Falling into Line: How Prince Arthur's Landing Became Port Arthur," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 13 (1985).
33. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: University Press, 1973), lii.
34. Thorold J. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress: Boosters and Boosterism in Thunder Bay, 1870-1914* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1993), 5.
35. James Stafford, "A Century of Growth at the Lakehead" in *Thunder Bay from Rivalry to Unity*, eds. Thorold J. Tronrud and A. Ernest Epp (Thunder Bay: The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1995), 38.
36. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 12.
37. Arthur, *Thunder Bay and District*, lxxi, lxxvi, lxxviii, lxxix.
38. Although Arthur address the issue of migration to the region for agricultural reasons, agricultural settlement is more fully discussed in Nancy M. and W. Robert Wrightman, "Agricultural Settlement in Northwestern Ontario to 1930," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 17 (1989): 47-51.
39. Arthur, "Beyond Superior," 142.
40. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 12.
41.Dominion Census 1881, I, p. 81; 1891, I, p. 144-147 as found in David Trembley, "The Dimensions of Crime and Punishment at the Lakehead 1873-1903" (MA Thesis, Lakehead University, 1983), 18. This number includes those who lived in the Township of Oliver. The population of Prince Arthur's Landing in 1881 was 1104, Thorold J. Tronrud, "Frontier Social Structure: The Canadian Lakehead, 1871 and 1881," *Ontario History* 129, no. 2 (June 1987): 146-147. As the census was taken during the month of April and covered an enormous isolated territory, both Tronrud and Arthur note that these statistics can be misleading and probably vastly underrepresented the First Nations population of the area as well as migrant labourers who doubled or even tripled the population of Prince Arthur's Landing during the summer months. See Arthur, "Beyond Superior," 143. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 11-12 estimates that the population at the Lakehead during the summer months could have increased to as many as 7000 persons, most of whom probably resided in Prince Arthur's Landing.
42. Tronrud, "Frontier Social Structure," 150.
43.Tronrud, "Frontier Social Structure," 158.
44.Adele Perry, "Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men:' Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality and Sociability in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," *BC Studies* no 105-016 (Spring/Summer 1995): 34-35.
45.Perry, "Sick of the Faces of Men," 35.
46.Tronrud, "Frontier Social Structure," 159. For a similar discussion, although not directly focused on the Lakehead, also see Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties" Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870*, 4th ed., (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, Ltd., 1991), chapter 8, 204-205. She argues that the position of Aboriginal women in fur-trade society suffered with the arrival of the European wives of Hudson Bay Company officials. Previously

acceptable and even encouraged marriages to Aboriginal women came to be seen as not conferring the status that a union with a white woman could, nor did such a union offer the civilizing influence of a white wife.
47. Steven High, "Planting the Municipal Ownership Idea in Port Arthur," *Urban History Review* 26, no. 1 (October 1997): 5.
48. Tronrud, "Frontier Social Structure," 154.
49.Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1992), 53-54. For further consideration of Irish immigration to Canada, see Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants to the Canada: A New Approach* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).
50. Elinor Barr, "Thomas Marks, Merchant Prince of Thunder Bay," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 16 (1988): 22-25.
51. Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 5. Also see the number of periodicals in Canada from 1857 to 1900 in W. H.Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), 39.
52. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 148.
53. See Tronrud "Frontier Social Structure," 146-147and High, "Planting the Municipal Ownership Idea," 4-6 for their discussion of the isolation of the town and the impact on the population.
54. Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 143.
55. Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 143.
56. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 126.
57. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 126-128.
58. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 130-131.
59. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 129.
60. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 128, 147.
61. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 129.
62. Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 4.
63.*Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 July 1875.
64.Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 116.
65.Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 2-3, 60-61. Fort William's *Perambulator* was a handwritten paper published every three weeks starting in February 1875 and finishing later that year. To follow suit, the handwritten *Thunderbolt* was published weekly in Port Arthur from March 1875 but did not last to see 1876.
66. D. Smith, "The Newspaper," 23.
67. Barr, "Thomas Marks," 25.
68. Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 64, 68, 69. Wiley went on to build the Wiley estate located on Red River Road, one of the finest homes in Port Arthur when it was completed around 1914. It is presently used as a retirement home for the Sisters of Saint Joseph. See the files of the City of Thunder Bay - Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee and Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 42.
69. See for example the numerous reports about James Conmee, a competitor to the Marks-backed candidate in the town election in 1884-1885. *Thunder Bay Sentinel* December 1884.
70. *Thunder Bay Sentinel* 14 February 1884. The article states that Maximilion was the favorite dog of S. W. Ray and died from accidentally ingesting rat poisoning. According to the report Max "possessed extraordinary intelligence and many qualities of rarity." This glowing tribute by the journalist was then followed by a poem written in memory of the dog.
71. Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 71. This can be seen the *Sentinel* under the editorial leadership of James Dickinson. When he worked for the *Toronto Globe*, Dickinson was avowedly liberal in this political convictions and this continued when he moved to Port Arthur to head up the *Port Arthur Weekly Herald*. However, when he became the editor of the *Sentinel* his political allegiance changed to support a more Conservative line. See Sara Burke, "A Preaching of Universal Discontent': Beyond the 'Three Rs' in the Port Arthur High School Debate, 1894," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 17 (1989),

10-11. However, this did not preempt Dickinson from disagreeing in the pages of the *Sentinel* with George T. Marks, mayor of Port Arthur, about the local high school in the 1890s. Burke notes that as this debate waxed and waned, Dickinson held onto some liberal principles. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 51, also notes an instance where Dickinson was severely rebuked by Marks and his associates for not supporting the street railway in the 1890s.
72. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 147.
73.F. Fregeau, Esq., "Reminiscences of Early Journalism in Fort William," *Thunder Bay Historical Society Papers* (1911-1912), 20-21. Quite a fiery debate erupted between the *Sentinel* and the competing editor of the *Fort William Day Book*, started in 1877. According to Fregeau, the figurative blows swung by Hagan and his rival at the *Day Book* had the Fort William populace in the streets eagerly watching the publication process.
74. Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 40.
75. Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 70.
76. Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 40. Presumably the author means to make reference to Dickinson's daughter Pauline.
77. See *Weekly Sentinel*, 1 September 1893 and James Dickinson, Biographical Files, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society. The Dickinson family moved to Windsor in 1898 where Martha again took over running her father's newspaper, the *Windsor World*, as his illness returned when Mrs. Dickinson died in a boating accident in 1899. Martha Dickinson gave up this paper in 1902 when she took a position as a secretary and assistant city clerk in Windsor. She went on to become the first female city clerk in Canada in 1914, a position which she held until her retirement in 1935. Although the family left Port Arthur, Martha Dickinson returned to Silver Islet, just east of Port Arthur (now Thunder Bay), each summer to vacation as she had as a girl.

Chapter 2

British historian Ginger Frost argues that as much as it is commonly believed that "Victorians were straitlaced prudes, both obsessed and repulsed by sex at the same time...[s]exuality was openly discussed in Parliament, newspapers and journals."[1] Although Britain was an ocean away, similar mixed attitudes about sexual conduct were present in the *Thunder Bay Sentinel.* Sexual conduct in the *Sentinel* is discussed in feature articles that can be read as instructions to the readership to ensure the respectable and moral growth of Port Arthur into a civilized town. According to the *Sentinel*, the most appropriate manner by which citizens of Port Arthur could indicate their degree of respectability and at the same time see to the proper development of the community was through marriage. Peter Ward points out that in the nineteenth century, as much as interactions between men and women were intensely personal experiences for the couple involved, they "also were social processes, for society has always had a great stake in family formation."[2] Chapter two begins with an examination of the ideals of sexual conduct for women and men in late nineteenth-century Canada. The focus then turns to examine the stages of marriage discussed in the *Sentinel* and starts by looking at the expectations of sexual conduct for single women and men. The constructions of respectable courtship behaviour for women and men are then explored to determine who the newspaper defined as appropriate marriage partners. Finally, the *Sentinel's* depiction of sexual conduct for married women and men concludes the analysis.

For women in Victorian Ontario there was little debate about their expected role. The constructed ideal emphasized a woman's position within the home given that within this isolated sphere it was believed that a woman could remain innocent and pure-hearted.[3] As a result of her greater degree of virtue, such a woman would be able to act as the guardian of her husband's morality and sexuality and see to the proper reproduction and parenting of the Anglo-Saxon race. In the British context, which was copied in Canada, a woman's "location within the domestic sphere" consequently resulted in her sexual respectability.[4] And respectable Victorian womanhood, as Ginger Frost points out, hinged on the expectation that "an honorable or honest woman meant one thing - a sexually pure one."[5] A woman's sexual purity was thought to come from her increased capacity for moral good. This was due not only to her domestic role but also because feminine sexuality was seen as "passionlessness" and passive.[6]

For Victorian men, sexual responses were characterized quite differently. In his exploration of masculinity, Angus McLaren makes the point that although male sexuality, like female sexuality, was carefully policed in the nineteenth century, there was not the same degree of "symmetry." Drawing on the works of Michael Roper and John Tosh, McLaren notes that "masculinity is always 'shaped around male power' and 'relative to femininity.'"[7] Unlike female sexuality that was regarded as passive, a man's sexuality was regarded as "lustful, passionate" and a struggle to control.[8] Thus, in sexual relationships with

their respectable and sexually passive middle-class wives, men held physical power.

The proper place for a man to express his sexuality was in marriage. To the extent that a man was faced with a dual identity shaped by his life within the domestic realm and that of a breadwinner in the world of business, Tosh points out that "[f]or most of the nineteenth century home was widely held to be a man's place, not only in the sense of being his possession or fiefdom, but also as the place where his deepest needs were met."[9] Marriage was regarded as a necessity for a man who wished to attain respectable manhood as it allowed a man to define himself as proper and on the pathway "leading to household leadership and offspring to continue the line."[10] Moreover, for the majority of nineteenth-century Canadians, male or female, marriage was an ideal to which all aspired and "[t]hey believed marriage was the greatest step a man or woman took, that it shaped the course of one's life for good or for ill."[11] The *Sentinel* discusses the ideal sexual conduct for both women and men to ensure that their marriage choice would shape their lives "for good." The overriding idea behind encouraging such unions was that marriage would reflect positively on the community of Port Arthur and see to the town's development through the acceptable and proper sexual conduct of its citizens.

The *Sentinel's* discussion about and promotion of marriage assumed that the process began early in a young person's life and perhaps long before encountering an ideal mate. Single women were to prepare for marriage and their role as moral guardian from a young age. The poem, "The Old-Fashioned

Little Girl" reminds the readership of the proper conduct expected of a young woman. It encourages readers to remember the good old days when girls were respectable and did not engage in activities in the public realm that might call their sexual purity into question. As a proper young woman, the "Old-Fashioned Little Girl" does not flirt or risk her virtue with "talk about beaus before she was in her teens and she did not read dime novels." [12] She speaks without using slang, and prays before bed, which she goes to at a reasonable hour because she does not go to parties and dance "with any chance young man who happened to be present."[13] Another poem entitled "A Canadian Ideal" summarizes the characteristics of innocence, purity and virtue that the *Sentinel* constructed as what every husband would want and the way every woman should be. Furthermore, as the title of the poem draws attention to a national ideal, the *Sentinel* parallels a woman's respectable character with nation-building and the respectable development of the country. The last two stanzas conclude that the Canadian Ideal is:

> A quiet-and-modest young girl;
> A sweet-and-pure young girl;
> An upright, ambitious,
> Lovely, delicious
> A pride-of-the-home young girl.
>
> A remarkably-scarce young girl;
> A sweet and pure young girl;
> A truly-Canadian,
> Too utter-paragon,
> The kind-that-I-like young girl.[14]

Although poetry appears to have been a popular literary mode used to idealize characteristics of a respectable wife, the *Sentinel* also used letters from

correspondents. One of the earliest and most prominent examples is a series of articles "Written expressly for the *Sentinel* by Grandmama."[15] Whether or not these pieces were actually composed by an elderly woman is unknown. What is relevant is the picture of respectability and the appropriate advice "gathered from half a century of experience" that only a grandmother could offer.[16] Coming from a woman, her words could be considered by the readership as morally sound and proper, and as a family matriarch her advice would be accorded a certain degree of respect by both sexes.

"Grandmama's" perspective on the "true ideal woman" is addressed in "Grandmama's Letters to the Girls - No. 1." She writes that a proper woman is one "whose manner combines maidenly dignity and attractive loveliness; whose life is beautiful, beautiful and yet mighty - mighty in its influence for good."[17] This powerful and "pure" influence possessed by women came from their domestic position within the home. However, Grandmama states this power was not for their own advancement but to "revolutionize society almost in a generation."[18] Through her youth, beauty, wit, purity and noble example, a woman could uplift the character of her husband and in this way "change the whole tone of society, morally and socially."[19] On the basis of Mariana Valverde's analysis of women's role as the "mothers of the race," Grandmama is clearly addressing her words to the Anglo-Saxon and middle-class female population of the community. Her letter serves as a reminder to this dominant group that through their respectable conduct they could not only "save" their future husbands from corruption but that

society as a whole could benefit from their examples of purity and sexual innocence.

In addition to her character, a woman could also demonstrate respectable sexual behaviour and her suitableness for her wifely and motherly duties through more visible means. The *Sentinel's* discourse about fashion and clothing for women centered on their sexual morality while at the same time appreciating their physical beauty. It presents a delicate balance between dressing in a manner that was acceptable and respectable, and wearing clothing that was seen to destroy a woman's sexually pure reputation. Valverde has found that a "love of finery" was attached to the moral downfall of women in the nineteenth century. Fashionable and expensive clothing, termed "finery," was, for the most part acceptable for upper-class women. However, the same clothing on lower-class women was seen as shabby because, as Valverde argues, Victorians believed that "the woman wearing them was a cheap imitation of upper-class womanhood."[20] "Love of finery" was seen as the "chief cause of lower-class women's descent into prostitution."[21] It was supposed that these women were at risk of being drawn into financial ruin by trying to keep up with the latest fashions. To be able to afford these sinful articles, a woman would become a prostitute and once her sexual reputation was called into question she was forever tainted and would never be respectable.

A similar discourse is found in the *Sentinel*. An article about the dangers of fashion explains that "a slave woman, washerwoman or kitchen-maid" may live a life of drudgery and toil, but all of these women will outlive their

fashionable mistress, who will "have less power of moral will, and we might say as little of physical energy."[22] A wealthy woman would be drained by her love of fashion and as a result unable to fulfill her moral obligations to her husband and family as a proper woman should. However, should the slave woman, washerwoman or kitchen-maid decide to spend all her money on clothing, she would be no better off. In another one of her letters, Grandmama cautions that "finery" on the lower-class women made them look shoddy.[23] But the desire to dress in such a fine manner was not the entirely the fault of lower-class women. Grandmama states that wealthier women should not dress too finely and the discourse turns to a middle-class woman's responsibility as the moral guardian in the realm. She encourages wealthy and fashionably-dressed mothers and daughters to "stop to think of the pernicious examples they are setting before their poorer neighbors."[24] Clearly lower-class women, such as "[t]he mechanic's wife, the laborer[']s wife and the servant girl," would be forced to spend money they do not have on clothing after becoming too caught up in fashion. The implication is that these women would turn to prostitution to be able to afford such finery. Played out in the local scene, in a report of the arrest of an owner of a local brothel and the women who worked there, the *Sentinel* states that "the gaudy dress and glittering jewellry [*sic*] of these bedizened females have done much for the enticement of many a weak girl from virtue's ways."[25] The "bevvies [*sic*] of courtesans... arrayed in the most costly fabrics of the loom, fashioned with all the skill and taste of the miliner's [*sic*] art" were beyond redemption. Seen as possessing only barely a shell of respectable femininity, the *Sentinel*

declares that these are women "from whose brazen faces all but the form of womanhood had vanished."[26] The presence of such sexual misconduct in the community was seen by the *Sentinel* to cast a shadow of sexual impropriety over the entire town. However, the respectable middle-class woman could play a role in maintaining the sexual reputation of Port Arthur if she dressed with care.

Dressing to avoid sexual corruption required control. An article entitled "The True Lady" relays the message to the audience that the proper and morally-sound woman "presented the plainest and most unprepossessing appearance."[27] The author of "What should we do with our daughters?" confirms that she should dress with restraint in calico, but be able to wear such understated attire "like a queen."[28] However, the advice concerning a middle-class woman's expected dress and "finery" was not without contradiction. The *Sentinel* frequently used the fine appearance of women's gowns as a sign of community wealth and success. The marriage of a female relative of the Wiley clan was attended by the "the *elite*" of the community. Because of the dresses and appearance of the bride and bridesmaids, the wedding is celebrated as an event "that would have done honor to any similar gathering in one of our largest Canadian cities."[29] A middle-class woman's dress was a highly sexualized and dichotomized construction in the *Sentinel*. It required that she be sexually attractive for marriage and a positive representative of the community's success but, at the same time, wearing such "finery" could also be seen as a descent into sexual impropriety and the cause of the ruination of Port Arthur's morality.

Inasmuch as dress and sexual conduct were tied to class, Valverde points out that the discourse on nineteenth-century fashion was also very racialized. Corseting was regarded in the latter half of the century as unhealthy for reproductive reasons and ultimately anything that could limit a woman's role as mother was regarded as negative. She argues that "anti-corset, plain dress statements" were intended for "middle-class girls trained not only to avoid vulgarity but also to preserve their health and "race."[30] The proper "robust" woman dressed with awareness that her choice in fashion bespoke her desire to reproduce. The poem "A Canadian Ideal" depicts this notion of fashion and reproductive health. It states that the perfect woman is "One that don't lace/A dress-for-her-health young girl."[31] However, a woman could not entirely throw aside her womanly apparel to enjoy the benefits of reproductive health. A report on the cases in front of the Police Magistrate reveals that "Miss Sadie Bryson" was arrested and found guilty of "masquerading in male attire."[32] For this "crime" of dressing in a manner considered inappropriate, challenging gender roles and hiding her reproductive capabilities by wearing man's clothing, Bryson was reportedly sentenced to six months in jail.

Even if a woman wore the proper European fashion, she was denounced in the *Sentinel* as unacceptable if she was not of Anglo-Saxon heritage. For instance, an article about the lives of Japanese women condemns them on two fashion fronts. Women who wear kimonos, the author states, look "a little dumpish," and similarly describes the "Japanese woman in European costume" as "a dwarfish, dumpish creature, as much out of her element as a duck on dry

land."[33] Such women are clearly depicted as sexually unappealing. However, one did not have to search as far away as Japan to find an image of an unacceptable woman which ties together race, fashion and sexual desirability. An article entitled "The Thirty Beauties" lists characteristics that celebrate women based primarily on their physical appearance. These attributes range from the small size of a woman's waist to the healthy red colour of her lips. For a woman to be fully beautiful, three things had to be pure - her "mind, heart and language;" and three things had to be white - her "skin, teeth and hands."[34] White hands are more than just a symbol of a woman's race and imply a middle-class, leisured existence without physical labour. Clearly an ideal bride was a sexually pure, white, middle-class woman who did not dress extravagantly and had been prepared from a young age for her role as a man's moral guardian and wife.

A man's sexual respectability was also tied to his conduct as a husband within the bonds of marriage. However, a single man's sexual conduct was monitored by the *Sentinel* in a significantly different manner from that of a single woman. Male sexual conduct was apparently not as closely bound to Port Arthur's level of civilization. The poems and prescriptive articles in the *Sentinel* that discuss proper and respectable behaviour for single men do not solely focus on his domestic responsibilities.

The idealized man in the *Sentinel* is the epitome of the "Muscular Christian." In a summary of a sermon delivered in the Methodist Church, the newspaper states that "[t]he course of Life Young Men Should Lead" is that

which would "be up and doing/With a heart for any fate/Christ within and God above us/Learn to labor and to wait."[35] Such Christian virtues also needed to be combined with a gentlemanly attitude. An article entitled "What makes a Gentleman" reveals that it is not easy, but once the traits of "honor," "honesty," and "respect" are acquired, a man will always be respectable regardless of his wealth or poverty. The *Sentinel* states that achieving the status of a gentleman requires "careful training and shaping of character, vigilant self-criticism, and [keeping] one's own acts and motives well in hand."[36] As Valverde has pointed out, this calculated control of all aspects of a man's personality, including his sexual conduct, was seen in the nineteenth century as indicative of a man's level of civilization and race.[37] Ultimately Anglo-Saxon men, as examples of "Muscular Christians," were regarded as those best able to control their passions due to their high degree of cultivation. A true and respectable man, according to the *Sentinel*, was an Anglo-Saxon Christian who would control his sexual instincts in his relationship with respectable women.

A man could most clearly reveal his muscularity, manly nature and fitness to marry through his physical appearance. The ideal gentlemanly shape is most clearly demonstrated in an outline of Rodderick McLennan a "Well-Known and Popular Railway Contractor." Commended for his "energy and skill," McLennan was in appearance and conduct the epitome of masculinity, being tall, muscular, "straight as an arrow and as light as one on his feet."[38] As the paper developed, drawings or short cartoons were included as humourous additions to the *Sentinel*. These images mocked the physical appearance of some men who did

not meet the standard of masculine force and attractiveness set by men like McLennan and ultimately were designated as unsuitable husbands. Lean or "skinny" men faced a good deal of ridicule for, as McLaren points out, during the nineteenth century, "many men made a point of becoming bigger and fatter to advertise their wealth and power."[39] Thus, the skinny man was not a real man because he lacked masculine authority, and as one short article in the *Sentinel* concludes, "thin legs are the result of some disease of the cerebellum."[40] Such a man would never make a suitable breadwinner in the rough and tumble industrialized world. One pictorial shows a thin, almost skeleton-like man in his bathing costume and a woman looking away in horror, with the following caption underneath: "The engagement between Miss Plumper and Mr. Lightly which we announced last winter has we understand, been broken off by request of the young lady."[41] Unfortunately for Mr. Lightly he would never become a truly respectable man through marriage.

Regardless of physical appearance, for the proper expression of a "Muscular Christian's" sexuality, a man needed to be married. In their interactions with single women, men were encouraged by the *Sentinel* to approach the situation with a clear statement of "matrimonial intentions."[42] The newspaper ties proper middle-class masculinity to a home and marriage. Men are encouraged to avoid "lonely Saturday nights," and fulfill their proper role through marriage.

> Get a wife, blue-eyed or brown-eyed; but all true-eyed. Get a little home - no matter how little; a sofa to hold just two, or two and a half in it on Saturday night, and then read this paragraph by the light of your wife's eyes and

thank heaven and take courage.[43]

A true gentleman, the paper reveals, has a wife and children who are "happy and rosy, with at way that is suggestive of pleasant things at home."[44]

The *Sentinel* regarded young men who did not marry as troublesome components of Port Arthur's population. One article states that when men do not fulfill this expectation "society as a whole and religious life in particular are seriously damaged."[45] The concern laid out in the newspaper is that the man who does not marry is at risk of "years of unsettled, uneasy, unblest [*sic*] life sometimes leading to vice, sometimes to unhappiness always to loss of manly character and of truest and highest good of life."[46] Although presumably both unmarried and married men turned to "vice" and made use of the local brothels, single, young men were a particular concern. The presence of inappropriate sexual conduct is described in the *Sentinel* as indicative of "Moral Turpitude" and one of the "Evidences of Evil" in Port Arthur and a "brief synopsis" of a sermon delivered at the Presbyterian church clarifies some of the fears that the community and newspaper had regarding prostitution. This "social evil," the article reveals, "was not only a blot on our Christianity" but also ran the risk of "ruining some of our young men, and some not very young, body and soul."[47] The newspaper's demands to cease such behaviour in Port Arthur are not directed at young men in order to control their misdirected sexual activities. Instead, the article states that community leaders should close down and remove brothels through municipal legislation. The implication is that the sexual temptation for young men to visit such places is nearly uncontrollable because

their sexuality is passionate and they do not yet have a proper "Angel in the House" to control it.

Although presented as a major obstacle to the respectable development of Port Arthur, men turning to the "vice" of prostitution are infrequently mentioned in the *Sentinel* and never are men discussed with the specificity with which women are. A man's name may be mentioned in the *Sentinel* as the owner of a "house of ill fame," but the names of the men who paid for such services are never listed. The closest that the *Sentinel* comes to naming names is in an article entitled "Police Court Cases" and, although the women's names are clearly written, the paper implies that the name of "John Lewis," the one "frequenter" arrested and fined, is an alias.[48] Thus, although improper sexual conduct of young men was seen to reflect poorly on the town, these men were not held responsible for their actions. It was a young man's responsibility to marry or he risked the well-being of his body and soul. It was presumed that only through a middle-class marriage to an "Angel in the House" could a man receive the proper moral guidance of his wife and express his sexuality in a manner regarded as respectable. It was the most logical and appropriate union and what was thought best for both women and men.

To return again to the words of Grandmama, "the proper and natural condition of men and women, arriving at the years of maturity, all things being equal, possessing sound physical and mental capacities are the enjoyments of marriage relations."[49] In an effort to ensure that civic stability and respectability were maintained through the proper marriage, the *Sentinel* closely monitored the

courtship conduct of the women and men of Port Arthur and did so in a manner that did not reveal the specific names but gave enough information that undoubtedly the citizens of the small town would have been certain of who was behaving in a manner deemed inappropriate. In what ways, then, was respectable courtship conduct for women and men characterized in the *Sentinel*?

The newspaper was particularly vigilant in monitoring the conduct of young women engaged in courting and the characterization of proper courtship conduct often centred on what a respectable woman should not do. In an article entitled "A Beautiful Prince Arthur's Landing Girl Found Hanging," a young woman of "a respectable family" is caught on a public street "hanging on to her lover's arm."[50] She is revealed to be the pride of her parents' home, but when she meets a certain "well-to-do young man," she loses interest in all else and meets with him in secret. Her purity and "spotless white" reputation is threatened by this public and inappropriate display and the action is constructed as akin to social suicide. The article condemns her behaviour for the shame that such free and sexually-questionable conduct brings upon her, her family and ultimately her town. The allusion to the death by hanging of the Beautiful Young Girl is not without meaning, for as Carolyn Strange argues, the belief existed in the nineteenth century that "a respectable woman would embrace death before compromising her character."[51] Hanging on a young man's arm in public while secretly attempting to hide out from the censure of both the community and family could cast doubt on the respectability of a woman. Interestingly, the

Sentinel was willing to approve some sexual interactions initiated by some women as long as they occurred in private. One article states that upon viewing her man, a young lover "took him to his bachelors' [*sic*] quarters, laid him on the sofa, and kissed him three times."[52] The *Sentinel* does not take issue with such an expression of sexuality, but with its public display and concludes that: "We have no objection to her kissing him, but she should 'pull down the blind,' especially when it is on one of our principal streets."[53]

Sexualized and even romanticized images of women and courtship also appear in another area of discourse in the *Sentinel* which centres on Aboriginal women. Historian Rayna Green has found that one of the overriding images of Aboriginal women constructed by Europeans since their arrival in North America is the "Indian Princess." Green argues that the princess was shaped as highly erotic but virtuous, "young, ..., and distinctly Caucasian, though her skin remains slightly tinted in some renderings."[54] She was also seen to represent a type of savage nobility thought to be possessed by Aboriginal people. Green suggests that "[a]s long as Indian women keep their exotic distance or die (even occasionally for love of Indian men), they are permitted to remain on the positive side of the image."[55]

In a short series of poems appearing in the *Sentinel,* a positive and sexualized image of an Aboriginal woman is presented within the bounds of courtship. "A Legend of Thunder Bay," (a lengthy poem ultimately intended as a criticism of Fort William's harbour), romantically describes the life of Zena. She is an Aboriginal woman whose description in the *Sentinel* closely matches

Green's summary of the characteristics of the "Indian Princess." Zena is a woman "of dusky hue/Whose glossy hair in ringlets flew" who resides idyllically (although not practically) in "a hut near by the shore."[56] Tragically, Zena, whose "bosom rose and fell," kills herself when her husband-to-be, a warrior possessed of "brawny arms with vigor strong," dies in a storm on Lake Superior. The imagery is highly idealized and sexualized, and describes a way of being that was long since gone, if it ever existed. However, what makes this depiction particularly relevant is that an Aboriginal woman, could be discussed as acceptable because she was the "Indian Princess" willing to die for her lover.

However, not all images of feminine sexuality and courtship presented in the *Sentinel* portrayed women in a manner which allowed them to be seen in a positive light. Perhaps the most disreputable construction of women's sexual behaviour appeared in the form of the 'femme fatale.' This highly sexualized being was an extremely popular image in the second half of the nineteenth century and appeared in "painting, sculpture, illustration, the decorative arts, literature - both popular and esoteric - fashion and no doubt the thinking and behaviour of ordinary men and women."[57] The femme fatale was a highly eroticized woman in comparison to the "Angel," with an insatiable lust for sex and a desire to consume a man's wealth and vitality.[58] Once such a woman had a man within her sights, he was believed to be helpless to fend off her attack. Ultimately a femme fatale's sexual hunger and need for money would lead to the downfall of civilization, or at least impede its progress.

The femme fatale image is played out in the *Sentinel*, particularly within the context of courtship, although perhaps in one of her milder forms. Some women are discussed as evil beings who trap marriageable male victims who fall prey to their scheming ways. A poem entitled "How She Caged Him" describes the courtship of a couple written from the perspective of young "Jack". It begins with romance and love, but after exchanging one kiss Jack declares that "I turned to go off, but the witch had me caged,/And said with a blush and a smile so provoking -/Why, it i[s]n't wrong now, Jack, you know we're engaged."[59] Although "Jack" may blame himself, the newspaper certainly did not hold him responsible for getting "trapped" by a woman. When they lose the ability to reason in the presence of a femme fatale, Grandmama contends that men rush the stage of courtship, "make fools of themselves and run into the matrimonial net as stupidly as if their reasoning faculties were condensed into those of a humming bird."[60] One local example in the *Sentinel* notes that trying to stop a woman who "takes the notion" to marry a man is like attempting to dam "the flow of Current River with a piece of muslin."[61] The young man in this situation, while sharing in the "throbbing pulse" and wild feeling of love, is not himself as he had fallen prey to "one of Eve's fair daughters."[62] A woman's demonic desire for wealth and riches comes at the cost of the well-being of her male counterpart. A want ad in the Sentinel reads: "Two young ladies of this town are anxious of securing husbands. A splendid chance for young men with capital."[63] And a young man who would respond to this ad could find himself in a desperate situation if he did not have the finances to support such a woman. In response

to the changing seasons and the setting of a northern winter, an article in the newspaper relates the private grumbling of a young man as he left his "sweetheart" at her front gate. He complains that "If I only had half of the money I have squandered on buggy rides, excursions, parties, oysters, and cream candy for that girl, I would be able now to buy me a good winter's overcoat" and, in reference to the approaching cold, concludes that "phew... I am going to need it pretty soon, too."[64] He is trapped into physical ruin as the woman he is wooing demands such financial commitment.

However, if a young man kept his wits about him, he is regularly projected in the pages of the *Sentinel* as the active force in the relationship. Courtship was a very sexualized space and the discourse in the paper indicates that it could be a dangerous realm for women. For example, a poem about a young man kissing a young woman demonstrates the frightening lack of physical power that some women had compared to their male suitors. Narrated from a woman's perspective, the poem is intended as a humourous anecdote of female fragility, and the first and last stanzas show an image of masculine power.

> He held my hand -
> I knew 'twas wrong,
> And still I did not chide him
> He clasped my waist -
> He is so strong
> And I so weak beside him....
>
> My foolish heart
> Was throbbing so
> That I could not prevent it.
> He said he loved me -
> I don't know -
> I wonder if he meant it.[65]

This poem indicates that this woman felt she had little choice but to accept her suitor. Other articles in the paper describe what could happen to women who did not acquiesce to the advances of men. One account from Chicago states that John Fremer shot Julia Fisher, the woman he wanted to marry, when she "rejected him."[66]

Courtship and the sexual activities that took place within this relationship were constructed as having very different meanings for women and men. Women, as demonstrated in the above poem, were projected as often assuming that an intimate gesture that took place with a man obligated the two to love and then marriage. For a man, kissing a woman was constructed as simply an opportunity for pleasure and did not necessarily indicate that marriage was foremost on his mind. The *Sentinel* even offered advice to young men about kissing and how to do it properly. It advises that "as long as a girl don't claw, yell and struggle like a pant[h]er," a man is "obviously" welcome to continue with his attentions.[67] However, a man finding himself in a situation where the woman rejects his advances or "claws a man's hair and scratches his face like a fool" was encouraged to "drop her at once."[68]

Masculine sexuality in the realm of courtship was also monitored with specific reference to the local scene. When a young man, (although not precisely stated in the article, it is presumably one of the Wiley clan), "showered with some seventeen summers" is caught "walking in the direction of Fort William with a young lady," the matter is treated somewhat differently than the experience of the "Beautiful Young Girl."[69] His behaviour is not tied to the

honour of his household and the report is presented in a humourous manner. In a follow-up article in the next edition of the *Sentinel* an anonymous author (presumably one of the Marks-Wiley clan) tells the editor of the paper to mind his own business as "Wiley youths, in general, can take care of themselves."[70] The censure of the "Beautiful Young Girl" by the *Sentinel* was very much tied to her gender. She was held to a very different sexual standard than the male Wiley youth for participating in behaviour that was deemed not respectable and could ultimately tarnish her sexual reputation, prospects for marriage and the standing of the town as a whole. However, as Lynne Marks has concluded in her study of small-town Ontario in the latter half of the nineteenth century, men could remove stains of a misbegotten youth through proper conduct within the bonds of marriage.[71] Thus, the sexual conduct of the Wiley youth was not an area for too much concern as the assumption was that any improprieties incurred by the young man would be redeemed upon marriage.

For some single men in the community, the *Sentinel* was willing to defend sexual improprieties regardless of their marital status. Karen Dubinsky has written extensively about the rape case in Port Arthur involving Colonel S. W. Ray, a shareholder of the *Sentinel* and a single member of the community's elite, and Louise Rose Bathurst, an English, middle-class woman and wife of the town's doctor. Dubinsky points out that while "stories about the Ray case circulated widely and were reported in newspapers in Toronto, Winnipeg, Minnesota, scarcely a word was printed in the Port Arthur paper."[72] One of the few mentions of the case in the *Sentinel* denounces the judge for treating

Bathurst too kindly when she appeared on the witness stand and concludes that "it is, of course, impossible to give Mrs. Bathurst's testimony, or even a summary of it."[73] Although Dubinsky has found that there is little doubt as to Ray's guilt, his wealth and high social standing allowed him to transgress the norms of sexual conduct without reprisal in the *Sentinel*. He remained active in Port Arthur affairs, ran a local bank, became mayor in 1911, acted in local drama productions and had been selected as a prominent citizen by the government and allowed to lead the local Militia.[74]

However, the same glossing over of a single man's sexual misconduct was not extended by the *Sentinel* to all men in the community. Middle-class men, like Ray, were treated in a different manner than lower or working-class men. When Thomas O'Connor, a single labourer, was found guilty of forcing Maggie Woodeli, a newly arrived Finnish immigrant and dairy employee, into a wooded area near a cemetery and attempting to "raise her dress," the case was closely followed by the *Sentinel*.[75] O'Connor was not offered the same degree of anonymity by the press that Ray incurred. Similarly, Woodeli's sexual reputation was not constructed as in need of the same degree of protection as that of Bathurst. A full account of the assault on the working-class Woodeli was offered in the newspaper and she is characterized as "a maiden who has crossed the rubicon of life" with "features that cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered bewitching."[76] Although Bathurst had faced a similar crime as the one committed against Woodeli, she received very different treatment by the *Sentinel*. Prior to the Bathurst-Ray case going to trial, the newspaper had

defended Bathurst in the face of allegations of sexual misconduct leveled against her by out-of-town newspapers.[77] Whether this was done to protect her reputation from being soiled, in defence of Ray's actions, or to protect the fragile reputation of the community is unclear.

The sexual conduct and level of respectability of the men and women of Port Arthur proved essential to the community-building aspirations of the *Sentinel*. The *Sentinel's* journalists and editors encouraged marriage for a wide variety of men and women as long as it served the growing region. In the early years of its existence, the newspaper advertises Prince Arthur's Landing as "an excellent opening for persons of the female gend'r [sic]."[78] The community, the *Sentinel* feels, possesses "far too few of the refining element in society here. Yes, girls, here is a matrimonial opening, but don't all rush at once - especially those upon the down grade of life."[79] The people who resided in the immediate region around the town were also encouraged to marry. An article on farming settlers in the Township of Oliver reports that "all the new settlers are young men, unmarried, but we hope to see them all in a few years with 'a little farm well tilled and a little wife well willed.'"[80] The *Sentinel* used the populating of the region with Euro-Canadian women as a sign of civilization and respectability and proudly reports that the Neebing Council "decided to issue pamphlets containing photographs of farms, and, it is said, of the good looking girls in the Municipality, with a view to attracting settlers. The idea is a good one..."[81] Although there is no direct mention of the race of these women, from the discourse presented in the *Sentinel* about physical characteristics of who was beautiful, it is clear that

these women would have had to have been white. Similar to Perry's discussion about Anglo-Saxon women in British Columbia, the morally pure, attractive woman was constructed in the *Sentinel* as an agent of civilization and as a representation of the proper development of a frontier community.

However, as mentioned previously, the population of Anglo-Saxon men vastly outnumbered the Anglo-Saxon women in Port Arthur. In the early days of the new community, when inter-racial marriages between Aboriginal women and Anglo-Saxon men still took place, discourse in the *Sentinel* about these unions attempted to shape the women as acceptable and respectable. To construct Aboriginal women as possessing the characteristics of good wives of "pale face" men, one article demonstrates a desire to make the women as white as possible. "Half-breed beauties" who married white men are depicted as "of superior mind, and highly respected by whites and Indians."[82] With regards to her physical appearance, an acceptable Aboriginal wife is "a decidedly handsome woman...well educated, with easy, graceful manners.... pretty little feet [and] dainty hands."[83] The reference to her hands and feet draws an immediate comparison to those of the Anglo-Saxon "Angel in the House." While her skin colour may be a darker hue, the "Half-Breed Beauty" maintains a certain level of respectability because her fragile and petite appendages indicate that she does not perform physical labour in the domestic sphere or in the public realm where her virtue could be at risk. Removal from the public world also reveals to the readership of the *Sentinel* that she is respectable in her sexual conduct like a proper "Angel."

As time passed the social makeup of the community changed and so too did descriptions of Aboriginal women presented in the *Sentinel*. Over the years, the image of the "squaw" begins to appear. Historian Rayna Green has recognized a second dominant image to appear in the context of Anglo-Saxon interpretations of Aboriginal women. Sister to the "Indian Princess," is the debased "squaw" who is typically characterized as ugly, dirty and lazy. She is regarded as a sexual convenience "for men who...are tainted by association with her."[84] Historian Sarah Carter draws attention to the fact that Aboriginal women during the late nineteenth century were typically depicted as "squaws" by the Canadian press. They were described as women of "loose morals" who were "notorious the world over."[85]

In the *Sentinel*, being married to a "squaw" could throw a white man's reputation into question, regardless of his level of respectability. William Horn, the alleged "whiskey King of Rat Portage" and owner of a "house of ill fame" who was to stand trial for murder, felt it necessary to defend his manhood because he was married to an Aboriginal woman. In a conversation with a *Sentinel* reporter while he was in prison at Port Arthur, Horn stated that "Of course I was living with an Indian woman, but she is respected by all who knew her, and no one can say anything against her."[86] Horn's defence perhaps implies that the community believed that his marriage to an Aboriginal woman was not appropriate as defined by late-nineteenth-century society.

The ideal union between a man and a woman constructed in the *Sentinel* was that which occurred between a "Muscular Christian" and an "Angel-in-the-

House." The true bride in a wedding announcement is described by the *Sentinel* as "the belle of Algoma."[87] The proper groom is noted for his physical appearance, combined with the reputation of his character in the public realm. Mr. Thomas A. McCauley made a suitable man for marriage for, as the newspaper reported, he "is well known as an honest, intelligent and persevering young man, who has advanced himself to a high position."[88] After witnessing the completion of such a perfect union, the *Sentinel* concludes that "now it looks as though nothing were required to complete the happiness of the bride and bridegroom."[89]

Newly-married men and women were allowed a certain degree of latitude with public displays of sexuality. However, such activity was best kept private. The *Sentinel* reports that one married couple of the community spent their honeymoon snowshoeing 180 miles to Little Pic where newly-wedded Mr. Rolland was employed. They are praised by the newspaper since "[o]n the road if they 'spooned' and acted like calves, or 'bride and groom,' there was no one present to watch their antics and see them play the fool."[90] The paper also offers the advice that honeymooning couples should not wear anything that would draw attention to themselves "unless they desire to be remarked and known as turtle doves."[91]

After marriage it was assumed in the *Sentinel* that a woman would have found her true position in life in the role of moral guardian, wife and mother. Sexually, she was now responsible, as one poem states, for simply a bit of "[j]udicious petting not too freely given."[92] She would continue to be "The Model

Housewife" as long as "she doeth her husband's will alway[s]."[93] The bonds of marriage are described as more problematic for men. While the domestic role for men focused on the necessity of marriage, it is also depicted as a burden. Again drawing upon race and class constructions, the poem "My Wife's Hand" tells of the smooth caress at night of a woman's "pure white hand." The hand acts as the moral and sexual salvation of her husband and through marriage to a proper "Angel in the House," a man's salvation is assured.[94] Although "husband" is the natural role in life for a respectable man, marriage and a wife are also constructed as encumbrances. One report in the *Sentinel* states that several prominent citizens "appear to be having an unusually good time lately" as their wives were away.[95] With a wife out of town, a man could forget his duties as a husband and father and take part in leisure activities outside of the home. Whether these good times involved challenging norms of respectable sexuality by visiting local bars and brothels, is not clearly stated in the article. However, the implication is that men could forget the burden of marriage and have fun when wives were temporarily absent.

In conclusion, the sexual conduct of women and men formed an important part of the discourse in the *Sentinel* about respectability. An underlying theme in this discussion is the recognition that sexuality was policed differently for different women and men at different times in their lives. The middle-class, Anglo-Saxon "Angel-in-the-House" could be the moral salvation of her husband and the community through her appropriate conduct and appearance prior to and following marriage. Women, such as prostitutes or the femme fatale whose

sexual conduct was too active, were seen as less than proper. They were regarded as a scourge on the town and a threat to masculine well-being. Alternatively, male sexual conduct was treated with a greater degree of leniency. A man was encouraged to fulfill his proper role through a respectable marriage which would end his sexual and moral corruption. Marriage was constructed as the place for the respectable man to express his sexuality. However, unlike women, men were allowed latitude in their sexual conduct within the community. Men of the right (white) race and (middle) class were forgiven for their sexual improprieties as marriage to an "Angel in the House" would be a man's salvation. The *Sentinel* tied the private relations between men and women to the respectable public reputation of Port Arthur. In doing so it is clear that the nineteenth-century divide between the domestic world of women and the business world of men was a false dichotomy. The shaping of women and men occurred in both the private and public realms and not in one isolated sphere.

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Chapter 3

One of the advantages of Port Arthur in the late nineteenth century, according to the *Sentinel's* report of a local Presbyterian sermon, is that: "We have a capable and intelligent population. Houses and shops won't do much for a town; [they] don't make a town without the right kind of people in them."[1] A proper marriage was not the only expression of respectability that was seen to reflect positively on the community and the women and men who lived there. The actions performed by the citizens of Port Arthur in their "houses and shops" could also go a long way in creating a respectable type of town. The *Sentinel's* discourse about the work performed by women and men in the public and private spheres indicate that both sexes had expected roles in the realms of paid and unpaid labour which were seen to reflect on the level of respectability in the community. For the purposes of this examination, paid labour is defined as work for which women and men received wages in the formal labour market and unpaid labour is an activity constructed as an expected duty for men and women which takes place in the public or private spheres. Gathering together the ideals of masculinity and femininity discussed in the previous two chapters, chapter three utilizes additional secondary sources to explore the expectations of paid and unpaid labour for women and men in their homes and the broader community in late-nineteenth-century Canada. The *Sentinel's* prescriptive gendering of respectability for women's paid and unpaid labour is examined, followed by a similar analysis for men.

Bryan D. Palmer points out that during the 1880s "competitive capitalism consolidated in Canada."[2] Manufacturing increased and the period saw economic growth due to the C. P. R. which joined the country by rail and facilitated the movement of both goods and people. Although economic development offered employment opportunities to men, who were the primary wage earners in Ontario families, such income was inadequate for many households in the province. Marjorie Griffin Cohen argues that even though the idea persisted in Ontario that a woman's place was within the home, this was a bourgeois ethic that conflicted with working-class survival.[3] As a result many women took on positions of employment in the public realm and by the 1880s women's participation in waged labour was widespread.[4] A list of leading occupations for Canadian women in 1891 begins with "servant" and is followed by "Dressmaker," "Teacher," "Seamstress," "Laundress," and "Milliner," among others.[5] Cohen has found that the majority of women who directly participated in the formal economy were single or widowed and that it was unusual for married women to be employed outside of the home and to receive wages for their work.[6]

As the century progressed, single middle-class women took on paid positions outside of the domestic realm before marriage.[7] Some women left their families for the increased freedom of urban settings and were employed in a number of paid positions including domestic service and factory work.[8] In a local example, Belle Kittredge, from a middle-class background, lived in Port Arthur from 1891 to 1892, resided with her uncle Frank Keefer and performed clerical work in his law office.[9] Office work done by women, such as Kittredge, is

indicative of changes in the broader Canadian work world, including the "gradual loosening of social norms regarding women's employment."[10] The type of work performed by Kittredge was regarded as acceptable because it was assumed that it would cease upon her marriage and drew upon skills seen as "womanly." If a woman's paid work was perceived as being outside of the feminine sphere, it was seen as a threat to male dominance in the public realm. The danger of women who challenged masculine authority was personified in the "New Woman" who was "heralded by the entrance of middle-class women into new forms of waged work."[11] This construction of womanhood began in England during the 1880s, although the label "New Woman" was not used until 1894.[12] She was a radical compared to her domesticated sister because the New Woman challenged "society's insistence on marriage as woman's only option for a fulfilling life."[13]

The perception existed in the late nineteenth century that a woman who appeared unescorted in public could not lead a respectable life as a "public woman" and was generally thought to be a prostitute. Chris Burr points out that women who ventured outside of the home were problematic as "[p]roblems arose in distinguishing between street walkers, defined as 'bad girls,' and chaste 'good girls,' who might be out for an evening stroll, or else new to the city, and out searching for employment and accommodation."[14] Even for those "good girls" who found respectable employment, their virtue was still considered at risk. Carolyn Strange has examined the Canadian Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital report from 1889 and states that for the writers

of the document, "the social costs of industrial capitalism were most aptly measured through its effects on wage-earning women's morality."[15] Women, these gentlemen believed, could not maintain a respectable lifestyle living on the wages that they received and as a result inevitably turned to prostitution to support themselves. Thus, as increasing numbers of women entered the realm of paid labour their respectability was called into question.

Bettina Bradbury argues that as much as women took on paid labour outside of the home, these experiences were "punctuated by times when household chores were their major occupation. This served as a fitting apprenticeship for their future roles as spouses."[16] Women's unpaid labour in the private realm focused on her role as mother and wife and was idealized as her natural place or duty. In Victorian Ontario, "women's work, unlike men's, was expected to be a labour of love, and as such it went unremunerated."[17] It was assumed that a proper woman would provide her husband and children with a home filled with domestic happiness and comfort.

This duty as a moral guardian also extended into the public realm. Respectable middle-class women in the Victorian era provided unpaid labour outside of the home in their role as society's moral guardians. These "Angels" were thought to have a special mission to save society from corrupt and polluting influences seen to exist in an increasingly industrial and urban country. A woman's respectable public role of salvation disposed her to unpaid, voluntary labour which could be done through participation in church groups.[18] Since the late eighteenth century, it had become increasingly acceptable and respectable

for women to actively participate in the Protestant church. Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue that "within the church or chapel they could find one public arena from which they were not excluded."[19] Women's involvement also extended to other social organizations dedicated to improving life in Canada. This work included association with the National Council of Women and joining social purity groups such as the Salvation Army, which extended membership to working-class women. The work of these women was, as Valverde argues, mitigated by Anglo-Saxon, middle-class masculine control of public life. A certain number of women of the same race and social positioning were admitted to such groups "as long as they participated in the construction of women in general as beings who, despite their heroic and largely unaided deeds in maternity, were dependent upon male protection."[20] Women who took on public roles understood their position in relation to men. Cecilia Morgan refers to this position of women as "symbolic reminders" to the male population of their masculine duties and responsibilities.[21] Thus, a middle-class woman could participate in the public realm as long she could offer a symbol of inspirational womanhood and the chivalric "Muscular Christian" was there to protect her.

Holman suggests that for men in Victorian Ontario there was a locally constructed code of proper conduct formed in the public arena. Middle-class men of the community headed by "journalists, editorialists, clergy and letter writers," attempted to construct "an official code of locally acceptable and masculine public conduct."[22] One of the most important aspects of proper masculine conduct in the public realm was a man's employment. In the context

of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada, Steven Maynard argues that there was a "crisis in masculinity" precipitated by the rise in capitalism and industrial development.[23] The result, he argues, was that there were numerous appeals to masculinity within labour discourse. Within the world of work a man was defined as a good or proper man by the manner in which he worked; a good worker, (i.e. not lazy) made a good man.[24] Race also played a part in defining a proper masculine worker. For example, in the Canadian context, Burr argues that the "construction of men as vital to the project of nation building applied to 'white' workers only."[25] Non-white employees were treated with disdain. A man's social standing was defined by the type of labour he performed. The middle-class, non-manual labourer was considered the best representative of true manhood as he used his mental abilities and not his physical capabilities to provide for himself and his family.[26]

Middle-class men were further expected to complete certain unpaid duties as "Muscular Christians" within the public realm. Morgan points out that men's masculine fulfillment is often found in "their unselfish behaviour in the 'public' sphere."[27] Such chivalric involvement of a political and public nature included voting, running for political office, becoming involved in church governance and joining the local fire brigade.[28] This type of "social fathering" offered "Muscular Christians" in the community a large degree of respectability.

Tosh argues that men, unlike nineteenth-century women, were privileged with the social freedom to move easily between the private and public realms.[29] Inasmuch as the domestic sphere was seen as the epitome of womanliness in

the nineteenth century, men too had expected roles within the home. Tosh notes that a man's ideal position within the home centred on the fact that, as a husband and father, he "provided for the family and exercised the governance of it, [but] *management* of the family belonged to the wife."[30] Fatherhood, although not a frequently discussed topic in Victorian discourse, was one of the key reasons why a man worked. The essence of a man's paid employment in the public world slipped into the private sphere and coloured his relationships with his wife and children. A middle-class or working-class man's social worth and "manliness" was "represented as the ability to provide for a family."[31] Those men who worked and provided well for their families were good men and those who were lazy, unemployed or unable to work were not acceptable or respectable men. The epitome of nineteenth-century masculine financial success was made flesh in the image of the "Angel in the House" and those men and women who could afford the luxuries of middle-class living were truly respectable.

The *Sentinel's* discourse on respectable employment was somewhat more complex than the ideal of a domestic wife and a public husband. Ads and articles in the newspaper reveal that women were active in the public realm of paid labour and they were commended by the newspaper for their paid labour as long as their employment was seen to reflect skills garnered from the domestic realm.[32] For example, Mrs. Carruthers, who was charged and later found innocent of the murder of her husband, was supported by the *Sentinel.* According to a report in the newspaper "[s]he was dragged from the bosom of her family and from respectable employment" and falsely imprisoned for over a

year.[33] Mrs. Carruthers worked in the public realm which could have cast her reputation into doubt, but, as the *Sentinel* stressed, she was a good and proper mother. During the early years of the publication of the *Sentinel*, there are numerous advertisements for establishments where women were the proprietors. Several women's clothing businesses are advertised in the paper. Mrs. McDonell let the public know about her "Fashionable Dress and Cloak Making" in the pages of the *Sentinel*.[34] In one of the few surviving editions from 1896, an article reports that "Mrs. Traynor will hold a grand millinery opening" that "[e]very lady should visit."[35] Single women also publicized their businesses in the *Sentinel*. In 1878 Miss E. J. Fallowfield and Miss S. Maloney advertised the opening of their millinery establishment.[36] Women also drew upon social constructions of British Anglo-Saxon superiority to remind customers of their respectability and skill. Mrs. W. Eades announced herself in the *Sentinel* as running the "City Laundry." "Having had a large practical experience both in this country and in England" she was prepared to offer her services "In First-Class City Style at [the] Lowest Rates."[37]

Respectable women who worked for wages were also constructed in the *Sentinel* as playing a role in community-building. Ads appeared in the *Sentinel* when those who could afford hired help looked for "a maid servant," or "a Girl to do Housework and able to make good bread."[38] One short article in the *Sentinel* intending to increase the immigration of white women to Port Arthur states: "The great scarcity of 'kitchen mechanics' and other necessary help has raised wages from $10 to $15 per month."[39] This "necessary help" would provide the middle-

class population of the community with a visible sign of their wealth. A domestic servant would do the physical labour within the household and create an opportunity for the mistress to maintain her pure white hands and soul unsullied by such work. This respectable middle-class development in turn would reflect well on the community.

In a more professional capacity, women also made their respectable labour known in the *Sentinel* and it was acceptable as long as the work was considered "womanly." Miss Hayes made the reading public aware of her "Private School" that charged "$3 per quarter."[40] Miss A. M. Fisher stated that she had "passed examinations at the Trinity and the London College of Music" and was "prepared to give lessons on the piano, violin or theory."[41] As late as 1883, Mrs. Dunn advertised her services as a midwife to the women of Port Arthur, her ad appearing directly beneath that of the town doctor, T. S. T. Smellie.[42] For a period of time the editor of the *Sentinel* was a woman. When the Dickinson family left Port Arthur for the United States due to James Dickinson's poor health, his daughters Pauline and Martha were taught the ins and outs of newspaper production. According to nineteenth-century ideals, learning their father's trade was not done to provide them with a viable occupation. Dickinson reportedly stated that he taught his daughters the newspaper business as "such employment during a summer vacation would keep girls out of trouble."[43] Trouble, in the nineteenth-century context could only mean one thing - participating in activities regarded as sexually inappropriate. However, in Martha Dickinson's case, knowing how to run a newspaper had a

more practical application when the family returned to Port Arthur. The *Sentinel* reports in1893 that James Dickinson was ill "for about eight months" during which time "[h]is oldest daughter [Martha Dickinson] has been attending to his duties."[44] It is difficult to determine from this short write-up exactly what is intended - it could be to inform the readership of James Dickinson's recovery and that things would be back to "normal." Alternatively, the article might have been written to applaud Martha Dickinson for her work and to explain that her efforts in the public realm of business did not compromise her womanly nature. Evidence of the latter can be garnered from an article entitled "Pioneer Journalist." It discusses the life of "Mrs. Pewett," the first female newspaper editor and proprietor in the United States. Although she took on work typically considered a masculine employment, the article celebrates her success because she remains respectable through her womanly duties. It states that Mrs. Pewett wrote "strong and fearless" editorials in her newspaper. In order to demonstrate that she was a truly respectable woman and that her paid labour did not interfere with her domestic duties, it concludes by noting that "[s]he also kept house, saw that things were kept tidy at home, and did sewing and patching and mending and knitting for her three children."[45] In the same manner, Martha Dickinson's skills and financial support of her family needed to be seen as temporary so she could remain a respectable woman.

The conflict between respectable paid labour for women and women who took on jobs considered too far outside of proper feminine employment is one of the most interesting discussions in the *Sentinel*. Women who took on positions

of paid employment which were seen to challenge male authority were problematic in that they occupied a space independent of masculine control and threatened the social order. A report discussing Dr. Mary Walker from Washington, who applied to join the police board, begins with the statement "It is no joke at all, but an actual fact."[46] The mention that she was a professional no doubt would have drawn upon the images of the "New Woman" and was intended to cast an aura of impropriety about her. Perhaps the most outrageous representations of the New Woman portrayed in the *Sentinel* were those which gave such women stereotypical male attributes. One short piece in the paper argues that a woman would be "fitted for the rough and thorny work of the masculine professions when she has got a rough beard, a brazen front and hard skin."[47] Ridicule was also used by the *Sentinel* to depict how unnatural it was for women to challenge existing norms. In what was intended to be a humorous story, the positions of men and women in nineteenth-century society are reversed in a piece entitled "The Future."[48] Women, with names like Miss Elizabeth Talker, Mrs. Louisa Croaker, and Miss Sarah Ferret, live in the year 1982. They propose to men, run for public office, hold positions in the House of Commons and are employed as lawyers and doctors. The article is obviously intended to mock women who took on roles considered by the *Sentinel* as unnatural to their womanly nature. This type of humour, which designated women as the butt of the joke, was "a potent weapon in the maintenance of hegemony."[49] Lisa Tickner, in her analysis of New Woman imagery within the British media during the campaign for female suffrage, argues "nothing was

more absurd for some audiences than the spectacle of a woman trying to become like a man,...[N]othing was more fundamentally unnerving, and therefore more productive of the laughter."[50] Jokes, such as "The Future," were used by those men who held the editorial pen to place men in a superior position and to remind women of their expected role in society.

At least one reader was angered by the treatment of women in the *Sentinel* and by "the lords of creation" living in the community. In a letter to the editor, "Justice," states that "there are those in our midst who claim to be "connnoisseurs,' [*sic*] and ridicule the equality of women with men."[51] "Justice" then requests that the editor print two articles about a successful female journalist and woman who captained a schooner to prove "what woman can do, notwithstanding the position denied to the 'weaker sex.'"[52] Although few articles of this nature appear in the *Sentinel*, they are evidence that perhaps some women and even men of the community supported the message put forth by first-wave feminists.

The New Woman may have dared to confront men's control of the public world, but prostitutes were the most problematic group of women for the editors of and contributors to the *Sentinel*. Like the New Woman, they challenged norms of respectability, but even more scandalous, prostitutes transgressed "dominant womanly norms" of sexual conduct and "[o]nce fallen from the sexual purity expected of Victorian womanhood, they could not be redeemed."[53] Prostitutes and "places of bad repute" that existed in Port Arthur were definitely not signs of community progress. In one particularly fervent article, the *Sentinel*

demands that "[t]he good name of this town must be maintained and these places must no longer be permitted to exist in our midst."[54] Clearly this was not appropriate employment for the women of Port Arthur as their sexual improprieties could cast a shadow of disrepute over the community.

One of the ways that the *Sentinel* attempted to demonstrate the greater sexual purity of the north in comparison to the eastern regions of the province was through publishing numerous articles about women's sexuality. While this relates to sexual conduct discussed in chapter two, it is also attached to women's paid employment. One of the major concerns in nineteenth-century urban centres was the sexual reputation of the increasing numbers of women entering paid employment "adrift' from their families in big cities."[55] Single women who lived alone and were employed in work that removed them from domestic influences were believed to be at risk of becoming sexually corrupt and "[f]emale vice remained a potent symbol of urban immorality."[56] Pointing to the morally impure and more populated regions of the country, the *Sentinel* printed articles about the ruination of women who worked in the public sphere. In an article from Toronto, the *Sentinel* reports that a young woman employed in the city, named Nellie Malcolm, died mysteriously in a boarding house.[57] This piece informs the reading public of what could happen to a woman of "good character" who worked for wages and lived alone. An article, located in the column directly beside the story of Nellie Malcolm, also describes the risks to single women who were led astray under corrupting urban influences. It reports that a man in Montreal, "charged with conveying girls to an infamous house, has been sent to

jail for a month."[58] In drawing attention to the dangers and sexual corruption of women who performed waged labour in the more populated parts of the province, the *Sentinel* not only reminded the community of the evils thought to exist in cities, but also attempted to put Port Arthur on a more respectable plane than its neighbours.

Another manner in which a woman could demonstrate Port Arthur's respectability and civility was through her labour in the home. Skills that women might acquire for professional employment were best utilized within the domestic realm. For the practical and proper woman, the *Sentinel* declares that studying "special trigonometry or navigation" would be useless for her duties as wife and mother.[59] The reasonable young woman is depicted in the paper as proclaiming: "I would like to study medicine. I don't mean that I want to be a physician and practice, but to know what to do at home if anybody is sick."[60] A further example is an article that heralds the carpentry skills women were purportedly learning. It stresses that these abilities are amateur and to be used to "do any of the dozen little things that are so often required about the house."[61] Thus a woman who might have been determined to learn skills not typically associated with the domestic sphere could be constructed as respectable by the *Sentinel* if such activities were to be used for the betterment of the home.

The unpaid labour that women performed in the private realm is also situated around their mothering abilities. Grandmama returns again to advise that a family's "character" is determined by the "prudence and judgment of the mother" and "the kind words of a tender mother can never be obliterated from

the table of our memory."[62] The ideal of raising respectable and manly sons, in particular, appears repeatedly in the *Sentinel*. Mothers are reminded that boys needed special attention. To ensure her son is raised in the proper way, the mother must create a home filled with light, education, learning and mirth. The discourse leaves little doubt that mothers are responsible for their sons as a mother had "more influence over the destiny of her boys than any other influence whatever" and it was her responsibility to see that sons would "enter manhood with refined tastes."[63] Daughters also required motherly attention, but, as McLaren states, in the Victorian era "young women, it was assumed, simply had to be prepared for marriage."[64] The article entitled "What shall we do with our daughters" is a point-by-point discussion of how to raise a daughter to be the proper middle-class wife. The list is quite extensive and covers everything from "[t]each them the mysteries of the kitchen, dining-room and parlor" to "[t]each them self [-]reliance" and finishes with "[t]each them the essentials of life - truth, honesty, uprightness - and at a suitable time let them marry."[65] Women or mothers who did not follow the prescriptive discourse about motherhood were regarded by the *Sentinel* as unnatural. An article about the death of a local child sets forth the language used to describe women who abandoned motherhood. According to the piece, "Magnon [the husband] was a hard[-]working man, and had his wife been a true one, there is no reason why they should not have lived comfortably."[66] However, because she did not fulfill her motherly duties, spent Magnon's money and abandoned her family, "she was false in every respect."[67]

While motherhood in nineteenth-century Port Arthur may have been one of the most important roles for the reputable middle-class wife, women also were expected to extend these abilities to the public sphere. Perhaps the most acceptable and respectable public role for women was their activities within the Christian church. Some of the most frequently remarked upon activities of women working within the church were modest entertainments organized under the guise of advancing Christianity within the community. While perhaps a leisure opportunity for the people who attended these events, it was no doubt work for the women managing them and as such belongs in this chapter. In one of the many reports on a church social, the *Sentinel* notes that "ladies of the church... worked with such assiduity to provide not only the [p]ublic with an evening's wholesome entertainment, but also to bring into the church treasury a substantial pecuniary aid."[68]

Fundraising discussed in the *Sentinel*, such as that done for the church, appears to have been another respectable role for women to take on in the community but articles in the newspaper indicate that men attempted to watch over such work done by women. The discussion of women's fundraising activities on one occasion inspired a letter to the editor from "Suum Cuique," who demanded to know what the "ladies" of the "Women's Benevolent Association" were doing with the money they had raised through a concert.[69] The author is clearly attempting to exercise masculine control over the work done by women in the public realm. This type of monitoring reinforces the masculine prerogative to watch over women to ensure their proper behaviour. In

the *Sentinel* respectable women joined organizations under male control. For example when wanting to raise funds to build a local hospital, the *Sentinel* reports that the committee, comprised of leading men in Port Arthur, discussed "the desirability of securing the assistance of the ladies" and then elected a number of their wives and daughters.[70] The hospital had been long debated in the community but it was only when its development was at the fundraising stage that the participation of these respectable middle-class women was requested by the male leadership and mentioned in the *Sentinel*.[71]

The *Sentinel* also encouraged women to participate in a different respectable "Christian" organization. After a visit from the well-known and much loved Lady Ishbel Marjoribanks Gordon, Countess of Aberdeen and president of the National Council of the Women of Canada, the *Sentinel* states that: "We must confess to a little surprise at the fact that a Woman's Council, such as advocated by Lady Aberdeen, has not been formed in Port Arthur."[72] (Eventually a group was started in the community, but other than noting when meetings were held, the *Sentinel* does not discuss any of the work that these women did in Port Arthur.[73]) Historian Veronica Strong-Boag points out that the Women's Council, under Aberdeen's leadership in the 1890s, worked "to make the Dominion a sober, respectable and disciplined community."[74] In an age in which women were taking on public roles, the Women's Council could have been seen as a threat to the masculine sphere. However, the skills that women across the country drew upon to accomplish the goals of the Council were those associated with their roles as mothers and moral guardians and in this way they

were considered respectable and acceptable.[75] In a report in the *Sentinel* of a speech given by Mrs. Gibbs, one of the local members, the newspaper states that she "showed in well chosen and earnest words that roused the men in the audience to enthusiasm how the Women's Council is an association not for women's rights but for women's duties."[76] Thus, the Women's Council, so actively promoted by the *Sentinel*, was shaped in the newspaper as respectable because the women involved were utilizing their stereotyped strengths of moral guidance and mothering to better society.

Similarly, women's participation in the broader context of municipal and provincial politics utilized the higher moral virtues that they were thought to possess. Although letters from politicians that appeared in the paper were often addressed to both the "Ladies and Gentlemen" of Port Arthur[77] and women were also commended for ensuring that "the hall was beautifully decorated... [and] the viands were plentiful and really choice" for political events and dinners,[78] the most important role for women in the realm of politics was their symbolic value at political events. For one meeting at the town hall, the *Sentinel* reports that:

> The hall was well filled, and on the platform were a number of ladies whose presence was gracefully alluded to by the different speakers, and undoubtedly was the chief factor in making the meeting a model one in point of order and decorum.[79]

The appropriate and proper inclusion of women into the night's political debate drew upon the construction of their higher degree of morality. Public meetings reported in the *Sentinel* could turn violent and as a result cast doubt on the respectability of the town. For example, during one particularly raucous debate

a physical argument broke out and "Mr. Marks endeavored to emphasize his remarks with force."[80] The paper states that "the scene was certainly a disgraceful one for a public meeting," and not indicative of the reasoned reputation the *Sentinel* wanted the community to have.[81] However, women's presence at political events was portrayed by the paper as having a moderating influence on male behaviour and offering a level of respectability to Port Arthur. Women were regarded as "symbolic reminders" to men of the role that they were expected to follow in order to create and maintain a civilized town; they were rarely discussed in the *Sentinel* as major players in the municipal, provincial or federal political scene.

Alternatively, men are discussed in the *Sentinel* as the primary and active force within the public realm. As "Muscular Christians" in the world of labour, they were afforded a large degree of respect and the imagery of them is quite positive. There is little doubt that the public realm was the only place for a respectable man in Port Arthur and employment was the defining factor of his manhood. The *Sentinel* declares that "'A fair day's pay for a fair day's work' is a manly maxim as ancient as it is honourable."[82]

The ideal male worker according to the *Sentinel* was a member of the middle class. The labourers and the C. P. R. brought economic prosperity to the community and the 1880s was a period of commercial expansion in Port Arthur. Tronrud points out that "[m]erchants and outfitters of all kinds prospered with the booming trade created by the mines and the railway."[83] Business owners, many of whom were also members of municipal, provincial or federal governments, are

described in a positive manner. A good businessman, revealed in the obituary of Albert McGillis, is "a thoroughly straightforward and honest man" whose "honest industry brought him the respect of the whole community."[84] Similarly, the owner of the Queen's Hotel is described as "an enthusiast, and he seems bent u[p]on making this popular house one of the most elegant and comfortable on the lake shores."[85] A successful clerk is commended in the newspaper for his reputation of behaving "honorably in his deal[ings] and [being] highly trustworthy."[86] Such respectable men who worked in Port Arthur may have lived on the fringe of Canadian civilization, but this type of employment was honourable and free from corrupting urban influences. The image of the rugged but respectable "Muscular Christian" is clearly revealed in one article about a well-liked young businessman named James McBean. He had left the community to work in Scotland for a business firm and remembers fondly his days in Port Arthur. McBean reportedly states:

> The trammels and usages of respectable society in this country are fearfully irksome and prosaic to one who has tasted of that liberty which is with you, on Thunder Bay, a pleasant realization of what we dare only to dream. The starched, stiff-necked, stove-pipe-hatted way that we do things is the antithesis of flannel shirts, tuques and moccasins, and all the other comfortable et ceteras Thunder Bayonians delight in.[87]

Although Port Arthur was far from "more civilized portions of the globe," the "semi[-]savage" ways of the businessmen of Port Arthur made them true men.

The pursuit of honourable business practices could, at times, cross the boundaries of race. Such discussion, particularly in reference to Chinese businessmen, is particularly interesting because they are seen at times as

acceptable and at other times with suspicion. Citizens were encouraged to "Stand together" to see Port Arthur and the country continue to thrive.[88] Tying together the well-being of the community, nation and British empire, the *Sentinel* encouraged the public to recognize the entrepreneurial spirit of those of non-Anglo-Saxon heritage. One particularly fervent editorial states that:

> [N]o class or community, of any kind whatsoever, can be permitted to arrogate to itself exclusive privileges, or wantonly injure others with impunity. It must be a matter of "give and take" with us; or else, all our magnificent advantages of position and resources will avail us naught. Our progress will be stayed. May not something similar be said of the Dominion, nay, even the Empire at large? Be a man rich or poor, Jew or Gentile, Chinaman or Hottentot; no matter what his race, religion or colour; so long as he is under the shelter of our flag on land or sea, he must be free to go about his lawful business without fear of molestation.[89]

The readers of the *Sentinel* were also presented with an article from the *Winnipeg Sun*, discussing Chinese immigration to Canada. It states that: "The Chinese came here oppressed and impoverished representatives of their race. They brought with them, however, their national characteristics - energy, sobriety and thriftiness."[90] By way of local example Samuel Lee, the owner of the "Chinese Laundry," had a float in the "Grandest Celebration ever Witnessed in this District."[91] The Anglo-Saxon business owners in the same parade are described as operating successful, modern and well-run establishments, as evidenced in their various floats. However, the only Asian business is presented in quite a different manner. Lee's addition to the parade is described in the *Sentinel* as follows.

> The almond[-]shaped eyes of the sons of the flowery

> land betokened that they appreciated the sport and they acted their part with a zeal that could only be equalled [*sic*] by Chinamen [*sic*].[92]

The Chinese owners of the laundry are not depicted as truly respectable business owners but as actors playing a "part." They are not treated with the same respect given to other businesses in the community because of their race.

Mariana Valverde argues that in nineteenth-century Canada "Orientals" were regarded as "hopelessly degenerate."[93] An article in the *Sentinel* reports that according to a Chinese source, it is considered a crime in China for a man to remain single. In conclusion, the author argues, it is possible to infer "that the [C]hinese laundrymen [*sic*] we have in Ontario are nothing less than a lot of criminals, as none of them appear to have brought their wives from home with them."[94] This of course ignores the restrictive and racist policies of the Canadian government with regards to the immigration of Chinese men and women in the 1880s. Such thinking was reflected in Canadian society as a whole; Valverde states that to improve the perceived moral behaviour of Chinese men working in Canada, at least one organization advocated the immigration of Chinese women "in the interest of justice and morality."[95]

Aboriginal men are another group whose actions are defined by their racial origins.[96] Certain Aboriginal men were regarded as acceptable and respectable if their behaviour demonstrated acceptance of Euro-Canadian norms. Such actions are depicted in the newspaper as civilized. Those who are regarded as maintaining an Aboriginal lifestyle are described as detriments to society. In late nineteenth-century Canada, the primary means of dealing with

the "Indian problem" was assimilation. Sarah Carter argues that from the initial organization of the reserve system on the Canadian prairies, Aboriginal men were depicted in the press in a series of degrading stereotypes and "[t]he failure of agriculture on the reserves was attributed to the incapacity of the men to become other than hunters, warriors, and nomads."[97] Aboriginal men are discussed in the *Sentinel* in a positive manner when they took actions that demonstrated their commitment to becoming "civilized." The character of a "beau ideal of an Indian chief" is celebrated in the *Sentinel* when he attempts "to aspire above the wretched and groveling condition of his race."[98] A band could acquire a certain degree of respectability through the actions of its leader. For example, Antoine Morrassque, "Chief of the band of Indians at Big Pic River and Long Lake" is reported as being desirous of having the Aboriginal people in his region learn English and agricultural practices encouraged by the Canadian government. The *Sentinel* concludes that: "We are pleased to see the Indians taking steps towards agriculture...[and] any steps toward civilization should be encouraged."[99]

However, the *Sentinel* frequently defined a man's level of respectability by his labour, regardless of his racial origins. The late nineteenth century in Canada was a period of nation building and the gainful paid employment of all its male citizens was seen to best reflect its development. The *Sentinel* states that it is "honourable and profitable labour [which] has transformed idle hands into busy hands."[100] Thus, even working-class male labourers are discussed in a

positive manner as long as they possessed certain characteristics of diligence, race and marital status.

Working-class men were encouraged to work hard to reap the rewards of respectability. Working as a "Railroader" was "an honest livelihood," a poem in the *Sentinel* quips, and although the work might be hard, one day such men might "travel special, and a private car adorn,/And then we'll all be happy, with naught our joy to mar,/ With an easy mind, we'll leave behind, all work on the C. P. R."[101] Race also was an important factor in the construction of the ideal labourer, particularly for those employed on the C. P. R. since the railway especially was tied to the well-being of the country. One article in the *Sentinel* describing the work progressing on the C. P. R. states that a "considerable number of men, principally Italians, and Poles who were sent up by American employment agents, proved entirely unfit for the work and were sent back. This class of men are not wanted there at all, and it is a mistake to send them out."[102] The right "class" of men are "vigorous men in the prime of life" who presumably are of Anglo-Saxon descent.

Finally, marital status offered working-class men respectability. An acceptable labouring man was one who had "been toiling hard on the C. P. R. this summer for the wherewithal to keep his wife and family" and who planned to return to them with his savings from his employment.[103] Single male labourers were a concern for the newspaper. Port Arthur, the *Sentinel* makes clear, was forced to deal with an influx of seasonally unemployed labourers who were to blame for the shadow of barbarity that hung about the town. According to a

report in the newspaper by George Baskin, an evangelical working with labourers on the C. P. R., it was especially important that these men receive moral and spiritual attention because they lived in isolated regions for extended periods of time. He writes that "[t]hese men are dissociated from the comfort and quietness of the family circle, and the well[-]ordered customs of town and village life."[104] Consequently, when these labourers came to Port Arthur, they had lost the influence of civilization and contributed to the reputation of the town as uncivilized. The *Sentinel* declares that the majority of those housed in Port Arthur's "gaol," who are responsible for the "disgraceful state of things" in the town, were "men who have found their way here with their winter's pay in their pockets, from the C. P. R. work east."[105]

When the men were not employed, the paper did not hesitate to note such inactivity. Even during "hard times" the newspaper blames the "unwilling worker" for his situation and hurried to point out that there is "work for every man, who is not afraid of it, in Port Arthur."[106] Further, the editors, journalists and contributors to the paper generally thought that labourers were well paid for their work. One letter to the editor from a person named "Truth" states that he or she has heard of the abuses suffered by the working man and in response decided to spend time in a C. P. R. camp. Presumably a male, he concludes that "the rate of wages was so good."[107] In a clearly stated editorial, the position of the paper in 1885 is put forth with little sympathy for the working class.

> Everyone has, in the first place, to labor in order to obtain capital, which being obtained in its turn employs and controls labor... If a person employs a lad to sweep out his office at $2 per week and finds that his business does

> not warrant even this expense, he is at liberty to offer him $1 a week or dismiss him all together, and the boy is at liberty on his part to leave and seek more remunerative employment. The same principle prevails with the wholesale employer of labor. This is and always will be a natural law of business.[108]

Men who went on strike for better wages threatened more than just the prosperity of the region, but also their own manhood. The working man had a "right to fair wages, paid promptly and ungrudgingly"[109] (the *Sentinel* even sided with working-class men who did not receive their pay on several occasions[110]) but men who demanded more were in the wrong. The ideal masculine labourer according to the *Sentinel* worked and provided for his family and did not demand more.

A man's position focused on the middle-class ideal of providing for the material and financial well-being of his family. The feature articles that offer advice relating to fathering express expectations of parenting sons and provide no advice on how fathers should interact with their daughters; presumably a girl could learn everything from her mother. The father's primary role was to bestow upon his son the skills necessary to succeed in the world of paid labour[111] and if necessary to use a certain degree of physical control to do so.[112] The ideal father is presented in the obituary of Thomas Woodside, who had worked as a prospector, miner, railway sub-contractor, and until his death ran a boarding house and supply store. He did not, his obituary states, "amass wealth", but, the newspaper continues, he provided for his family and raised sons who carry with them the masculine "principles of honour and integrity into every day life and when they put their hands to a piece of work conscience is their master."[113]

The paper was willing to chastise men who did not live up to this constructed middle-class ideal of fatherhood. Over a short period, the *Sentinel* follows the story of the children of A. I. Dunning. According to newspaper reports, Dunning, a lawyer in Port Arthur, was a man given to excessive drinking and had been previously jailed for assaulting a client.[114] To add "one more link to his already long list of crimes," Dunning is reported to have neglected his two young children, forced them to sleep in the streets and then refused the assistance of neighbours who attempted to feed the two boys.[115] Accused of "inhumanity," Dunning is guilty of providing a "wretched home" for his boys to grow up in. Interestingly, there is no discussion of his wife and her role in this situation, if in fact he was married. Dunning's failure, as constructed in the *Sentinel*, is not in being a cold and harsh father, but in not providing his children with the material provisions of a middle-class household. This stands in contrast to the idealized "Angel in the House," who was to focus her energies on the emotional and moral well-being of her offspring.

Although respectable men were expected to play a role in the home, men were most frequently noted in the *Sentinel* for their unpaid labour in the public realm. One of the most prestigious public services in which a man could participate was municipal, provincial or federal politics. While Arthur, Tronrud and others have used the *Sentinel* and other newspaper sources from turn-of-the-century Port Arthur to explore political events and the men who were involved in them, there has not been a textual analysis of the gendered political discourse of respectable behaviour for men.[116] That politics in Port Arthur during

the late nineteenth century were a raucous and highly-contested battleground, there is little doubt. Such political strife was not uncommon in the continent during this period as governments in North America "earned an unenviable reputation for corruption and ethnic and class conflict."[117] At the federal and provincial levels in Port Arthur, MPs and MPPs debated political questions in southern locales where the concerns of those who lived in the northern parts of Ontario were frequently misunderstood or ignored. Preconceived images of the barbaric north combined with other political limitations resulted in the situation in which "Northern politicians carried little weight in Ottawa or Toronto."[118] The resulting lack of influence is reflected in the *Sentinel's* discussion of political representatives as "Muscular Christian" knights going to war to aggressively represent Port Arthur and the region in a political battlefield. The gendered imagery of the independent knight fighting for the good of the community can also be found in the *Sentinel's* coverage of municipal politics. Local government in Port Arthur was anything but a peaceful arena of public discourse in the *Sentinel*. Tronrud and Rasporich explain that during the late nineteenth century city governments had control over areas of legislation that today are the concerns of the federal and provincial governments. As a result, they argue, "many of the Lakehead's most able leaders," businessmen like George T. Marks, or S. W. Ray, "seemed content with seats on council, each feeling his interests were best protected or promoted by the municipality."[119] These men used municipal politics to advance their own business concerns which they saw as being tied to the economic development of the town.

The *Sentinel* characterizes well-liked and respectable council members as "all able and representative men."[120] The masculine traits that mark the men of the town council as praiseworthy revolve around their ability to promote the town with "energy," "efficiency," "interest" and "unselfishness."[121] They are described as "practical"[122] in the conduct of their business affairs and "honest and economical and above all thoroughly independent"[123] men who would "work quite efficiently and harmoniously for the good of the District."[124]

On the federal scene, the *Sentinel* declared that representation of the Algoma District "demanded the active and vigilant advocacy of her member."[125] The ideal candidate was active and independent - the two essential characteristics of the chivalric knight who entered into the battlefield of politics. In the language of warfare, such a man would work "like a Trogan [*sic*] in the interests of the Town."[126] The ultimate politician, (in this case Simon Dawson), was an "able and fearless representative, one who [was] acquainted with public affairs, and of such abilities as to make himself heard and respected on behalf of this great district in the halls of legislation."[127] However, such active promotion of the north, the *Sentinel* argued, could only be sustained by a member who possessed the manly characteristic of independence. R. A. Lyon, in his 1879 election platform to the "Free and Independent Electors of the District of Algoma," states that although he was a "Reformer in principle," he ran as an independent candidate as "the interests of the District are paramount to party bias."[128] Similarly, W. H. Plummer declares himself to be a "Liberal Conservative" but also "reserved the right of acting independently" should the

party line conflict with the development of the Algoma region.[129] The *Sentinel* proclaims that following the dictates of any political affiliation, even the Conservative line, is to be "a slave to a party" and partisanship, the newspaper warns, would result in a politician ignoring the desires of the town and region and losing "half his manhood."[130] The independence to make decisions was a highly celebrated masculine characteristic in the *Sentinel*; only women or unmasculine men were dependent.

However, not even a claim to independence could save some candidates from the political wrath of the *Sentinel* as the paper called into question a man's manliness. The *Sentinel* did not hesitate to comment upon men whose political tactics were characterized as "womanly" or weak. The use of such language clearly demonstrates that the political discourse in the paper was gendered. The *Sentinel* accuses Lyon of unmanliness for the manner in which he had denounced Dawson for having "interests in the district... so infinitely small that it is a matter of great difficulty for an ordinary person to discover them."[131] In 1885 the *Sentinel* goes so far as referring to Lyon as "ornamental,"[132] implying that his work in the political realm is not the active and manly action of a political soldier, but a decorative Angel-in-the-House. In the federal election of 1887, won by Dawson, the *Sentinel* condemns his political opponents for their unmanly "mudslinging" which caused the electors to support Dawson because they "discountenance such disgraceful methods of warfare."[133]

Perhaps the *Sentinel's* most piercing criticism of political conduct was reserved for James Conmee. Conmee won the 1884-1885 municipal election in

campaign coverage that was the most raucous in the *Sentinel's* history.[134] Never regarded positively by the *Sentinel*, the newspaper accused him and his supporters of "casting cowardly insinuations at Mr. Kennedy [the candidate backed by the Marks family and the *Sentinel*] and throwing reflections upon his independence."[135] Such an accusation, when the independence of a politician was so tied to concepts of masculinity, charged that Conmee had cast a shadow of disrepute on Kennedy's manhood. Although Kennedy lost "the hardest fought municipal contest that took place in this town," his "campaign was fairly and honourable conducted" but, the paper continued, Conmee was guilty of "raising foul and slanderous cries against Mr. Kennedy."[136] In the language of the battlefield, Conmee "was the first in the field and seized the advantage by unfairly wresting promises of support from many Conservatives."[137] Under the Conmee leadership, the *Sentinel* was fearful that "the interests of the town" would "suffer on account of the mad verdict."[138]

Regardless of a man's desire to win, the *Sentinel* looked poorly upon the masculinity of those men who did not conduct themselves with reasoned control and the independence of a truly chivalrous political knight doing battle for the good of the region. When the Marks family compact recaptured the mayoralty from R. A. Ruttan in 1893, the paper celebrated it as "Emancipation Day."[139] In a poem about the event, the newspaper states that "Let the Ruttan party see/With Boodlers you can not agree."[140] A short poem quipped that G. T. Marks was the right way to vote because "His career had not one stain/Vote for Marks and purity."[141] It is implied in this comment that a pure and virtuous mayor would see

to the proper development of Port Arthur and, like a good father and with all the characteristics of the "Muscular Christian," protect and take care of the town.

Masculine protection of Port Arthur also took on a more physical call to duty. A second expression of respectable masculinity in the public realm could be demonstrated through a man's involvement in Port Arthur's fire brigade. Evidence of social fathering is clearly demonstrated in men's expected duty to keep the town safe from fire. Numerous reports of fires and the destruction they caused reveal that it was a major concern for late-nineteenth-century Port Arthurites.[142] From the earliest days of the town, the *Sentinel* reports that the city "Council furnished Hooks, Ladders and Buckets and made an appropriation for a place to keep them."[143] Unlike calls in politics for men to be independent, discussion in the newspaper about ideal fire fighters centred on discipline and heroism which could only be found amongst the middle-class, British male population of the town.[144]

With calls for "DISCIPLINED FORCE," the expectation projected by the *Sentinel* is that all the men of the town would respond to a fire alarm and "march forward to the tune of every *man* do his duty."[145] On the occasion of a fire hall being built in Port Arthur, a poem was composed by the editor about the manly examples demonstrated by these volunteers.

> My brave men! your work is hard...
> For this, all must your zeal commend,
> Your energy, your pluck and acts
> Proclaim to all the pleasing facts,
> That ACTION at the present hour
> Will much increase your future powe'r
> To guard our Village, homes and lives,
> Our little ones, and loving wives,

And all our Sweetheart's graceful charms
From FIRES relentless, dire alarms...[146]

For those who did not respond, the paper accused them of lacking the proper masculine attributes. The editor castigates the "able-bodied" man who due to the transient nature of his work only rents a home or boards and does not do "his duty... in building up the place where he resides" by volunteering for the fire brigade.[147] The *Sentinel* also draws upon race constructions in the creation of the ideal masculine firefighter and focuses on their British heritage. It encourages the readership to be proud of the "heroic" firefighters who do their "duty like regular Britons, as they are."[148] Thus, the constructed ideal of proper masculinity was a man of Anglo-Saxon descent with a certain social standing.

Men of this same descent and class were further constructed in the *Sentinel* as respectable through their involvement in a third public duty. Historians have noted that for middle-class Victorian men, participation in leadership roles within the church were roles assumed "as part of their Christian duty as respectable breadwinners."[149] While it is common in the *Sentinel* for the women to be praised for their "zealous" work and "tact" in organizing church socials,[150] men are most frequently noted for their involvement in the governance of affairs of the local Protestant churches. Notably, the vestry meetings of Saint John the Evangelist Anglican Church are addressed in the paper as the owners of the *Sentinel*, the Marks family and their supporters, were members. For their work as Protestant 'Muscular Christians,' the newspaper extends "cordial votes of thanks" to gentlemen, such as Thomas Marks, George T. Marks, S. W. Ray and G. H. Kennedy, "for their sedulous attention to the duty in the past."[151] One

notable exception is the mention in the *Sentinel* of George Clavet, a local grocer and Roman Catholic. The newspaper states that Clavet "has been devoting a large share of his time to the Catholic Church, and deserves much credit for his energy."[152] He may not have been of the "right" religion but Clavet could be praised in the *Sentinel*. Clavet, besides his grocery, was heavily involved in real estate development in Port Arthur similar to men like Marks and Ray. He was an active participant in local politics and after the turn of the century was even elected mayor. He also represented several other important characteristics of the "Muscular Christian," including the zealousness with which he approached his religious commitments and the fact he was part of the same community elite to which Marks and the others belonged.[153]

However, the *Sentinel* remained silent about the participation of non-English-speaking men and women in church activities. Consequently, they are not included in examples of respectable manhood and womanhood, thereby suggesting that they only represent improprieties. Although the male members of the Marks family compact are celebrated in the paper for their duty in serving the parish of St. John's, discussion about the non-Anglo-Saxon parishioners is non-existent. Chris Kouhi points out that a large number of Finns who arrived in the community attended services at St. John's. The Finnish proportion of the congregation was so large that by 1895, the minister, Reverend Thursby, learned enough Finnish to be able to conduct baptisms, marriages, confirmations and burials in the language.[154]

The final public manner for a respectable man to do his duty to the town was through community policing. This was not an official position - although Port Arthur did have a number of paid policemen - but an unofficial role characterized by the chivalric "Muscular Christian." One of the more simple examples in the *Sentinel* of community policing by men is an article discussing the rescue of a cow. It relates that "a party of young gentlemen... were proceeding to the Current River to bathe yesterday, [and] they discovered a cow which had slipped through the ties on the bridge in a helpless condition."[155] The men saved the animal from its perilous condition and the *Sentinel* concludes that "[t]he 'boys' deserve credit."[156] Careful policing of the town offered men public accolades and the opportunity to demonstrate their masculine prowess and ability to protect Port Arthur from harm.

A man could truly demonstrate his chivalrous behaviour through the surveillance and safekeeping of the female population of the community. In some cases the women themselves become secondary to the heroic actions of men. Protecting women could require physical and potentially dangerous actions. In an article, entitled "A Man Stabbed," the *Sentinel* reports that two men heard "the cry of a female and finding it came from a small cluster of bushes near by they soon came up to where a squaw was struggling with two persons in the form of men, who were trying to abuse the weaker sex."[157] After these men arrive and "rescue" the woman, she is forgotten as the two men become heroes and receive the attention of the community doctor. There is no discussion of her need of medical attention after what is described as an

attempted rape. She remains a nameless entity. This example speaks to the "squaw" construction and that the non-Aboriginal population in Victorian Canada believed that Aboriginal women " were habitually abused within Aboriginal societies."[158] In the *Sentinel* the Aboriginal woman and her experience became merely instruments used to demonstrate the manliness of the men of Port Arthur.

The *Sentinel's* discussion of gendered respectability in relation to work and duties of men and woman presents a public expression of the ideals of masculinity and femininity. The ideal place for a woman to carry out her work was within the home as a mother and wife seeing to the emotional and spiritual development of her children. For women of the right race, class and religion, this mothering was extended into the public and they were recognized for their labour in a number of respectable organizations. Women, as "robust" examples of motherhood, were acceptable within the realm paid and unpaid labour, only as long as their work was seen as sexually reputable and drew upon stereotyped ideals of a woman's domestic skills. Women who met with these ideals were characterized in the *Sentinel* as respectable and contributing to the appropriate development of Port Arthur. However, their work was not accorded the same degree of public recognition that their male counterparts received. Men were permitted freer access to the public realm without the possible degradation of their sexual reputations. A man best displayed his masculinity as a breadwinner providing for a wife and family. Carrying this fathering role into the public realm, an Anglo-Saxon and rugged businessman of the middle class could see to the respectable development of Port Arthur through the masculine pursuits of

governance and community surveillance. Whether a man was doing battle on the political stage or fighting a fire, his standing as a "Muscular Christian" offered him a greater degree of prestige in the newspaper.

1. "Our Strength and Weakness - Port Arthur's Elements of Stability and Moral Turpitude - Omens of Good and Evidences of Evil," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 22 April 1887.
2. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution*, 96-97. Also see Douglas McCalla, "The Ontario Economy in the Long Run" *Ontario History* 90, no. 2 (Autumn 1998), 97-115.
3. Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 119.
4. Christina Burr, *Spreading the Light: Work and Labour Reform in Late-Nineteenth-Century Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 151.
5. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution*, 116.
6. Cohen, *Women's Work*, 129.
7. Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 64-65.
8. Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 21.
9. See Belle Kittredge fonds, A/31/1/1, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society.
10. Graham S. Lowe, "Women, Work, and the Office: The Feminization of Clerical Occupations in Canada, 1901-1931," in *Rethinking Canada*, 2nd ed., 274.
11. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 65.
12. Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 10-11.
13. Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siécle* (Viking: New York, 1990), 38.
14. Chris Burr, "Roping in the Wretched, the Reckless, and the Wronged:" Narratives of the Late Nineteenth-Century Toronto Police Court," *left history* 3, no. 1 (1995): 94.
15. Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 29.
16. Bettina Bradbury, "Women's Workplaces: The Impact of Technological Change on Working-Class Women in the Home and in the Workplace in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 3rd ed. eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997),163.
17. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 153.
18. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 28.
19.Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 108.
20. Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 33.
21. Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 40. She argues that during the War of 1812, when women appeared in the press their presence was discussed as a "symbolic reminder to Upper Canadian men of their duty" to their empire, nation, community and family.
22. Holman, "Cultivation' and the Middle-Class Self," in *Ontario Since Confederation*, 106.
23. Steven Maynard, "Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History," *Labour/Le Travail* 23 (Spring 1989): 160. He later refines this argument to recognize that using the term "crisis" implies that "at other historical moments masculinity was a stable formation." See Steven Maynard, "Queer Musings on Masculinity and History," *Labour/Le Travail* 42 (Fall 1998): 185.
24. McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity*, 121-122.
25. Burr, *Spreading the Light*, 18.
26. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 19.
27. Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 197.
28. Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 195 and Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 116-118, 53-54.
29. Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity?" 187-188.
30. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 62-63.
31. Burr, *Spreading the Light*, 124. Also see Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 152.
32. My examination of advertisements in the *Sentinel* will centre on the gendered expectations of women in business and employment. For an examination of the ads themselves and women as consumers, see Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
33. "The Carruthers Case," *Weekly Sentinel*, 17 June 1892.

34. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 17 October 1878.
35. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 March 1896.
36. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 March, 1878.
37. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 25 July 1878.
38. R. McLennan, "Wanted!" *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 December 1876 and *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 October 1882. These are just two of the many examples of ads that appeared in the paper during the years of its publication.
39. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 24 March 1877.
40. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 23 January 1879.
41. "Professional Notice," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 September 1893.
42. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 15 December 1883.
43. Macgillivray, *Fort William and Port Arthur Newspapers*, 40.
44. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 1 September 1893.
45. "Pioneer Journalist - A Remarkable Woman - How She Managed House and Newspaper Office," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 September 1883.
46. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 4 April 1878.
47. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 12 August 1875.
48. "The Future - Extracts from a Paper of 1982," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 July 1882.
49. Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 163.
50. Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 163.
51. Justice, "What Can Woman Do?" *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 December 1875.
52. Justice, "What Can Woman Do?" *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 December 1875.
53. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 87.
54. "Our Town's Good Name," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 12 September 1891.
55. Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 88.
56. Burr, "Roping in the Wretched," 97.
57. "A Suspicious Case," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 September 1883. For a similar example see "Life is a Failure," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel* 21 March 1884.
58. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 September 1883.
59. *The Weekly Sentinel*, 15 July 1887.
60. *The Weekly Sentinel*, 15 July 1887.
61. "The World of Women - All Kinds of Paragraphs of Interesting [*sic*] to the Fair Sex," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 13 November 1891.
62. Grandmama, "The Duty of Parents - No. 9," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 31 May 1877.
63. "How to Save Boys," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 8 November 1895.
64. McLaren, *Trials of Masculinity*, 31.
65. "What shall we do with our daughters," *Thunder Bay Sentinel* 22 March 1877.
66. "A Sad Story," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 April 1881.
67. "A Sad Story," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 April 1881.
68. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel* 10 August 1882. For other examples see an article on the Ladies of Canada Methodist Church Ladies Aid Society from *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 26 October 1876 and "The Presbyterian Entertainment," *Thunder Bay Sentinel* 29 May 1879. Although there was one Roman Catholic church in Port Arthur, very little mention is made of it and its members in the *Sentinel*. Some of the few articles which do appear include: "R. C. Bazar In Aid of the New Mission House at the Mission," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 1 October 1886 and "Roman Catholic Convention," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 May 1880.
69. "For Charity's Sake," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 5 July 1889.
70. "The Proposed Hospital," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 13 October 1883. Women who were elected included "Mrs. Thomas Marks [wife of mayor and businessman Thomas Marks], Mrs. G. T. Marks [wife of mayor and businessman G. T. Marks], Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Smellie [wife of town doctor T. S. T. Smellie], Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. McMorine [wife of the minister of St. John's Anglican Church], Miss Euginia Donnelly, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Bishop, Mrs. Street, Mrs. R. Laird [wife of local magistrate Robert Laird], and Miss V. McVicar [daughter of one of the leading families in Port Arthur and land owner]." For a report of their fundraising work see "The Hospital," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 October 1883.

71. To trace the development of the hospital in Port Arthur through the pages of the *Sentinel* see for example "The Hospital Question," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 31 May 1877, "A Hospital for P. A. Landing," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 September 1882, "The Hospital Committee," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 October 1883 and "The Hospital," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 October 1883. For a report of the hospital once completed, see "St. Joseph's Hospital - The Work Which is Being Done by the Sisters - Number of Patients, &c.," *The Weekly Sentinel* 25 January 1889. For a secondary source on the matter, see John L. Love, "The Founding of St. Joseph's Hospital," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 2 (1974), 16-23.
72. "The Woman's Council," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 October 1894.
73. See for example *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 11 January 1895 and "Annual Meeting," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 22 November 1895.
74. Veronica Jane Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada 1893-1929* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1976), 181.
75. Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women*, 183.
76. "Mrs. Gibbs Abroad," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 8 March 1895.
77. "Card of Thanks - Ladies and Gentlemen of Ward No. 2," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 7 Jan 1887 or *Weekly Sentinel* 9 December 1892 for two of many examples.
78. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 22 February 1895.
79. "Monday Night's Meeting," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 17 January 1895.
80. "The Mass Meeting," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 23 November 1888.
81. "The Mass Meeting," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 23 November 1888.
82. "Strike on the C. P. R. East," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 April 1883.
83. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 12.
84. "Death of Mr. McGillis," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 1 June 1894.
85. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 4 May 1883.
86. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 November 1876.
87. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 January 1881.
88. "Stand Together," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 29 May 1891.
89. "Equal Justice for All," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 27 December 1889.
90. "Chinese in Canada," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 10 November 1883.
91. "Dominion Day," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 July 1893.
92. "Dominion Day," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 July 1893.
93. Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 110-111.
94. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 June 1884.
95. Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, 118.
96. Aboriginal women are not discussed in the *Sentinel* in relations to their paid labour. Thus, they are not conferred with the same respectability offered to their Anglo-Saxon counterparts or their Aboriginal husbands, fathers or brothers.
97. Carter, *Capturing Women*, 160.
98. "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 25 November 1875.
99. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 18 March 1881.
100. "Just Think About It," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 22 March 1895.
101. "Song of the Railroader," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 22 September 1883.
102. "The Force of Men," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 21 July 1884.
103. "Thieves in Our Midst," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 4 November 1881.
104. George Baskin, "Strike on the C. P. R. East," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 April 1883.
105. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 13 June 1884.
106. "No Cause for Complaint," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 2 November 1888 and *The Weekly Sentinel*, 1 August 1884.
107. Truth, "Correspondence," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 May 1884.
108. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 15 December 1883. This argument is similar to that which is professed by the *Toronto* Globe editor, George Brown in 1872. See Burr, *Spreading the Light*, 15-16.
109. "Workingmen's Rights, An Able Sermon by the Rev. R. Cade," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 16 April 1886.

110. See for example "Workingmen's Meeting," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 10 May 1877 and One of Them East, "A Railroader's Complaint," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 30 April 1886.
111. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 November 1876.
112. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 November 1876. This article was intended as a joke for as the son discovers that he is old enough to defend himself from this father's blows and as he is about to deliver the winning punch, the father states that he figures his son has learned his lesson.
113. "Death and Funeral of Mr. Thomas Woodside - He was a Good man," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 10 March 1893.
114. "The Dunning Case," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 2 March 1883.
115. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 20 October 1883.
116. See for example, Elizabeth Arthur, "The Frontier Politician," in *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, eds. F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 278-296. Thorold J. Tronrud and A. W. Rasporich examine nineteenth-century municipal, provincial and federal politics and politicians from the region in "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Competition," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 204-214. Also see Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*.
117. High, "Planting the Municipal Ownership," 3.
118. Rasporich and Tronrud, "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Competition," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 206.
119. Rasporich and Tronrud, "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Competition," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 208.
120. "Election Notes," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 9 May 1884.
121. "Election Notes," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 9 May 1884.
122. "Election Notes," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 9 May 1884.
123. "The Council for 1890," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 29 November 1890.
124. "The Municipal Elections," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 17 July 1879.
125. "Mr. Dawson and the Algoma Election," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 April 1883.
126. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 March 1896. This quote was made in reference to the provincial politician for the region, J. King in 1896. The *Sentinel* professed the hope that King would "live a thousand years and may his shadow never grow less."
127. "Mr. Dawson and the Algoma Election," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 April 1883. Dawson, in working for the region, as Arthur points out, "seldom missed an opportunity to draw the attention of the House to the special application of the legislation under discussion to the northern conditions." Although he was frequently ignored by his fellow MPs, Dawson spoke on issues affecting those in Port Arthur (and the region); including colonization roads, timber licenses, liquor sales and franchise for the Aboriginal population. See Arthur, "The Frontier Politician," 281.
128. R. A. Lyon, "To the Free and Independent Electors of the District of Algoma," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 22 May 1879. Although the ever-popular Simon Dawson ran as an independent, he willing supported the Conservatives under Premier Oliver Mowat once he won his seat in the provincial parliament. See Arthur, "The Frontier Politician," 281.
129. W. H. Plumber, "To the Free and Independent Electors of Algoma," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 20 April 1883.
130. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 1 November 1877.
131. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 1 September 1883.
132. *The Weekly Sentinel*, 2 March 1885.
133. "A Last Word," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 4 March 1887.
134. He was only mayor for a short period as he moved on to provincial politics a short time later. See Arthur, "The Frontier Politician" 286-293 for a fuller discussion of Conmee's political career.
135. "The Mayoralty," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 19 December 1884.
136. "A Poet on the Election - A Dream Within a Dream," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 9 January 1885.
137. "A Poet on the Election - A Dream Within a Dream," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 9 January 1885.
138. "A Poet on the Election - A Dream Within a Dream," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 9 January 1885.
139. "Redeemed," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 January 1893.
140. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 April 1893.
141. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 April 1893.

142. See for example "Fire and Loss of Life" *Thunder Bay Sentinel* 18 July 1878 or "Fire!" *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 8 April 1881 for a report of how the original Saint John the Evangelist Anglican Church burned to the ground. Even with the town's fire engine present the building was destroyed as its "effective working proved a failure on account of the slim supply of water."
143. "Fire Organization," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 9 November 1876.
144. Marks argues that the perception of respectability of a nineteenth-century fire brigade was attached to the class of the members. She raises the argument that the fire brigade in Thorold was seen as respectable because it was composed mainly middle-class men as compared to Ingersoll's 'undisciplined' working-class force. See Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 117.
145. "Remarks," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 December 1876. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 117, points out that during the nineteenth-century small-town fire brigades in Ontario were generally volunteer, although some may have received small payments from the municipal government.
146. "Fireman's Hall," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 December 1876.
147. "Editorial Remarks," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 30 November 1876.
148. "Our Firemen," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 25 May 1888.
149. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 54. Also see Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 133.
150. See a report of the St. Andrews' Ladies bazaar *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 13 July 1876, the fair organized by the Ladies of St. John's Church, *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 20 December 1877 and "R. C. Bazaar In Aid of the New Mission House at the Mission," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 1 October 1886.
151. "Vestry Meeting," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 24 April 1879. Also see "Vestry Meeting," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 23 April 1880, and "St. John's Church Vestry Meeting," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 3 May 1889. According to parish records Thomas Marks was "an adherent with unitarian [*sic*] opinions." See Barr, "Thomas Marks," 26.
152. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 23 September 1881.
153. Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 27. He argues that there was an expected code of business in the community which saw successful local merchants all involved in local politics, "boards of trade and other booster organizations."
154. Chris Kouhi, "The Finnish Church in Thunder Bay, 1876-1916" in *Project Bay Street: The Activities of Finnish Canadians in Thunder Bay before 1914*, ed. Marc Metsaranta (Thunder Bay: The Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian Historical Society, 1989), 31. Although Thursby learned to speak Finnish to conduct church ceremonies, he reportedly never understood a word of what he was saying.
155. "A Humame [*sic*] Rescue," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 26 June 1891.
156. "A Humame [*sic*] Rescue," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 26 June 1891.
157. "A Man Stabbed," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 28 November 1878.
158. Carter, *Capturing Women*, 183.

Chapter 4

Leisure has been defined as "pleasurable non-work activity."[1] However, that does not mean that it is time to be spent in doing nothing or engaged in no activity at all. In the nineteenth century, it was generally held that "idleness was a threat to industrial development and social stability."[2] In a community such as Port Arthur in the early stages of social, business and industrial growth, depictions of leisure activities in the *Sentinel* operated to socially construct respectable manhood and womanhood. Initial discussion in chapter four focuses on the ideals of leisure for women and men in late nineteenth-century Canada. Following this summary is an examination of respectable leisure activities discussed in the *Sentinel* and a comparison with the broader Canadian ideals previously discussed. Certain activities also offered spaces for women and men to interact, and thus an exploration of respectable leisure opportunities for the mixing of the sexes concludes this discussion.

In their examination of leisure in Alberta from the period of mass European settlement at the end of the nineteenth century to World War Two, Donald Wetherell and Irene Kmet have found that such activities were shaped by what the dominant culture believed to be appropriate.[3] Similar to Port Arthur, until the 1900s the largest cohort of the population of Alberta was comprised of men and women of British and Anglo-Canadian descent. Their position at the top of the social power structure offered this group of citizens the ability to define what type of free-time behaviour was respectable and acceptable. Leisure served the purpose of reinforcing one's patriotism not only for Canada but also the British

Empire and could help enforce traits of masculinity and femininity that were seen as British and civilized.

The idealized role for women within the realm of leisure was, for the most part, an extension of their role within the home as mother and moral guardian.[4] Gary Cross points out that women's involvement with "leisure was to provide not merely diversion but moral training and sustenance for the young and men."[5] This could be done by their very presence at leisure events in their communities. Morris Mott has studied the development of sport in Manitoba from the late nineteenth century and makes clear that the proper role for a woman who attended sporting events was that of spectator. He argues that "since it was assumed that females admired spiritedness and valor, if they were in the stands it seemed likely that competitors would find the extra courage needed to play manly games properly."[6] Through their appearance at such events, women, because of their perceived higher moral goodness, could offer respectability to male participants.

When women were allowed to directly participate in leisure activities in the public realm, their involvement was shaped around fears of racial degeneration. Michael Smith argues that as the nineteenth century progressed, women's physical participation in leisure activities was based on the "cult of the robust" and the desire to reproduce the (Anglo-Saxon) race.[7] He states that as immigration of non-British men and women to Canada increased, the Anglo-Saxon population feared these new arrivals "would dilute the British stock."[8] Although medical discourse during the nineteenth century argued that muscular

development through athletic participation could be dangerous to a woman's well-being, as her natural role was that of the devoted housewife, increasingly it was argued that "regulated and supervised exercise was beneficial."[9] Respectable physical leisure activities for women were controlled and shaped by the need to maintain reproductive fitness rather than to become proficient players.

In opposition to the female norm, men were expected to take a very physical role when taking part in leisure activities. Participation in respectable leisure was one of the activities in a man's life that was believed to ensure the growth of proper British-Canadian masculinity. In a world where life was increasingly industrialized and fears of physical degeneration of the middle-class male were taking root, leisure became one of the means of assuring the proper development of boys into "Muscular Christians."[10] The belief was that if young men's leisure time was not directed to activities considered healthy, they would be drawn to idleness and spend their time loafing on street corners or consuming alcohol.[11] The "Muscular Christian" ideal embodied such traits as morality and discipline, and such physical attributes as strength and action. Cross has found that in the nineteenth century there was a transformation in leisure. He points out that "[b]y training the body, the new ideology ran, the individual disciplined the will."[12] Thus, much of late nineteenth-century rhetoric tied proper masculinity to involvement in sports which were designed to develop "manly will."[13] It was believed that sporting activities could instill characteristics of respectability and discipline and these gentlemanly traits were easily

observable in the proper and reasoned conduct of players. Participation in leisure events was also a very open arena for the display of masculinity. The majority of such pastimes occurred within the public realm and as such were dominated by men. Tosh points out that nineteenth-century organizations composed only of males "embody men's privileged access to the public sphere, while simultaneously reinforcing women's confinement to the household and neighbourhood."[14] Leisure activities in the nineteenth century were geared towards the creation of the public figure of a "Muscular Christian" and the domestic "robust" woman, whose respectable behaviour would reflect positively on the community.

When the men of Port Arthur engaged in public opportunities for leisure, women, as spectators, were constructed as moderating influences or "symbolic reminders" who offered respectability and had a moral influence on the behaviour of the participants. Similar to the constructed role for women who attended political meetings, they are discussed as ornamental observers, not partakers. A report of Dominion Day in 1877 concludes that:

> ...since the existence of our town 5 years ago it never looked gayer in its dress of Flags and Evergreens, and what added more to the looks were the crowds of the gaily[-]dressed fair sex crowding the different verandahs and seemingly with smiling faces enjoying the amusements; and taking as much interest in the games as the competitors themselves.[15]

Women's attendance could also "stimulate" the performance of male athletes. When a local curling bonspiel attracted female onlookers, the *Sentinel*

concludes that "the presence of a number of the ladies gives an extra stimulus to the curlers."[16]

In this manner, women of the community could participate in seeing to the "manly development" of young men in the community.[17] In a letter to the editor, "Gymnasticus" requests the help of the "ladies" in raising funds to prevent the local Gymnasium from "being closed for the greater part of the time."[18] Male participation in any number of sports, the writer assured, could help men in the community achieve proper masculine characteristics and women could play their motherly and moral role by fundraising. Fundraising, as a respectable activity for women, was not leisure but a duty. Through their labour these women could ensure the proper development of the masculine population of the town and the civilized behaviour of Port Arthur as a whole. Although this letter to the editor stresses the development of the Gymnasium for men in Port Arthur, Belle Kittredge recorded in her diary the times when women were allowed in the Gymnasium, presumably to enjoy the same activities men did.[19] Thus, although the constructed ideal had women as observers of leisure, clearly in their lived experiences not all women in the community conformed to the *Sentinel's* expectations.

Marks has pointed out that there was limited respectable space for women to participate in sports in late nineteenth-century Ontario.[20] Articles in the *Sentinel* about women actually taking part in sports are very different from reports of all-male events. Although discussion of women's involvement is restricted in the *Sentinel*, it can be discerned that such activity was occurring in

Port Arthur. For example, it is reported that "Wednesday was the regular tramp day" for the women's "Walking Club" in Port Arthur. However, unlike the numerous articles about similar activities for men that outlined their mastery and skill, the coverage of women's events devalued the experience and, for this particular Club, reports that the woman had "met their 'Waterloo.'"[21] According to the article, the women of the Walking Club followed the Shuniah road, even though it was the same road they had chosen the last time they met and had "to summon one of the sturdy yeomanry of the municipality to their assistance in reaching civilization."[22] However, the paper reports that "true to woman's instinct[,] curiosity led them out of the beaten path and into the by-ways of the dense woods for the violets, the dandelions, etc."[23] Roaming about "thoughtlessly" in the forest until night, the women had gotten lost and "visions of dreadful things began to loom up before them."[24] After reportedly walking repeatedly around the base of the same hill, they finally followed the sound of a cowbell which led them to "civilization." The one report of the Walking Club is presented as an activity requiring male supervision and the women are constructed as incapable of taking care of themselves. Male control of this feminine leisure pursuit was intended to keep women under masculine protection and surveillance, as these women had dared to venture into the wilderness alone.

Another all-women activity addressed in the *Sentinel* is curling and, similar to the Walking Club, the report does not recognize or appreciate the women's involvement or skills. Curling coverage was minimal in the paper but

several columns were devoted to a report of a game that took place between an all-female team from Fort William and one comprised of "some of the most prominent men" from Port Arthur.[25] Devaluing the women's participation, the paper excitingly reports that curling is not an unusual sport for women as "[i]t is said to have been very fashionable at the court of good Queen Bess (1558-1603) and also in France during the time of Marie Antionette [*sic*], for ladies to curl - their hair."[26] Although the women won the game, their victory was degraded as the paper reported that the win was due not to the women's curling abilities but to the poor play of the otherwise very successful male team. While these articles are couched in the gendered language of feminine helplessness, these female curlers and members of the Walking Club did successfully engage in physical activity. In doing so their attempts are seen as misguided because they challenged male dominance of leisure activities in the public realm.

It was not uncommon, Smith makes clear, for women who joined in sports to see their "achievements either ignored or devalued" as their participation in sports centred primarily on reproductive health.[27] The *Sentinel* demonstrates this in an article from 1878, drawn from the British publication *The Lancet*. It advocates the "necessity of girls having active exercise" through participation in activities such as lawn tennis and swimming. The journalist ties physical activity to the well-being of women as mothers and concludes that

> We have already too many weak[-]backed, weak[-]chested and nerveless wom[e]n; let us therefore assist in every way to support a more vigorous training for girls. So will we be blessed with healthy and robust women and future generations will benefit thereby.[28]

The healthy, robust nature of women engaged in physical activity is brought out in local examples as well. Two months after our newly married couple, the Rollands, took their 180-mile snowshoe honeymoon, the paper celebrated the strength of the young bride and proudly questioned: "Now who will dare to say another word about the physical degenerency [*sic*] of the women of the period?"[29] "Cult of the robust" imagery constructed female participants in sporting activities as respectable because medical theories of the day held that through women's (reproductive) health, the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race would be ensured. Having just made a respectable marriage, Mrs. Rolland was in a position to give birth to and raise a proper family. In doing so she would see to the continued well-being of the community.

Interestingly, reports of male participation in sporting events also reveal the fears in Port Arthur of racial degeneration. It was thought that men might be led astray in the industrialized and middle-class world because of a lack of physical activity. In an article encouraging sports for the "athletic portion of the male population of the town," the *Sentinel* advises that:

> The more time you devote to your office, the greater necessity for outdoor exercise; and although the business of the place this coming season will be heavier than ever before, we are certain that with judicious generalship [*sic*], time could be matched to bring these men together to embrace many a healthful and interesting hour upon the sword.[30]

Additionally, in its call for "sporting grounds" to be set up in the community, the *Sentinel* states that "[s]porting is a stimulating and healthful pastime, and if young men do not spend their leisure time in that exercise, they may in something worse."[31] The fear existed that if men did not participate in activities

believed to teach the essential values of manhood, they would spend their free time engaging in morally suspect pastimes. According to the *Sentinel's* definition of what comprised activities considered inappropriate, such ventures could include drinking or visiting prostitutes. Men clearly needed to take part in sports or they risked their morality and the possibility of their actions reflecting poorly on the town.

In a community where cold winters dominated the climatic landscape, winter sports formed a large part of the coverage provided by the *Sentinel.* Snowshoeing was one of the most frequently discussed topics in the winter editions and the paper followed the activities and "tramps" of the two local snowshoe clubs - the St. George and the Shuniah snow shoe clubs. According to the newspaper, prior to the arrival of railway transportation, snowshoeing was an essential mode of transportation and "there are plenty of men in town who smile at the evening of tramps of the snow shoe clubs in comparison with many a weary trudge to Winnipeg or Duluth which business compelled them to take."[32] To prevent men in the community losing their manly physical strength as they no longer had to perform physical labour to keep their business interests viable, the *Sentinel* recommended snowshoeing as it was "a pleasant, healthful and exhilarating sport."[33]

The summer time was also an active time for male-dominated sports in the community. Cricket remained a popular pastime in the paper throughout the years of the *Sentinel's* publication and one article questions:

> Where is there to be found a sport which combines so many truly grand characteristics as cricket?... Unattended

> with the abuses which have made inroads into the decorum of horse races, boat races, foot races and contests of a kindred nature, cricket has ever held her position as supreme among all outdoor pastimes.[34]

Drawing upon the perceived glory of the British Empire, the paper notes that as "[t]he national game of England[,] it has always been introduced by our brothers on the other side of the Atlantic into every quarter of the Globe."[35] In its descriptions of the games, the manly conduct of players is emphasized and the paper states that cricket "softens the manners."[36] Upon losing a game to the Port Arthur team, Captain Campbell from Sault Ste. Marie "exhibited the usual signs of wounded honor which rankles in the breast of all true cricketers after defeat."[37] Not cocky or boastful of their win, the team from Port Arthur, captained by "the gentle, blushing Penfold," then challenged Campbell and his fellows to another match. Penfold is not angry or vicious but almost a saintly example of the "Muscular Christian." The moral and carefully controlled play demonstrated by cricket players indicates that sport is shaping them into men with civilized characteristics.

The physical appearance of the players could also reflect well upon the community and the masculine attributes of men. In a baseball game between the "Lorne Base ball Club" and a team from Silver Islet, the *Sentinel* reporter at the game notes the "neat and business-like appearance of the Silver Islet boys in their new costumes" and further states that the crowd was "pleased on Saturday to see them turn out in white-knee breeches and red hose, and the nine being young, with plenty of muscular elasticity."[38] He concludes by observing that the team "formed a rather pleasing contrast to the somewhat dark

and heavy appearance of their opponents."[39] The description of the players in their uniforms as clean, white, healthy and light is a particularly potent image and inspires ideals of purity - a sign of community well-being and respectability.

Lacrosse was another popular male sport frequently described in the pages of the *Sentinel*; however, it did not always have the sterling reputation of masculinity that cricket and baseball appeared to offer. The Dominion Day celebration of 1895 reports the usual list of races, their winners, and the lacrosse match that was a major part of the festivities. However, the *Sentinel* notes that the game against Fort William "was slightly on the rough side."[40] The contest with Fort William's lacrosse team appeared to continue throughout the summer and became increasingly violent. A letter to the editor, signed "Port Arthur," reveals gendered language that demanded that the players from the rivaling town take their "defeats like men."[41] Regarding a lacrosse game at the Foresters picnic, "Port Arthur" states that:

> I heard the Port Arthur men insulted time and again. One of the Port Arthur players, after being insulted and deliberately struck, in as quiet and gentlemanly manner as possible, knocked the offender down. (Even the worm will turn, you know).[42]

"Brute force," such as that witnessed in the lacrosse match between the two teams, was not considered respectable behaviour, nor was it the manly attitude that was hoped to be gained from such activity.[43] The proper "Muscular Christian" would never demonstrate such uncivilized and disreputable behaviour in his battles.

Drinking alcohol, another activity for men, is described in the *Sentinel* as either respectable or inappropriate depending on the circumstances. Drinking is characterized as a very important and civilized social past-time, while at the same time it is also depicted by the newspaper as having the potential to destroy a man's character. Holman makes the point that alcohol consumption by men in Victorian Ontario was a contested area; at times seen as causing the ruination of society and on other occasions regarded as an acceptable form of leisure.[44] Discourse in the *Sentinel* reveals that the respectability of drinking was determined by the social standing, gender and race of those involved.

For middle-class men engaged in an all-male private setting, drinking was constructed as a reasoned, controlled and acceptable activity. In "A Brilliant Gathering" the *Sentinel* recorded the farewell dinner given in honour of Judge Sinclair. The article reported that Sinclair could not "leave town without first receiving some special mark of the respect with which he is held by the legal fraternity here."[45] Leading business and professional "gentlemen" of the community were in attendance and after reporting the menu fit to "satisfy the most [E]picurean tastes," the *Sentinel* states that numerous toasts were proposed "all of which were drunk with hearty good will."[46] This manner of reasoned consumption of alcohol without discussion of drunkenness is shaped by the *Sentinel* as appropriate. The *Sentinel* was even willing to criticize those in the community who did not recognize this form of drinking as a respectable masculine past-time. In its first edition of January 1884, the editor declared that the Reverend O. R. Lambly, head of the temperance association, had gone too

far in his crusade against "the immoderate use of alcohol."[47] The Reverend, according to the paper, had condemned

> the time honored custom of paying New Year's calls and the practise [*sic*] of breaking bread and sipping wine, the speaker said that any woman who would offer her friends wine or spirits was not a lady, and spoke in very strong terms against the practice being pursued by the "aristocracy, or more proper speaking, the snobocracy of Port Arthur."[48]

The *Sentinel* criticizes the reverend gentleman for his comments and states that

> we cannot see why those who choose to exercise their own opinion in the matter should be publically dubbed "no lady" and "snob." The susceptibilities of people should not be tampered with when the result desired is for the general public good.[49]

The consumption of alcohol as discussed in the *Sentinel* was primarily a masculine pursuit. There are only two instances of women drinking. The first concerns the arrest reports of Aboriginal women, who were most typically treated as 'drunken squaws.'[50] The second discussion addressed working-class women in England who drink "in order to keep warm" and as a result possess "rubescent noses, the coarse, flabby cheeks, the purple lips and the swollen eyelids that have come to be regarded as essential to a typical English face."[51] However, the lady who offered alcohol to her guests in a respectable and private gathering was playing the role of an appropriate hostess. Clearly not all forms of alcohol consumption were condemned as inappropriate behaviour in the *Sentinel*.

However, men who were caught drinking or were drunk in public were quickly condemned by the *Sentinel*. "The sin of drunkness [*sic*]," the *Sentinel*

tells its readers, is "the root of all evil" because, amongst other things, it "expels reason... [and] makes man become a beast and self-murderer."[52] Even men usually constructed in the *Sentinel* as holding some of the most respectable positions in the community were not free from the newspaper's surveillance of public drunkenness. In a letter to the editor, "Citizen" reports that "one of our councilmen - our city fathers... was the drunkest man it has been my misfortune to see this many a day."[53]

Although such public drunken conduct was unacceptable for respectable manhood, these men were not held responsible by the *Sentinel* for the uncivilized reputation of the community. Working-class men and men of non-Anglo-Saxon descent who were drunk in public were constructed as blights upon an otherwise well-developed and respectable community. Blaming the large numbers of transient and seasonal labourers for the lack of civility in Port Arthur, an article entitled "Criminal Statistics" states that "the seasons of navigation were largely responsible for the incarceration of those who partook of the cup which cheers and inebriates also."[54] Articles about both Finns and Swedes who were reported to be in a "drunken state" reveal a discourse that shapes them as unable to control their behaviour when alcohol consumption becomes a pastime.[55] Aboriginal men who were drinking in public were also carefully monitored and frequently discussed as a danger to the community. According to one report, "fifteen to twenty Indians" are "gloriously drunk" and "having a "war dance in the road," during the course of which one was overheard to say "Come and fight the whites."[56]

Issues of class, race and respectability also appear in articles about formal fraternal orders in Port Arthur. Fraternal organizations were another means designed to offer men examples of proper and controlled masculinity. Mark Carnes argues that fraternal clubs were a Victorian notion that made use of carefully planned and initiated rituals to join members in a bond of masculinity.[57] In the Canadian context, their popularity was at its peak from 1870 to 1920.[58] Offering men further opportunity to interact outside of the domestic sphere, such organizations reinforced middle-class ideals about "social order" and "cultivation." Proper masculine and reasoned behaviour demonstrated by members could bind the community together in attempts to achieve civility.

Several fraternal orders were featured prominently in the *Sentinel*. The newspaper states that the Mechanics' Institute could "draw men away from that which is debasing, and give them suitable employment and recreation for those leisure hours which are, in too many instances, worse than wasted."[59] The Sons of England, the paper proudly reported, had made "rapid strides... in spreading itself over the length and breadth of this Dominion.[60] Membership is constructed in the *Sentinel* as the natural place for a man of British descent and it could also offer middle-class masculine respectability to the working-class man of the right race. The *Sentinel* notes that George M. Gagen, a carpenter, is a "well[-]known and much[-]respected young man" and member of the Knights of Pythias, who upon leaving the community was "given quite a send off" by the lodge.[61] Although not an impossibility, it is unusual for a working-class man's departure from the community to be noted in the *Sentinel*. The significant discussion about

his participation in the Knights of Pythias appears to offer respectability to a working-class man. However not all readers of the *Sentinel* saw membership in fraternal orders in a positive light. According to a letter to the editor from an "interested female" signed "B.," a man should not spend his evenings engaged in such activities and she argues that "a married man's home would be the point in which all his happiness and interest should center."[62] Belonging to a society with secrets and rituals, "B" argues, takes married men away from their duties in the home.

Although "B" takes issue with married men abandoning their domestic responsibilities, there are leisure activities described in the newspaper for both men and women. Events where both sexes met were typically public occasions and offered opportunities for courtship. Dubinsky has found that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Ontario there was a dramatic increase in opportunities for "heterosexual sociability" and "[t]here were plenty of new ways to have fun."[63] The gendering of respectable mixed-sex leisure addressed in the *Sentinel* includes public celebrations; sporting activities, such as ice skating, roller skating, tobogganing, fishing, canoeing and boating; and community events such as dances, concerts, socials and temperance meetings.

Sentinel reports of public celebrations form a large part of the discussion of leisure activities for the women and men of Port Arthur and Dominion Day is one of the most important occasions that is covered. It was an occasion for the press to brag of the success and degree of civilization in the town. Lynne Marks argues that Dominion Day celebrations in small-town Ontario decreased in

importance in the 1880s and 1890s as increasing numbers of citizens traveled to larger centres to join in festivities there.[64] Although Port Arthur was a small town, it was a central point for many of the smaller communities in the region. The *Sentinel* boasts that "visitors arrived by the morning train from Winnipeg, Rat Portage and intermediate stations, while Fort William, Silver Islet, Neepigon [*sic*] and various points along the line of the C. P. R., construction east, sent strong contingents of representatives."[65] People also came from "Shuniah mine, Township of Oliver, and other places, besides a large number of Mr. and Mrs. Lo's, with dusky maidens and lads from the forest."[66] There is a sense from these descriptions that such events were open to all people of the area, regardless of race. When they turned out to show their support on a day dedicated to the celebration of the success of the town and country, Aboriginal people are regarded in the *Sentinel* as respectable. They turned out to attend and participate in a bevy of activities including parades, lacrosse games, wheelbarrow, sack, three-legged, yacht, canoe, horse and foot races, tug of wars, fire works, wrestling matches, picnics and the occasional impromptu dance.

While, the "Aquatic Sports" and "Games on Land"[67] were observed by crowds of men and women, only men are portrayed in the press as participants active in their support for the Dominion and Empire. A summary from the day in 1891 states that :

> The small boy was in his element. He had joy unspeakable, if it were not full of glory. From the Calathumpian procession, to the last sky rocket, he took it all in and went to bed tired, to

> wake with a glad feeling which comes from a day well spent. The small girl has not the same chance that the small boy has but they appeared to make the most of what they had.[68]

Males are constructed as the ones who actively participated in leisured events, whereas females are seen by the *Sentinel* as an object of pity for their lack of participation. However, this was not the lived experience of at least one female celebrant. Belle Dobie, whose family settled in Prince Arthur's Landing in 1872, later wrote about her childhood days in the community and states that Dominion Day was a wonderful time for boys *and* girls. She remembers numerous activities in which girls participated (including setting off firecrackers) and records that "needless to say the day was full to the brim with fun."[69]

Besides public celebrations, ice skating was one of the few respectable sporting activities regarded as acceptable for both men and women in the nineteenth century.[70] During the months when the community was blanketed in snow, it was a popular winter sport for both sexes at the Lakehead and took place on the frozen expanse of Lake Superior or in covered rinks.[71] Alternatively in the summer time, skating on roller rinks was described in the *Sentinel*. The rink was idealized in the newspaper as a space of respectability and "first[-]class style...run on strictly first[-]class principles."[72] It discussed skating as an opportunity for respectable courtship which offers to a young man, who might otherwise be drawn to spend his leisure time drinking, the chance to demonstrate to "his best girl that the alcoholic beverage has no charm for him."[73] Each year a regulated array of skating carnivals and races were reported in the paper during the winter and summer seasons. Carnivals drew spectators and

participants costumed, for example, as King Ahasurus, an "Indian princess," "the character of "America," a "Gypsy Princess," or a "Drummer Boy."[74] A typical description of a night of races in the *Sentinel* focused on the speed, "skill and agility" demonstrated by male participants, while reporting that "the fair sex took advantage of the privilege to display their grace and skill."[75] Female skaters may have had some ability, but they were expected to be proficient only to the point of looking attractive while they did it. In this manner, they continued to be attractive to the male skaters and demonstrated their fitness as possible future wives.

Tobogganing was also held by the *Sentinel* to be respectable leisure for young men and women and offered opportunities for courtship. It is also one of the few leisure activities reported upon by the *Sentinel* in which there is specific discussion of a non-English-speaking group. "A large number of Finlanders," the paper reports "were coasting on Foxes Hill."[76] However, the report situates the Finnish community as participating in such events as a community separate from the dominant majority. The proper behaviour for tobogganing focused on middle-class, Anglo-Saxon involvement. A joke in the paper quotes a young girl asking her mother if she could go tobogganing and the response is "Oh yes my darling Julia; but don't you try the toboggan to guide, or it will surely fool you. Better ask your young-man, dear, to try his elegant muscle, or the boys will see a silly girl a-sliding on her bustle."[77] While the newspaper outlined the proper fashion for women to ensure appropriate coverage and the right look to attract a

suitor, young men were advised how to manfully control a slide with a girl on board.[78]

These winter sporting activities were considered acceptable for the single men and women of Port Arthur. Additionally a number of leisured pastimes are constructed in the paper as respectable opportunities for single and married women and men. Fishing is discussed in the *Sentinel* as respectable for married and single citizens of both sexes. In "Speckled Trout in Abundance" the newspaper reports that "Counc. J. K. Johnston, Mr. W. C. Dobie, Mrs. Dobie and Miss Dobie, Miss Victoria Machin, Mr. H. C. Becket of Hamilton and a couple of boys" enjoyed an afternoon during which "[n]o less than 268 fine speckled trout" were caught by the group and "a most enjoyable time was spent."[79] References to fishing for leisure draw upon the British tradition of sport hunting and fishing for the elite men and women of society.[80]

Another usage of ideals of elite British society to confer respectability on the activities of women and men from Port Arthur can be found in boating and canoeing experiences. Although canoeing was a popular competitive sport at the Lakehead during the early years, this activity, along with boating, is depicted in the *Sentinel* as an opportunity for respectable mixed-sex interactions and exposes the class and racial nature of leisure in the community.[81] Boating activities could involve larger craft such as steamers, upon which dances took place, or smaller more personal craft designed for only a couple of people.[82] Leisured small boat and canoe trips are often reported upon in the early days of the newspaper's production. One trip to Pie Island and Prince's Bay that is

recounted in the newspaper involved "five ladies and six gentlemen" and their "faithful Indian guide." Upon reaching the shore of the island, the "Indian guide" prepared dinner while "the rest of the party roamed about the groves" and as the group then ate, the "dark eyed "young brave" stood behind the ladies holding two immense umbrellas; the whole effect gave one the idea of a scene in India."[83] Patricia Jasen raises the point that during the late nineteenth century, Aboriginal people were frequently employed as guides by the Anglo-Saxon population desirous of spending leisure time experiencing the wilderness. Images of Aboriginal people in this context, she points out, presented them as "only marginally human."[84] In drawing upon the imagery of India, the *Sentinel* demonstrates the place of both Anglo-Saxon tourists and Aboriginal guides in leisure activities. The notion of the dominance of imperialist Britain is used to construct parallels between the role of the British as masters and the experience of Indians as subservient. It also made the wilderness around Port Arthur appear to be less wild and more civilized or exotic. The *Sentinel* attempted to demonstrate the leisured respectability and high degree of civilization of these "ladies" and "gentlemen" by tying them to the mastery, wealth and leisured opulence of the British Empire.

Larger boats were also used for moonlight cruises and dances. Although dancing, whether on land or on shore, was a moral concern in the nineteenth century, reports of dances published in the *Sentinel* are discussed as respectable leisure for all classes of men and women and are divided into two distinct categories - balls and "impromptu hops."[85] Lynne Marks states that

dancing in Victorian Ontario "separated people by class, working-class couples 'tripped the light fantastic' at public hops, while their middle-class counterparts attended more elaborate and exclusive assembly dances."[86] Accounts of carefully organized, decorated, and invite-only balls were reported in the newspaper several times each year and were an opportunity to discuss the success of the community and proper manly and womanly images. On the occasion of the Calico Ball, the *Sentinel* reports that:

> Such a galaxy of beautiful and youthful ladies, and fair and gallant men has not been seen in Port Arthur before. But this ball cannot be judged by Port Arthur standards. Here is a place, the water gate of the Northwest, and planted in a wilderness, but the turnout would not have disgraced Montreal or Toronto.[87]

Constructed as a symbol of cultivation, the coverage of the Calico Ball and other similar dances, is significantly different from reports of a ball organized by the "employees of the Queen's Hotel" and the hops which frequently took place. This working-class activity is described as "a pleasant affair" and the hops provided "a most gay and enjoyable recreation," but are not reported as conferring the same degree of enthusiastic respectability and examples of prime manhood and womanhood.[88]

More modest entertainment described in the *Sentinel* were church socials and bazaars, in which it was acceptable for single and married women and men to take part. These events ranged from instrumental solos and recitations to songs performed by single and married English-speaking women and men from a variety of organizations including a number of the churches and volunteer groups.[89] In one of the more elaborate events, the coverage of the "Queen Ester

Cantata" reports that "[t]he many pretty faces and graceful figures of the young ladies, with the noble and martial appearance of the sterner sex, all dressed in the beautiful eastern costumes which the luxurious Persian court delighted in, presented alone a very charming picture and attractive entertainment."[90]

Margaret Frenette and Patricia Jasen have argued in their examination of the development of community and culture in Thunder Bay, that "play-going only gradually became a respectable form of middle-class Victorian entertainment" as society recognized that attending such events did "not pose any moral risk."[91] As a result, advertisements for these events tended to promote the wholesomeness of theatre productions produced locally and those brought into the community. Description of theatre-going and acting in the *Sentinel* were frequently praised, but the numerous ads and reports of plays and performers also reflect concerns regarding the maintenance of the morality of the audience. In reference to a play written and performed in Port Arthur, the *Sentinel* records that it was "free from vulgarity or impurity"[92] and both amateur and professional performances reportedly drew a "large and highly appreciative audience."[93] The positive discourse about theatre happenings in the *Sentinel* may also reflect the fact that many of the men and women who acted in locally produced plays were members of the upper classes of Port Arthur. For example, future mayor and leading business man G. T. Marks is positively reviewed for his performance in "Our Nelly;" Mrs. Smellie, the wife of the town's doctor, is "hailed with acclamations" for her role; and S. W. Ray, the *Sentinel* reports, "appeared to excellent advantage" in the local production of "Esther."[94]

That class could confer respectability on an activity otherwise regarded as morally suspect is further demonstrated in the *Sentinel* through a number of letters written to the editor from "A Working Man." He implores the "ladies and gentlemen of musical and literary ability" in Port Arthur to organize a series of concerts and states that they "would be highly appreciated by everyone in the Landing, but particularly so by the class to which I belong."[95] In his response the editor praises "A Working Man" for his letter and encourages the production of "professional and amateur theatrical performances" by the those with "sufficient musical and literary ability."[96] Concerns about the lack of morality in theatre were overcome by shaping it as useful and offering the public "a range of intellectual and social benefits."[97] The "cultured" classes of Port Arthur could bestow upon those less informed the knowledge which their education and wealth had provided them, and in doing so make theatre a fully respectable form of leisure. The community would also benefit as the working class would be exposed to such "refined" intellects.

"Large and respectable" audiences are also reported in the *Sentinel* when citizens attended temperance meetings. Attendance and participation in these events were constructed as acceptable leisured activities for both women and men in the community. Men and women performed at the temperance meetings that are regularly reported in the *Sentinel*. "The hall was well filled" when Mrs. Harvey sang "Down the Shadowy Lawn," followed by Mr. Ray's rendition of "The Slave Ship" and several other performers in an effort to provide "a place of

entertainment for the young men of the town, who otherwise would have no place to go to in which they could spend a pleasant and profitable evening."[98]

Yet the *Sentinel's* reports of temperance meetings were not entirely positive. In a series of articles from 1883 and 1884, the newspaper verbally attacked the temperance association. The *Sentinel* concludes that songs were not the way to go when designing a program to draw a crowd to an evening of temperance and purity. The writers of the paper were of the opinion that "when the meeting has temperance speeches for its leading features, larger numbers are added to the roll... If good work is to go on, more life must be put into the meetings."[99] Moreover, the *Sentinel* suggested that if the temperance association wanted to be more successful, it should "infuse a little more *temperance* into the proceedings."[100] The evils of "King Alcohol," the newspaper warned, could cause the ultimate demise of a man and the suffering of "the widow, the orphan and the aged parent" when he forgot his duties in the home and community.[101] However, belonging to a temperance society, as the *Sentinel* explains, could offer a place of solace to men compelled to the drink.

Although "B" may have disagreed, in an analysis of leisured activities depicted in the *Sentinel*, it was considered respectable for a man to participate in a variety of pastimes that were believed to help the male population of Port Arthur develop into proper and respectable men. Sports and fraternal organizations, it was thought, could teach manly characteristics and prevent the physical degeneration of the middle-class male. For respectable women's participation in sporting activities, the *Sentinel* focused on their roles as

spectators and moral guardians of society. Only moderate participation in sports was acceptable as too much activity threatened their reproductive health. Women who took part in leisure in a manner that challenged these norms frequently saw their experiences devalued. Thus, although in the pages of the *Sentinel* women were allowed participation in leisured events and could remain respectable, the newspaper reminded them that their true and expected role was that of an "Angel-in-the-House." When opportunities arose for mixed-sex leisure, respectable pastimes described in the newspaper are those engaged in by the elevated classes in Port Arthur society. However, in some instances the title "respectable" could be gained by the working class participating successfully in middle-class pursuits. A final link between many of the leisure activities described in the *Sentinel* is the British heritage of many citizens in the community. Proper leisure was centred on the development of respectable traits and the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon line. Thus, for a community on the frontier of the province, being able to demonstrate respectable conduct during leisure activities was proof of the degree of civilization in Port Arthur.

1. Donald G. Wetherell with Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta 1896-1945* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1990) xvi. For a similar argument also see Mott, "One Solution to the Urban Crisis," 57-58.
2. Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600* (State College, PA: Venture Publishing, Inc., 1990), 87.
3. Wetherell and Kmet, *Useful Pleasures*, xxi, 5-6.
4. See Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 117 for his discussion of women's participation in female auxiliaries of fraternal orders.
5. Cross, *A Social History of Leisure*, 103.
6. Mott, "One Solution to the Urban Crisis," 64.
7. Michael J. Smith, "There's No Penalty When You Hit The Fence:" Sporting Activities in Central and Eastern Nova Scotia, 1880s-1920s," *Sport History Review* 27 (1996): 193.
8. Smith, "There's No Penalty," 193.
9. Helen Lenkskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986), 23, 24.
10. Nancy B. Bouchier, "Idealized Middle-Class Sport for a Young Nation: Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns, 1871-1891," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no. 2 (1994): 91.
11. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 81.
12. Cross, *A Social History of Leisure*, 143.
13. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 129.
14. Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity," 186.
15. "Dominion Day At Prince Arthur," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 July 1877.
16. "The Bonspiel," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 February 1896. Also see "The Cricket Match," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 July 1895 for a similar description of women spectators at a cricket game.
17. "As Regards the Gym," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 March 1894.
18. "As Regards the Gym," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 March 1894.
19. Belle Kittredge fonds, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, A/31/1/1.
20. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 127.
21. "The Walking Club," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 24 May 1889.
22. "The Walking Club," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 24 May 1889.
23. "The Walking Club," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 24 May 1889.
24. "The Walking Club," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 24 May 1889.
25. "A Great Game of Curling," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 13 March 1896.
26. "A Great Game of Curling," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 13 March 1896.
27. Smith, "There's No Penalty," 194.
28. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 May 1878.
29. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 April 1876.
30. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 February 1884.
31. "Sporting Grounds," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 8 May 1885.
32. "Snow Shoe Races," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 13 February 1885.
33. "Snow Shoe Races," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 13 February 1885.
34. "The Cricket Club," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 May 1884.
35. "The Cricket Match," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 June 1882.
36. "A Word to Those Desirous of Becoming Healthy and Muscular," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 2 April 1880.
37. "The Cricketers' Trip," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 3 August 1882.
38. "Base Ball," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 17 August 1882.
39. "Base Ball," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 17 August 1882.
40. "Dominion Day," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 July 1895.
41. Port Arthur, "Don't Squeal," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 2 August 1895.
42. Port Arthur, "Don't Squeal," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 2 August 1895.
43. For further analysis of lacrosse and masculinity in Ontario, see Bouchier, "Middle-class Sport," 94.
44. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 131-132.

45."A Brilliant Gathering," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 21 November 1884. For similar reports see "The Supper at the Queen's," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 19 November 1877, "Historical," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 October 1876 and "Complimentary Supper and Presentation," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 17 October 1878.
46."A Brilliant Gathering," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 21 November 1884.
47. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 January 1884.
48. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 January 1884.
49. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 January 1884.
50. See for example *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 27 July 1882 and "At the Court: Lo, the Poor Indian," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*,14 December 1882.
51. "English Women Who Drink," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 23 May 1890.
52. "The Tree of Dissipation," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 10 February 1876.
53. Citizen, "Drunk Again," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 29 October 1880. A similar note is made by the paper about the public drunkenness displayed by a local businessman, see *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 3 November 1893.
54. "Criminal Statistics," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 16 March 1888.
55. See for example *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 26 January 1883, "Alex. Carlson's Terrible Deed," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 7 November 1884 or *The Weekly Sentinel*, 17 August 1888.
56. "Whoop! Big Injun Me!!" *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 13 March 1879. Also see "Brutal Assault," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 21 September 1882.
57. Mark C. Carnes, "Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 48-50.
58. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 114, 116, 118. Holman argues that fraternal orders were "populated by the occupational middle class." However, in her analysis of small-town life in Victorian Ontario, Marks concludes that they "were cross-class bastions of masculinity." See Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 109.
59. "Mechanic's Institute," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 19 October 1876. Although the paper accused that the Institute had "been allowed to drop almost out of existence by 1889, it insisted that could offer benefit as "every class of the community" would support and patronize it. See "The Mechanics' Institute," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 15 November 1889.
60. "Sons of England," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 15 September 1893. Also see "Imperial Federation," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 25 January 1889.
61. "A Send Off," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 11 October 1889.
62. B., "A New Correspondent," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 23 March 1876.
63. Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 115.
64. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 133-134. She makes the same argument for not only Dominion Day but for a number of public holidays including Victoria Day and civic holidays.
65. "Monday's Celebration," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 July 1883.
66. "Celebration of Dominion Day," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 July 1879.
67. "Dominion Day At Prince Arthur," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 July 1877.
68. "Dominion Day," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 3 July 1891. This same report does mention one "Girls' race, 50 yards - (under 15 years)" in which "Gehl" placed first and "Campbell" placed second. This is the only sporting event for females to participate in that is listed in the days events. In 1895 two girls races are listed for girls 15 and under and 10 and under. See "Dominion Day," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 July 1895.
69. Belle Dobie, "Girlhood Days of Early Port Arthur," *Thunder Bay Historical Society* (1909-1910): 17.
70. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 127.
71. Ron Lappage, "The Competitive Spirit in Sports," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 160-162.
72. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 24 November 1883.
73. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 20 March 1885.
74. "Carnival Thursday Night," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 12 January 1884.
75. "Skating Race at the Victoria Rink," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 24 July 1885. Coverage of women's races was minimal. One article states that there was a five mile race for men with a prize of $15 and a women's race of one mile, however only the outcome of the men's race is

reported. See "Pavilion Rink," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 19 January 1884. Also see "The Meeting of the Champions," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 26 March 1886 for discussion of a roller skating race involving a "local flier" and "McCullough of Winnipeg" which drew a large crowd of spectators.
76. *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 28 February 1890. The considerable Finnish population of Port Arthur and Fort William formed opportunities for leisure and enjoyment within their own communities. See Metsaranta, *Project Bay Street*, 7.
77. "Toboggan Pointers," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 6 March 1885.
78. "Toboggan Pointers," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 6 March 1885 and "Tobogganing," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 3 December 1886.
79. "Speckled Trout in Abundance," *The Weekly Sentinel and North Shore Miner*, 21 June 1889. William Currie Dobie was considered one of the leading citizens of the community. He came to the Lakehead in 1872 to work as a book-keeper for Thomas Marks, went on to own his own business, and later worked as the police court magistrate for 32 years, the Dominion Inspector of Mines and Fisheries, and was also a member of the public school board for 30 years. See W.C. Dobie, Biographical Files, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society.
80. Kevin Wamsley, "Good Clean Sport and a Deer Apiece: Game Legislation and State Formation in 19th Century Canada" *Social History* 20, no. 1 (1995): " 2-3. For further examples of ties to Britain see Moyles and Owram, *Imperial Dreams*, Chapter 3.
81. Lappage, "Competitive Spirit in Sports," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 164.
82. See for example "An Interesting Canoe Trip" *The Weekly Sentinel*, 6 August 1886 and "A Pleasant Outing - The Moonlight Excursion in Aid of the P. A. B. B.," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 6 June 1884.
83. "Pie Island and Prince's Bay," *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 5 October 1876.
84. Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 19, 92.
85. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 130-131.
86. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 138.
87. "The Calico Ball," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 4 March 1892.
88. *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 10 November 1882 and *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 23 February 1884.
89. Although not mentioned in the *Sentinel*, see Margaret Frenette and Patricia Jasen, "Community through Culture," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 149 for their discussion of the development of separate cultural institutions by the areas non-Anglo ethnic groups. For example of the numerous Anglo-groups involved in theatre productions see *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 19 August 1875, "The Shakespeare Water-Cure," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 26 January 1886 and *The Weekly Sentinel*, 12 February 1886.
90. *The Weekly Sentinel*, "Queen Ester," 20 March 1885.
91. Frenette and Jasen, "Community through Culture," in *Rivalry to Unity*, 148.
92. "Dramatic," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 21 December 1888. Also see a report on the Webling entertainment from *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 7 June 1895.
93. "The Shakespeare Water-Cure," *The Weekly Sentinel*, 26 January 1886.
94. "Our Nelly," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 20 April 1882 and "Esther," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 30 March 1883. George Thomas Marks, leading businessman and office holder, was the nephew of Thomas Marks. He followed his uncle to Prince Arthur's Landing in 1873 and became involved in community politics starting in 1875. Marks was mayor from 1893 to 1899. See George T. Marks, Biographical Files, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society. Janet Eleanor Lawrie married Thomas Stuart Traill Smellie in April 1879 and moved to Prince Arthur's Landing two months later. As a leading member of the community, Dr. Smellie was the medical health officer and went on to open three drug stores in Fort William as well as owning a newspaper. See Thomas Stuart Traill Smellie, Biographical Files, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society.
95. A Working Man, "Correspondence," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 February 1883. Also see an earlier letter, A Working Man, "A Good Suggestion," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 24 November 1882 in which he requests a series of informative lectures be organized and the response from the editor in *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 1 December 1882.

96. A Working Man, "Correspondence," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 16 February 1883.
97. Wetherell and Kmet, *Useful Pleasures*, 8-9.
98. "Temperance Meeting," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 3 February 1884 and "Temperance Meeting," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 8 December 1883.
99. "Temperance Meeting," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 3 February 1884.
100. "Temperance Meeting," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 8 December 1883.
101. *Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 26 April 1877.

Conclusion

Port Arthur was in its infancy when the *Sentinel* published its first edition. The newspaper attempted to provide the citizenry with examples of behaviour that would demonstrate the respectable development of the community. However, as much as the newspaper clung to the Victorian ideals, the *Sentinel's* quest to maintain and demonstrate the level of respectability within the small community faced several challenges that made the newspaper's interpretation of the "Angel in the House" and the "Muscular Christian" truly unique. Although it may initially appear that the *Sentinel* merely imitated Victorian ideals of masculine and feminine conduct that operated in communities across Canada, Britain and the United States, this is not true. Similar to Baker's argument that there was a specific type of "muscular regionalism" characteristic of Nova Scotia during the 1920s, in Port Arthur's *Sentinel*, there exists distinctive constructions of masculinity and femininity which draw upon the broader Victorian ideals of the period.[1] Port Arthur citizenry saw the town as poised to develop into a respectable and thriving community and many championed its degree of "rugged" civilization. Tronrud argues that promotion of the community at times entered into the realm of the ridiculous.[2] Port Arthur was a town of which true and proper citizens were proud.

An example from the *Sentinel* that summarizes some of the interpretations of the "Angel" and the "Muscular Christian" can be found in the following article published in the *Sentinel* in 1884. "Then and Now" is a fictional conversation between husband and

wife and is worth quoting at length; it begins with a query of a husband:

> "So you're going to the Carnival are you?"
> "Yes, love. You know the rink is the only place of amusement we have to go in this semi-arctic village."
> "Is it[?] Weren't you at the Presbyterian bubble social on Tuesday night, and Mr. Lambly's temperance meeting on Monday evening. Better stay at home [wit]h me and sew these buttons on for me if you haven't forgotten how," and he went on reading his paper.
> "How cross you are getting lately, my dear. You didn't used to talk like that to me two years ago. What costume shall I wear[?]"
> No answer.
> "What shall I go as love?"
> "Oh, get a pair of turkey wings from Smith & Mitchell's [local butchers] and go as an angel."
> A few moments silence, then:
> "Do angels wear masks, dear?"
> "Not now but they did two years ago."
> She went to the carnival disguised as an angel.[3]

The "Angel in the House," described in the above article, is the dominant image in the newspaper regarding the conduct of women. A true "Angel" is dedicated to her home, family and husband. She sees to the spiritual and moral well-being of those within her home. Through her good works in the public realms of the Protestant Church and women's organizations, the community at large also benefit from her attention. For men, the ideal is the "Muscular Christian." Active in his support of Port Arthur, the ideal man conducts himself with reasoned control and fulfills his role as the breadwinner for a middle-class household. He takes part in leisured activities, such as snowshoeing or fraternal organizations, which were believed to instill the code of respectable behaviour. However, when the "Angel" insults Port Arthur by referring to it as a "semi-

arctic village," it is necessary that she be chastized by her husband. A proper citizen of Port Arthur would not criticize the community and would see its isolation as a strength. The *Sentinel* makes clear that both respectable women and men would work towards the town's continued success.

As a frontier town, the success of Port Arthur was dependent upon the dedication of its citizens. The *Sentinel* shapes women as respectable when their activities reflected positively on the town. To see that Port Arthur developed, the *Sentinel* encourages women to take an active role in the economic well-being of the community. While women are depicted in the *Sentinel* as symbols of civilization, the ideal bride is expected to work hard to ensure her family and home were "well-tilled." A woman should act with sexual respectability and marry well. Some women are also expected and even encouraged by the newspaper to work for wages or at their own businesses to make the town succeed. This stands in contrast to places elsewhere in the country where women employed outside the home were suspect.

For men, the newspaper states that the British may be more refined with their "stove-pipe hatted" ways, but the conduct of the male population in Port Arthur is to be envied for its rugged wholesomeness. The community's isolated position within Canada may have caused those in more settled areas to regard it and those who lived there as uncivilized; however, the *Sentinel* celebrates the masculine ideal of purity found in the northwest. The male population of Port Arthur were not tainted by the overly civilized and inactive ways found in more populated communities. They snowshoed, fished and played baseball with manly and muscular civility. Men,

regardless of their social standing, are required by the newspaper to perform at least some type of physical labour to ensure the continued growth of Port Arthur. For this project in community building, the *Sentinel* sends out a clear message that only the most respectable and hard-working men were wanted. Even working-class men are depicted by the newspaper as examples of proper manhood if they are rigorous in their labour.

Desirous of seeing the community succeed, the *Sentinel,* at times, promotes groups of people who were regarded with suspicion elsewhere in the country. Aboriginal wives, at least initially, are discussed in the newspaper as acceptable women. Their degree of respectability was determined by their similarity to the "Angel in the House" ideal. Later as increasing numbers of white women arrived in the community, Aboriginal women are treated with scorn. Similarly, the Chinese-Canadian population in Port Arthur is described in the *Sentinel* as contributing to the development of the business community and alternatively depicted with the same negative stereotypes that abounded elsewhere in the country.

I have argued in this study that the *Sentinel* provides evidence of unique, regional interpretations of respectable masculine and feminine behaviour. It would be worthy of future study to consider other newspapers from the twin communities of Port Arthur and Fort William (now known as Thunder Bay). Are the discussions of gendered respectability considerably different between the two communities or even amongst the different newspapers? The *Sentinel* provides only one voice about the manner in which women and men were to behave within the areas of sexual conduct, labour and leisure

in late nineteenth-century Port Arthur. Furthermore, although not the central focus of my thesis, I have included the lived experiences of some individuals who resided in Port Arthur. These examples suggest that ideals of the period often had very little to do with people's daily lives. It would be fascinating to compare and contrast lived experiences with constructions of masculinity and femininity found in the *Sentinel* and other similar publications. The images in the newspaper that I have found regarding sexual conduct, labour and leisure are complex and point out that there were conflicting issues of community building which impacted upon the *Sentinel's* interpretations of respectable manhood and womanhood.

1.Baker, "A Muscular Regionalism," 69.
2.Tronrud, *Guardians of Progress*, 6.
3."Then and Now," *The Thunder Bay Sentinel*, 14 February 1884.

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