Regulations Governing the Use of Manuscript Theses and Dissertations

Typescript copies of theses and dissertations submitted for the master's and doctor's degrees and deposited in The Ohio State University Libraries are available for examination, but are to be used only with due regard to the priority rights of the authors. Bibliographical references may be noted, but extended passages or the whole may not be published without securing previous written permission of the author. When permission has been granted, proper credit must appear in the published work.

This thesis or dissertation has been used in accordance with the above regulation by the persons listed below. The borrowing library is obligated to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF USER                  BORROWING LIBRARY                  DATE

[Signature]                             [Signature]                         Aug 12, 86
A HISTORY
of the
NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

---

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

BY

Samuel Unger, B.A., M.A.

---

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
1933

Approved by:

[Signature]
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I    The Woman's Crusade</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II   Organization and Growth</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III  The Prohibition Campaign</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV   Votes For Woman</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V    &quot;Scientific&quot; Temperance Instruction</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI   Religious Activities</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII  Health Activities</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Publishing and Propaganda</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX   Social Morality</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X    Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

The Woman's Crusade

One of the most spectacular events before the country at the beginning of the year 1874 was the Woman's Crusade. At its height it threatened to crowd everything else out of the newspapers in Ohio. The editors were overwhelmed with letters and news items sent in by their readers, and were forced to plead for mercy.\textsuperscript{1} The interest was so great that parties and politicians were forced to take cognizance of the Crusade, and it played an important part in the Ohio Spring elections.

In attempting to explain the appearance of this movement we must go back about twenty years. In 1851 the famous Maine liquor law was passed, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. In the next four years twelve other Northern states and territories passed similar laws, but most of them proved short-lived. In New York, Indiana, and Minnesota the courts declared them unconstitutional, and in other states they were repealed. Within eight years the prohibition states were reduced to five, and even in these states enforcement was poor.\textsuperscript{2}

There were various reasons for this recession. After the laws were put on the statute books the temperance forces thought the task was over and turned to the slavery issue, which was becoming increasingly acute. None of the political parties were willing to risk losing wet votes by supporting prohibition, so it was easy to put through repeal bills.

The Civil War completed the demoralization of the temperance movement. Although Congress had passed a law prohibiting army sutlers from selling liquor, Lincoln allowed his generals to do as they pleased in this respect.

\textsuperscript{1}Der Westbote (Columbus, O.) April 1, 1874; Ohio State Journal, March 7, 1874

\textsuperscript{2}D. L. Colvin, Prohibition in the United States, 49
Some, like Butler, McClellan and Banks insisted on enforcement, but the majority did nothing. The result was that many soldiers returned home with the liquor habit firmly established within them. In order to raise money to carry on the war, the Internal Revenue Act of 1862 included a tax on alcoholic beverages, a policy which was to prove permanent. The effect was to elevate the liquor traffic from a disreputable position to a legal plane on a level with legitimate industries. The temperance forces contended that it made the federal government a direct partner in the liquor business. In the seventies the tax on alcoholic beverages furnished about one-fifth of the total government income, and this proportion was constantly increasing. The average citizen came to feel that the government could not get along without this revenue.

The consumption of alcoholic beverages was rapidly increasing. In 1873 there were 200,000 saloons, twice as many as there had been ten years before. There was one saloon to every 200 people, the greatest proportion ever reached in this country. In 1850 the per capita consumption had been 4.08 gallons. In 1873 it was approximately 8.5 gallons, more than twice as much. This increase was primarily due to the tremendous expansion in the production of beer, which rose from 36,000,000 gallons in 1850 to 204,000,000 gallons in 1870. This in turn can be traced in considerable measure to the large number of Germans who came to the United States after 1848, bringing their beer drinking habits with them. It was in this period that the brewers first assumed the leadership in the liquor industry. In fact, brewing

3 Woolley and Johnson, Temperance Progress in the Century, 413
4 Rev. Wm. Grant, Christendom, A.D. 1901, II, 390
6 Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1913, p. 12-13; 1914 p. 89
became one of the "Big Businesses" that sprang up during the Civil War.\textsuperscript{7} The United States Brewers' Association was organized in November, 1862--four months after the enactment of the liquor tax. The purpose of the organization was to vigorously uphold the brewers' interests before the legislative and executive branches of the government. A committee was at once appointed to keep in close touch with the Internal Revenue Bureau. Its effectiveness can be gauged by the fact that in less than a year the tax on beer was reduced from a dollar to sixty cents a barrel.\textsuperscript{8}

These things profoundly alarmed many people. The war had brought a general moral let-down, and the country seemed given up to wickedness. Gambling and debauchery, as well as drinking, were rapidly increasing in the cities. The government was honeycombed with graft and corruption. Several scandals had been uncovered in 1872, and more were to follow. The time was ripe for a protest against these evils and the Panic of 1873 made people ready to listen to the reformers. It has been asserted that a business panic is usually followed by a moral and religious revival, the hardships and suffering of the people making them turn to spiritual things for help and guidance. There is some evidence to prove that this happened in 1873.\textsuperscript{9}

Curiously enough, the Woman's Crusade was started by Dio Lewis, a member of the male sex. His drunken father could not support the family and at the tender age of eight Dio was forced to enter a cotton mill in Clarksville, N.Y. His mother was a very religious woman, and when her husband was on one of his sprees, she would retire to the attic and spend hours in prayer. Early in the 1830's she resolved to attack the evil

\textsuperscript{7}L.A. Weigle, \textit{American Idealism}, 205
\textsuperscript{8}P.H. Odegard, \textit{Pressure Politics}, 245
\textsuperscript{9}Der Westbote, March 28, 1874; \textit{The Nation} \textbf{XVIII}, 99, Feb. 12, 1874; J.F. Rhodes, \textit{History of the U.S. III}, 102
which was causing all her troubles. She assembled a group of women, who armed with Bibles and hymn books, visited the liquor dealers of Clarksville, and exhorted them with prayers, tears, and song to give up their wicked business, until they all acquiesced. This made a deep impression on young Dio, and when in later years he founded the Woman's Crusade, it was based on the assumption that woman's prayer was the most powerful agency on earth.10

By some means Dio managed to acquire a little education, and became a school teacher. He studied medicine with a physician, and then entered Harvard Medical School but did not have money enough to complete the course. The lack of a degree did not keep him from practicing, as the laws were very lax in those days. After a few years he became a health lecturer, being especially interested in calesthenics. He was instrumental in introducing a new system of physical training in the schools. In place of the old cumbersome and costly apparatus he invented the dumb-bell, the gymnastic wand, and the bean bag, which could be used in any school room.11

Lewis spent his weekdays giving health lectures, and on Sunday evenings he spoke in the churches on "The Duty of Christian Women in the Temperance Work".12 He described the method which his mother had used so successfully, and made an appeal to the women present to apply it against the local liquor sellers. In 1858 the women of Dixon, Illinois decided to give his plan a trial. In six days they had temporarily closed every one of the thirty-nine grog shops in the town. Two months later Lewis came to Battle Creek, Michigan, and persuaded the women there to organize with the result that liquor was banished.13

11 Eastman, op. cit., 74; Gilbert Seldes, The Stammering Century, 261
12 Eastman, 52
13 Ibid., 66
Nothing further seems to have followed these early successes. They remained localized and were soon forgotten. Ten years later Lewis started similar movements in Natick, Massachusetts and Manchester, New Hampshire but they were unsuccessful. In December, 1873, he appeared at Fredonia and Jamestown, New York and organized the women but both movements quickly died out. An ordinary man might have become discouraged, but Lewis never lost faith, and before long he was amply rewarded.

On December 22, 1873 he arrived in Hillsboro, a town of about 3,000 in the southwestern part of Ohio and delivered a health lecture on "Our Girls". Finding he could stay over another day before leaving for his next engagement, he remained to give his temperance lecture at the suggestion of Judge Albert Mathews. At the close he asked how many of the women would be willing to try his plan, and they responded unanimously. He then suggested that a committee of men be formed to support the women. Papers were circulated and in a few minutes the names of fifty leading citizens were secured. At nine o'clock the next morning there was a meeting at the Presbyterian Church where an organization was perfected and prayers offered. At the suggestion of Mrs. Eliza Thompson the hymn, "Give to the Winds Thy Fears" was sung and this later became known as the Crusade Hymn. To its inspiring melody some eighty women formed in line and, headed by Mrs. Thompson, began their march on the liquor dealers.

Lewis urged that six different types of pledges be circulated—

---

14Ibid., 126; J.E. Stubbins, Fifty Years of the Temperance Cause, 313
15Mother Stewart, Memories of Crusade 85; A. Wittenmyer—Woman's Temperance Crusade, 509
16Eliza Thompson, Hillsboro Crusade Sketches, 58
17Highland Weekly News Jan. 1, 1874; F.E. Willard, Story of Crusade, 5
18Thompson, op. cit., 62
1. A total abstinence pledge to be signed by drinkers. 2. A dealer's pledge to give up the sale of liquor. 3. A doctor's pledge not to prescribe liquor if anything else would serve the purpose. 4. A druggist's pledge not to sell liquor except on a doctor's prescription. 5. A property holder's pledge not to allow his property to be used for the liquor traffic. 6. A lawyer's pledge not to defend a liquor seller. On the first day the success of the Hillsboro women was confined to getting all but one of the druggists to sign the pledge not to sell except on a doctor's prescription. In the following two weeks very little was accomplished although the women were out in force every day. Only one saloon was closed and one hotel agreed to stop selling liquor.

In the meantime, Lewis had proceeded to the nearby town of Washington Court House to fill his next lecture engagement. On Christmas morning he again gave his temperance lecture, and as at Hillsboro, the women declared their willingness to try his plan. The next day about forty women led by Mrs. A.C. Hirst and Mrs. George Carpenter set out to go the rounds of the liquor dealers. They met with no success. The following day the male supporters of the Crusade held an all day prayer meeting, ringing the church bell after each prayer to encourage the women who were pleading with the stubborn saloon-keepers.

On Sunday there was a Grand Union Temperance meeting of all the churches at which fiery speeches were made and much enthusiasm shown. The next day four places surrendered, and before the week was out all the eleven

19 Eastman, op. cit., 139
20 Highland Weekly News, Jan. 1, 1874
21 Ibid, Jan. 8, Jan. 15, 1874
22 Ohio State Register, (Washington C.H.), Jan 1, 1874
saloons within the town limits were closed. Not yet content the women obtained more than a thousand signatures to the total abstinence pledge, pledged all the physicians and druggists and obtained many signatures to the property holder's pledge. It was this initial triumph which started the Crusade on its sensational course. As Frances Willard remarked, "the Crusade would have been classed as the idle vagary of a bewildered brain, but for the marvelous success which attended it first in Washington C.H."25

The discouraged Hillsboro women, hearing of the wonderful success in Washington, C.H. decided to appeal for help. On January 12, four Washington C.H. Leaders came to Hillsboro and a great meeting was held. It was determined to renew the conflict at once. The men adopted the Washington plan of holding continuous prayer meetings, with the ringing of the church bell after each prayer to encourage the women. There was no immediate success, but in a few days two saloons surrendered under an agreement by which they were to be indemnified for any loss they might sustain after shipping their stock to Cincinnati to be sold. This left three saloons still open.

The Crusade was now well started. It rapidly spread to the nearby towns and then crossed the state boundaries. Shelbyville, Indiana took it up on January 28. It was begun in Philadelphia on February 27, and by the middle of March it had reached San Francisco. It became such

23Matilda C. Carpenter, Crusade at Washington C.H., 47
24J.H. Beadle op. cit., 15
25F.E. Willard, Women and Temperance, 77. Later there was much argument between Washington C.H. and Hillsboro as to which town was entitled to the credit of starting the Crusade. Miss Willard sought to please both by declaring that Hillsboro was the cradle and Washington C.H. the crown of the Crusade.
26Highland News, Jan. 15, 1874
27Ibid., Jan. 22, 1874
28Stebbins, op. cit., 424
29Cincinnati Enquirer, Feb. 28, 1874
30Highland News, March 19, 1874
an important news item that newspapers like the New York Tribune and the Cincinnati Commercial sent out special correspondents to follow the course of the movement.

It is important to recognize that the Crusade was essentially a religious movement, and that it was successful only when it retained this character. One observer remarked that the methods of the temperance women resembled very much the style of the old fashioned Methodist revival. A newspaper opposed to the Crusade was forced to admit editorially, that when supported by religious zeal the women were simply irresistible. It was felt that they were justified in attacking an evil from which women were the principal sufferers because of the disrupting effect on family life. A sympathetic observer wrote, "A dram seller who sees a wife whose husband he has ruined appealing to God in her misery as she kneels in his presence or before his door, is the very kind to be profoundly, even superstitiously, disturbed and to vow to renounce his trade. He can deal with mobs of swearing men and pistols, but a throng of women kneeling in prayer for him perplexes and confounds him." In the small towns the Crusade got public opinion so solidly behind it that liquor drinking became disreputable. Men did not dare openly to patronize the saloons that still remained open, and those who wanted a drink had to resort to all sorts of subterfuges.

As long as things went well the women were content to confine their

31 Highland News, Jan. 29, 1874
32 Cincinnati Enquirer, Jan. 2, 1874
33 The Nation XVIII, 135 & 199 (Feb. 26 & March 26, 1874)
34 Harper's Weekly XVIII, 210 (March 7, 1874)
35 Highland News, Jan. 8, 1874; Eastman, op. cit., 203
activities to the prayer method and to abide by Dio Lewis' dictum, that "The evil to be attacked can only be successfully approached by strictly religious and spiritual instrumentalities." But when the Crusaders encountered determined opposition and prayer seemed to have no effect they were tempted to resort to the law. This temptation was especially strong in Ohio because of the existence of strict liquor laws, which, however, were only slightly enforced. An act of 1854 prohibited (1) The sale of intoxicating liquor to be drunk on the premises, (2) Selling to minors except on the written order of parents, guardians, or the family physician, (3) Selling to intoxicated persons or those in the habit of becoming intoxicated. Places that violated this law were to be abated as public nuisances.

The Adair law of 1870 which was in the form of an amendment to sections seven and ten of the above act provided that the relatives of an intoxicated person, or any other party injured in person or property by said person should have the right to bring an action for damages against any one who had caused the intoxication, in whole or in part. Property owners of the places where the liquor was obtained were also liable.

The Hillsboro women very soon abandoned their exclusive reliance on prayer. Two or three weeks after the Crusade started they issued a statement which declared that the resistance of the liquor dealers to their moral exhortations was due to the failure to enforce the laws regulating the liquor traffic. An appeal was made to the people to let the public officials and the Grand Jury know that they wanted these laws to be strictly enforced.

---

36 Eaton, 137
37 Laws of Ohio, 52 V.153
38 Ibid. 67 V.101
39 Highland News, Jan. 15, 1874
against suits brought by a druggist named William Henry Harrison Dunn, their most determined opponent. He had refused to sign the druggist's pledge and had locked them out of his store. Nothing daunted, the women erected a tent in the street to protect them from the cold, and continued their siege of "Fort Dunn." Dunn replied by obtaining an injunction ordering the removal of the tent and forbidding the ladies to pray anywhere in the vicinity of his store. He also brought a damage suit for $10,000.40

The Crusaders at once took steps to dissolve the injunction. Both sides retained an imposing array of counsel and after a trial lasting four days the injunction was dissolved. The women were disappointed, however, because the decision was made on a technicality, and not on the merits of the case.41 When the damage suit came to trial Dunn was awarded $5.00. It was generally believed that his heavy legal expenses were paid by the Liquor Dealer's Association of Cincinnati.42 The women now attacked him in earnest. In April he was arrested on no less than nine different charges--six for selling liquor to be drunk on the premises, two for selling liquor to minors, and one for selling liquor to an intoxicated man.43 The two remaining saloon keepers were also arrested for selling to minors. The charges against Dunn were later dismissed to the great indignation of the Crusaders.44

In Washington C.H. Dunn's role was played by Carl Beck, who owned a beer garden just outside the town limits. When he ordered the Crusaders off his premises, the women erected a "tabernacle" equipped with a loco-

40Ibid. Feb. 5, 1874
41Ibid. Feb. 26, 1874; Thompson, op. cit., 103
42Highland News, June 3, 1874
43Ibid., April 23-April 30, 1874
44Ibid., June 4-June 18, 1874
motive headlight which was kept trained on his door for the purpose of identifying those who patronized his place. Beck secured an injunction for the removal of the tabernacle and brought a trespass suit, but before the trial he lost courage and closed his beer garden. It was later reported that the women were forming a stock company with a capital of $10,000 for the purpose of employing legal talent for the prosecution of saloon keepers. This was criticized as a relinquishment of the efficacy of prayer.

Having undertaken to enforce the law, the Crusaders were inevitably forced to take the next step—the entry into politics. It was almost invariably true that the men who sympathized with the Crusade were Republicans, while the Democrats were generally opposed, so the women naturally supported the former. Twenty-five years earlier the Democrats had taken the same attitude, with the Whigs usually pro-temperance, and the Free Soilers invariably so.

In the local elections that took place in the Spring of 1874 the temperance forces sustained some unexpected reverses. In Hillsboro a Citizen's ticket which was avowedly anti-temperance was set up to oppose the Republicans, and its supporters elected the Mayor, the treasurer, and a councilman. Anti-temperance men also carried Washington Court House and a dozen other places where the Crusaders had been active. This was naturally interpreted as a rebuke to their course. A long editorial in the New York Tribune declared—"When the women turn from prayer to God, and pleading with the saloon keepers to invoke the

---

45Carpenter, op. cit., 122; Fayette County Herald, Feb. 5, 1874
46Cincinnati Enquirer, April 17, 1874
47Highland News, April 9, 1874
power of the State, they abandon their strongest position ... The lesson for the good women engaged in the temperance movement is that if they would have success they must avoid political alliances."48 This advice was not heeded.

A constitutional convention was in session in Ohio at this time for the purpose of drawing up a new State constitution. The liquor interests were in favor of inserting a license provision, something which the old constitution forbade. They wanted this in order to be able to prove that their business was legitimate, and entitled to the protection of the State. The Woman's Temperance Leagues held a meeting in Cincinnati on April 22, and memorialized the constitutional convention not to include a license provision.49 The convention decided to submit the question of license or no license to the people separately from the Constitution. In the vote that followed the temperance forces were able to defeat the license clause by a majority of 7,000. The new constitution was also defeated for reasons apart from the temperance issue.50

In the Fall state elections the Republicans were again the temperance party, passing a resolution against "intemperance and its causes."51 The Democratic Convention declared in favor of a constitutional amendment that would permit the Legislature to pass a license act and carried the election by a majority of 20,000 votes.52 An important factor in the Republican defeat was their temperance stand, which alienated a large of the German vote.53

48Highland News, April 10, 1874
49Carpenter, op. cit., 169
50Highland News, Aug. 20, 1874
51D.L. Colvin, Prohibition in the U.S., 105
52Highland News, Oct. 22, 1874
53Rhodes-, History of the U.S. VII, 133
Dio Lewis was very much opposed to the women's entry into politics and did his best to warn them against these tactics. In March 1874, he said, "I have not a doubt that the women of America will rid the country of dram shops if they can preserve the Christ-like spirit in which they have begun, continue their combined movements against the enemy, give the politicians and wise men a wide berth, and keep themselves in the spirit of humble prayer before God". 54

Many of the women began to favor prohibition as the answer to the liquor problem, and Lewis threw the whole weight of his influence against this position, going so far as to write a book with the title, Prohibition a Failure. He declared that liquor drinking was a vice and not a crime, and as such could not be effectively dealt with by legal methods, but only by moral suasion. He argued that vices were inevitably strengthened by their legal prohibition. "It is not the clumsy fingers of the law which restrain us from a vicious life, but reason and public sentiment". 55 Law-making had become a mania with the American people, under the delusion that passing a law was all that was necessary to correct an evil. To those who argued that legal and moral suasion methods could be used to supplement each other, Lewis replied, "While we are waiting for the constable to do the work we cannot employ, with the needed fervor, those social, moral, and religious forces which alone can triumph over human vices." 56 Lewis remained a convinced anti-prohibitionist even after his protegés had deserted him. In 1883 the Washington Court House W.C.T.U. was celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Crusade, and sent him an invitation to speak before them.

54 Beadle, Woman's War - Introduction, VI
55 Dio Lewis, Prohibition a Failure, 15
56 Ibid., 5
They hurriedly withdrew it when they learned he was planning to attack their prohibition policy in the strongest terms.\textsuperscript{57}

While the Crusade enjoyed a good measure of success in the small towns, it was far otherwise when the cities were attacked. In the towns, where everybody knew everybody else, and no one could escape observation, the force of public opinion was strong enough to compel obedience, once it had become concentrated on some course of action. In the cities these conditions did not exist. One modern publicist is of the opinion that fanaticism can only be kindled in a rural environment. The urban crowd lacks the concentration of energy to become fiercely excited for any length of time about anything. At its worst it is a raging mob, but it is not persistently fanatical. There are too many things to attract its attention for it to remain preoccupied for long with any one thing.\textsuperscript{58} The monotony and lack of entertainment in the tedious winter months accounts in part for the eagerness with which the Crusade was taken up in the small towns.\textsuperscript{59} In the cities the craving for excitement could be satisfied in other ways.

The first city to be attacked was Dayton, Ohio which at that time had a population of 40,000 and over 500 saloons. On February 19, 1874, Dio Lewis presided over a temperance mass meeting and the next day a permanent organization was formed. He appreciated the difficulty of the task and advised that at first, committees of two or three women be sent to the homes of saloon-keepers and the property owners from whom they rented their places of business to plead with them to sign the pledge. Then committees of five women were to go to the saloons to plead with the owners and, before they left, kneel in a corner of the bar-room for a few minutes

\textsuperscript{57}Carpenter, Crusade in Washington C.H., 259
\textsuperscript{58}Walter Lippmann, Preface to Morals, 271
\textsuperscript{59}Stebbins, op. cit., 489; Der Westbote, Feb. 14, 1874
of silent prayer. After a week or two of this procedure parties of thirty to fifty were to hold religious exercises in some of the larger saloons.

The Dayton women followed this plan, and sent out many small committees. This brought no results so on March 2, two bands of twenty-two women each, started out under the leadership of Mrs. Weakley and Mrs. J. Harry Thomas. They attracted great crowds and at each saloon they visited, free drinks were dispensed. A band of hoodlums followed the women about, jeering, cursing and throwing bits of crackers and bologna at them.

For a month the Crusaders continued their campaign, always followed by crowds that grew increasingly bold and insulting. After a serious riot had been narrowly averted the Police Commissioner issued a proclamation on April 8 ordering the women to cease their street work and also directing that all sales of intoxicating liquor be stopped. The women obeyed and the crusade came to an end. A few days later liquor was sold as freely as ever, except that more care was used about selling to minors and drunkards.

In Columbus the Crusaders started work on March 3. A large band of about one hundred and twenty women started out from the First Presbyterian Church and succeeded in closing two saloons the first day. They attracted such large crowds and so much disturbance resulted that they decided to divide into five companies. These met with little success, due to an effective plan adopted by the Columbus Liquor Dealers' Association. It was ordered that no member was to sign any pledge or allow any ladies in

60Stebbins, 317
61Ibid. 439
62Cincinnati Enquirer, April 9, 1874
63Ibid. April 15, 1874
64Columbus Dispatch, March 3, 1874
his place of business under any circumstances whatever.\textsuperscript{65} Within a month street work had ceased.

In Cleveland a Temperance Mass Meeting was held in the First Baptist Church on March 12. The next day an organization was set up with Miss Sarah E. Fitch as President. The following instructions were adopted in the hope that they would avert mob violence: (1) No band should enter any premises without the consent of the proprietor (2) Bands were to have police protection (3) Bands were to be accompanied by reporters that they might be properly represented before the public.\textsuperscript{66} The hope was in vain, for on March 19 a band of Crusaders was chased by a mob and two were injured.\textsuperscript{67} They were forced to take refuge in a store until police reinforcements arrived. The next day similar scenes of violence occurred, and this aroused the law abiding element. A thousand men organized to defend the women, under the leadership of Rev. A.J.F. Behrends. The militia was ordered to rest on its arms, and the police force was increased.\textsuperscript{68} This intimidated the rowdies and there was no more violence. The saloon-keepers then adopted the same plan as that in Columbus, and refused to admit the women. In the Spring elections the Democrats carried the city by a large majority, and this was ascribed to the reaction against the Crusade.\textsuperscript{69} A few days later the Police Commissioners issued an order prohibiting patrolmen from accompanying the women.\textsuperscript{70} The following month the Mayor ruled that they were not to pray on the streets.\textsuperscript{71} A feature of the Cleveland Crusade which became permanent was the establishment

\textsuperscript{65}Ohio State Journal (Columbus, O) March 5, 1874
\textsuperscript{66}W.A. Ingham, Women of Cleveland and Their Work, 167
\textsuperscript{67}Cleveland Herald, March 20, 1874
\textsuperscript{68}Centennial Temperance Volume, 713
\textsuperscript{69}Cleveland Herald, April 7, 1874
\textsuperscript{70}Tbid. April 11, 1874
\textsuperscript{71}Stewart, Memories of Crusade, 363
eral Friendly Inns. The idea seems to have come from Dio Lew
ed the women to organize reading rooms and amusement halls for
no would otherwise have only the saloon to fall back on for
ion.72
ne of the prominent men of the city, believing that an effor
be made to enforce the liquor laws, hired detectives and soc
r 900 indictments against saloon-keepers, as well as damage
he Adair law totaling $150,000.73 The name of John D. Rocke
out among these temperance men, and he was a hearty supporte
sade.74
took courage to tackle Cincinnati, which had the largest li
in the country, and was bitterly opposed to the Crusade. It
ed that the women were costing the Cincinnati distillers abc
a day.75 In spite of the great odds against them, the Crus
ork in the early part of March led by Mrs. S.K. Leavitt, a c
ife. They began to have trouble at once, being followed by l
that became very abusive. One day the women marched to a la
ket house to hold a prayer meeting. They found awaiting th
ing sight. "Butchers, fresh from their stalls, with their s
the women, but they went through with their prayer meeting and the crowd was hushed into respectful silence.

On March 17, the German saloon-keepers' Association called an indignation meeting. Among others, Pastors Kroell and Eisenlohr and Rabbi Isaac Wise made speeches severely denouncing the Crusade. After the Mayor had been almost mobbed by a crowd of angry Germans while trying to preserve order at a street prayer meeting he issued a proclamation forbidding the women to hold any more street gatherings. The Crusaders did not comply, and forty-three of them were arrested while praying in front of a saloon. They were warned not to repeat the offense and then were released without penalty. After this, small committees of three or four were sent out, in order to keep within the law.

In Pittsburgh, the women were not so obedient. After disregarding the Mayor's proclamation against services on the streets for more than a month, they were arrested for blocking the sidewalks. Released with a reprimand, they continued their work the next day and were again arrested. Released after being fined the women took up the Crusade again, and were arrested for the third time and again fined. The cases were appealed with the result that the fines and costs were returned and the verdict set aside. The Crusaders went away rejoicing, and their street meetings were not interfered with again.

The Chicago Crusade was brought to an untimely end by the tactics of the saloon-keepers, who exploited it as a money making proposition. They would invite the Crusaders to their saloons and then post conspicuous

77 Cincinnati Enquirer, March 18, 1874
78 Ibid., May 21, 1874
79 Wittenmyer, 242
80 Ibid. 475
notices that a prayer meeting was to be held. A large and thirsty crowd would gather and the saloon would do a land office business. One saloon-keeper found this so profitable that he hired three scrubwomen to impersonate Crusaders, and announced he would hold two prayer meetings a week.\(^{81}\)

The Chicago Common Council had a proposal before it to repeal the Sunday Closing ordinance. Alarmed by this bold move of the liquor interests the women gathered 16,000 signatures to a petition against the repeal. On the night the Council met, one-hundred women marched to the City Hall and presented their petition, but the Council disregarded it and repealed the ordinance. In the meantime, a howling mob of 5,000 toughs had gathered outside the building, and when the ladies made their appearance they were forced to walk between two lines of shouting, cursing men. They were greeted with obscene epithets and showers of tobacco juice, their chignons were pulled, and many tripped up.\(^{82}\)

It seems to have been true that the farther the Crusade spread, the less it retained its original force and vitality. As Dio Lewis remarked, the Ohio Valley was about the only soil in which it would grow.\(^{83}\) In Indiana the movement fell into the hands of Quaker women who directed most of their efforts towards trying to enforce the ineffective Baxter law. This law provided that before a saloon license was granted the consent of the majority of the voters of the ward or township had to be secured. There were also provisions which made the saloon-keeper liable for selling to drunkards.\(^{84}\)

\(^{81}\) New York Tribune, March 2, 1874
\(^{82}\) Wittenmyer, op. cit., 404; Cincinnati Enquirer, March 19, 1874
\(^{83}\) Stebbins, Fifty Years History of Temperance, 452
\(^{84}\) New York Tribune, March 9-March 30 1874
The conservative New England women could not be induced to adopt the Crusade methods, although they were anxious to do something for the temperance cause. In February, 1874 Dio Lewis started the movement in Worcester, Massachusetts. An organization was effected and great enthusiasm aroused. After he left, however, the women decided that it would be inexpedient to start street work and confined their efforts to privately circulating the pledge among saloon-keepers and property owners.85

Brooklyn, New York, "The City of Churches", was an exception to the general rule. Here, on March 16, 1874, the women organized themselves into a Temperance Union and soon began to visit the saloons. They did not have to contend with the mobs that hampered the women in the other cities, and they were relatively successful. Out of 3110 saloons they succeeded in closing 180 after three months of work and prayer. At the end of three years the number of saloons was reduced by one-half.86

It was inevitable that the Crusade should arouse the intense opposition of the foreign element who could see nothing in it but a fanatical attack on their social customs. The Crusaders were quick to resent this opposition, one of them making the extreme statement that "the liquor traffic in this country is mainly in the hands of a low class of foreigners, and they are responsible for all the mobs and nearly all the insults offered to the Christian women engaged in the Crusade."87

The Germans were very active against the "prayer pest", as some of their papers termed the Crusade. They declared they would vote against anyone who gave his support to the movement and in the elections they

85Ibid., Feb. 3-March 7, 1874; Beadle, Women's War, 85
86Wittermyer, op. cit., 550
87Ibid., 6
deserted the Republican party in large numbers. The charge was made that the Crusade had revived a good deal of the old Know-Nothing spirit of the fifties. A speech by a Crusade supporter was cited as evidence. It was to the effect that the country must be Americanized and the liquor traffic suppressed. If the foreigners didn't like it they could go back where they came from. The audience greeted these sentiments with loud applause.88

There was a great falling off in immigration in the early part of 1874, and many Germans left the United States to return to their native country. A hostile newspaper charged that the Crusade was one of the causes for this phenomenon, the other being that conditions had become easier in Germany than in the United States.89

The Crusade had its heroes and villains, but it fell to the lot of one man, John Calvin Van Pelt, to play both roles. At the beginning of the Crusade Van Pelt was the owner of a saloon in New Vienna, Ohio with the sinister name of "The Dead Fall". He was described as "a burly man, with a round, knobby head and a bulbous nose, having the sort of physique often seen in the frequenters of the pit and the prize-ring".90 He was popularly known as "the wickedest man in Ohio".91 When the women first visited his place Van Pelt flew into a towering rage and threatened to hang, draw and quarter them if they dared to return. Not in the least intimidated, about fifty women made their appearance the next day and found that special preparations had been made to receive them. "In one of his show-windows an axe besmeared with blood was placed; in the other

88 Der Westbote, March 14-March 21, 1874
89 Cincinnati Enquirer, April 22-May 8, 1874
90 Eastman, Biography of Dio Lewis, 189
91 Highland News, Feb. 12, 1874
an unusually fine display of whiskey-bottles; over the door, jugs and bottles were hung, and a black flag conspicuously surmounted all; while within doors, Van Pelt could be seen walking the floor and flourishing a club at invisible foes." Undeterred by this impressive display, the women entered and began to pray. While one of them was pleading that he might be baptized with the Holy Ghost, Van Pelt shouted, "I'll baptize you", and threw buckets of dirty water, and beer slops over them. He was arrested and sentenced to a week in jail, which made him more furious than ever. When the Crusaders visited him again he told them they might come in and hold a prayer meeting, provided he was allowed to make every other prayer. They consented and when his turn came Van Pelt delivered a long, blasphemous prayer—"He asked the Lord to have mercy on the women, whom he classed with the brutes, and to teach them wisdom and understanding. Woman, he said, first caused man to sin, and there was great need of prayer in their behalf. He said the Lord opened the first distillery and made the first wine, and that he was following the example of the Lord. . . . "

The women refused to give up the battle, and a week later Van Pelt surrendered. Rolling out his stock of liquor, he took the blood smeared axe with which he had tried to terrify the crusaders and knocked in the head of every barrel. Not content with this, he joined the cause and became a temperance lecturer! Curious crowds flocked to hear him, and he was a great success although some did not think much of his qualities as a speaker.

92 Wittenmyer, 80
93 Ibid., 81
94 Ibid., 82
95 Columbus Dispatch, March 6, 1874
Others doubted the sincerity of his conversion. He sold pictures of himself after his lectures, and it was charged that he was principally interested in the money he was making.\(^\text{96}\) It was later reported that after the Crusade had died down he went back to his old business and opened a saloon in Wilmington, Ohio.\(^\text{97}\)

One of the most striking features of the Crusade was what might be called its supernatural aspect. The Crusaders were firmly convinced that the Lord of Hosts was on their side, ever ready to interfere to help them and punish their enemies. When the women of Washington C.H., started out "The atmosphere was surcharged with Divinity. It was 'the large upper room' into which the spirit of the Almighty came like cloven tongues of fire and lighted on his saints."\(^\text{98}\) At Ripon, Wisconsin, a man tried to run down a band of Crusaders as they were marching through the streets, but the horse broke the carriage in his frantic opposition. It was declared that an angel had restrained him.\(^\text{99}\) Many times ferocious dogs were set upon them, but the women gently placed their hands on their heads and they would crouch down, meek and gentle as lambs.\(^\text{100}\) A German saloon-keeper of Xenia, Ohio was very abusive, and kicked a Crusader off his steps when she sat down to rest, seriously injuring her. A little later he was opening a beer barrel, and the bung flew out and hit him in the eye, entirely destroying its sight. The other eye also became affected and he grew totally blind.\(^\text{101}\) Another German saloon-keeper of Cleveland

\(^\text{96}\) New York Tribune, Feb. 13, 1874; Cincinnati Enquirer, Feb. 11, 1874
\(^\text{97}\) Highland News, Nov. 12, 1874
\(^\text{98}\) Carpenter, The Crusade at Washington C.H., 38
\(^\text{99}\) Wittenmyer, op. cit., 653
\(^\text{100}\) Ibid., 281; Youmans-Campaign Echoes, 230
\(^\text{101}\) Wittenmyer, op. cit., 792
was very rude and held a mock prayer meeting in his place. The next day he had his leg broken by his horse and died soon after.102 A saloon-keeper's wife used vile language, and while she was in the midst of a blasphemous tirade one of the Crusaders prayed that the Lord would still her tongue. "The prayer was answered. She was afterward struck dumb, and remained so for two years, when she died."103 At Cedarville, Ohio, two saloons were opened after the town had been entirely cleared of liquor. One of the women wrote, "A few of us felt we must pray for their removal, and it was not long until one of these men took fits; he was taken sick about four o'clock in the afternoon and died at two o'clock the next morning. ... it did seem as though the Lord answered our prayer in a marvelous manner. Nor was this all; just about that time the other saloonist had some sort of a strange spell which was pronounced fits; he took them just when the women were praying for him, got frightened, closed his saloon, and went into the grocery business. He thought that would save him, but he still has fits."104 Many similar incidents could be cited.105

An observer who was otherwise very sympathetic to the Crusade protested against what he called this "profanation of prayer." He complained that "they did not pray to God so much as at the saloon-keeper, imagining that zeal for the cause and anger at its opponents were equally the results of Divine promptings; their prayers were not petitions to the Creator so much as threats of Divine vengeance on the rumsellers and passionate appeals to the hearers".106 Die Gegenwart, a German paper of Covington, Ky.,

102 Ibid., 156
103 Ibid., 790
104 Ibid., 254
105 Ibid., 330, 363, 455, 506, 560, 787; Shaw, Great Temperance Reforms, 324
106 Beadle, Women's War, 90
said, "They pray that their God may strike the saloonist and their families
dead. (Very Christian, is it not?)"107

The Crusade in Ohio began to subside in May, 1874 and the duration of
the whole movement did not exceed six months.108 Most of the women had
families to take care of and could not neglect these too long. It was
impossible to continue the Crusade methods as a permanent mode of work,
for it would have resulted in the disintegration of many homes.109 A
letter which a "Chastened Crusader" wrote to a newspaper illustrates
this point, and shows the strong hold which the movement acquired among
its followers. The letter read - "The infectious enthusiasm of these
meetings, the fervor of the prayers, the frankness of the relations of
experience, and the magnetism that pervaded all, wrought me up to such a
state of physical and mental exaltation that all other places and things
were dull and unsatisfactory to me. I began by going twice a week, but I
soon got so interested that I went every day, and then twice a day and in
the evenings. I tried to stay at home to retrieve my neglected household,
but when the hour for the morning prayer meeting came round I found the
attraction irresistible. The Crusade was a daily dissipation from which
it seemed impossible to tear myself. In the intervals at home I felt, as
I can fancy the drinker does at the breaking down of a long spree." Her
husband began to look elsewhere for quiet and comfort, and when one of
her children became sick with scarlet fever, she finally came to her

107Quoted in Stebbins, op. cit., 492
108Ohio State Register, May 7, 1874; Encyclopedia of Alcohol Problems VI,
2905
109Christendom, A.D. 1901, II 391
From this account it can be seen that the Crusade was simply a prolonged revival movement, with temperance work as its special object. In some places it was preceded, and in other places followed, by a general religious revival.

The Crusade was carried on in twenty-three states. It was most active in Ohio, where 130 towns and villages were affected. Then came Michigan with 36, Indiana with 34, Pennsylvania with 26, New York with 18, and New Jersey with 17. There were only a few scattered places in the other seventeen states. By the end of March, 1874 more than one-thousand saloons had been closed, and many villages entirely cleared of liquor shops, but before the end of the year most of these had reopened although less liquor was drunk. Figures were also cited to show that, between 1873 and 1874 the number of breweries in twelve of the Crusade states had decreased by almost one-third, but we must remember the hard times the country was going through. The depression probably had more effect than the Crusade.

In estimating the benefits of the Crusade, many claims were set forth by its supporters. John Gough, the noted temperance lecturer, declared that it aroused the whole people to a consideration of the evils of drunkenness, creating an interest which the country had not seen since the days of the Washingtonian movement in the 1840's. George William Curtis from his seat in the "Editor's Easy Chair" declared, "The use of it is that of all sincere and earnest appeals against conceded wrongs and

---

110Ohio State Register, April 16, 1874
111New York Tribune, Feb. 10, 1874
112Union Signal, Sept. 20, 1923
113New York Tribune, March 30, 1874; Highland News, Nov. 12, 1874
114Highland News, July 1, 1876
115John Gough, Sunlight and Shadow, 495
abuses. When a case is continued in the courts, or the decision is reserved, do we ask what was the use of all this argument and all this testimony? So in the great tribunal of the human conscience and of civilization the case may be continued and the decision reserved but none the less has the great appeal been heard and the shrewd argument weighed."  

Frances Willard declared that, perhaps, the most significant outcome of the Crusade was the knowledge of their own power gained by the conservative women of the churches, and this shrewd estimate is probably correct. There had been women reformers before this time, but they had included only a small number of the radical minded, while the Crusade for the first time brought in great numbers of devoutly religious women.

117 Frances Willard, My Happy Half-Century, 359
CHAPTER II

Organization and Growth

During the late Spring of 1874 the Crusade was dying down, but an event soon occurred that was to have permanent results. A National Sunday School Assembly met at Chautauqua, New York, in August of this year. A great many Crusaders were in attendance, and a woman's temperance meeting was held every afternoon at four o'clock. At one of these meetings Mrs. Mattie Brown of Alliance, Ohio, suggested that a national organization of women be formed to further the temperance cause. This plan was favorably received, and at the last meeting of the Assembly a circular letter was drawn up and sent to all the Woman's Temperance Leagues asking them to elect one woman from each Congressional district as a delegate to an organizing convention to be held at Cleveland on November 18.

When the day arrived, delegates from sixteen states assembled at the Second Presbyterian Church for a three day convention. Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, who had presided at the Chautauqua meetings, was elected chairman. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, an Iowa woman who was a lawyer by profession, was appointed head of a committee to draw up a Constitution. The name adopted by the new organization - The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, (later changed to The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union) had been in use before. In December, 1873, the Crusaders of Fredonia, N.Y., had organized as the "Woman's Christian Temperance Union". The first state society, that of Ohio, had also adopted this name the following June.

The convention passed a series of resolutions requesting all office-

---

1 Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, 100
2 Willard, Woman and Temperance, 123
3 Colvin, Prohibition in the U.S., 118
4 Reports of Annual Conventions of National W.C.T.U.-1874, p. 32
5 Stewart, Memories of Crusade, 86; Gordon, Woman Torchbearers, 12
6 Cincinnati Enquirer, June 19, 1874; Annals of Am. Acad; Political and Social Science, Vol. 32, p. 525
holders to banish liquor from their tables; asking Congress to set up a commission to investigate the liquor traffic; and imploring physicians to exercise extreme care in prescribing liquor. The final resolution was written by Frances Willard and became famous. It read—"Resolved, That recognizing that our cause is just and well be combated by mighty, determined, and relentless forces, we will, trusting in Him who is the Prince of Peace, meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer." Miss Willard also presented a very elaborate Plan Of Work, which was adopted. Before disbanding the convention elected the following general officers—Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, President; Miss Frances Willard, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Mary C. Johnson, recording secretary; Mrs. W. A. Ingham, treasurer. Mrs. Wittenmyer and Miss Willard played very important parts in the history of the W.C.T.U., so a brief biographical sketch of each may not be out of place here.

Annie Turner Wittenmyer was born at Sandy Springs, Ohio, in 1827. At the age of twenty she married a merchant named William Wittenmyer and three years later moved to Keokuk, Iowa, where she was very active in church and charity work. When the Civil War broke out she was appointed State Sanitary Agent for Iowa. In her work in the hospitals she noticed that all soldiers, no matter how seriously wounded, were fed the same coarse army food. This led her to work out a plan for the establishment of special diet kitchens to be staffed by women. The Christian Commission adopted the suggestions, and appointed Mrs. Wittenmyer superintendent of the new

7 Reports of Annual Conventions of National W.C.T.U.—1874, p.29
8 Willard, My Happy Half-Century, 256.
9 See Appendix A.
10 [Katharine Lent Stevenson] Brief History of W.C.T.U., 10
work. During the last year of the war, some fifty or sixty diet kitchens were started, and undoubtedly saved the lives of thousands of soldiers who were too ill to recover on the coarse army fare. Mrs. Wittenmyer also originated the idea of establishing Homes for Soldiers' Orphans, starting the first one at Davenport, Iowa, in a barracks donated by the War Department. After the war Mrs. Wittenmyer was the leading spirit in the formation of the Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, which was designed to do work among the poor. After her removal to Philadelphia she founded two papers, The Christian Woman and The Christian Child. When the Woman's Crusade started, Mrs. Wittenmyer turned her zeal for reform into the service of the temperance cause. 11

Frances Elizabeth Willard was born at Churchville, N.Y., Sept. 28, 1839. In 1841 the family moved to Oberlin, Ohio, and five years later to Janesville, Wis. Frances attended the Milwaukee Female College for a year, and then transferred to the Northwestern Female College at Evanston, Ill. After a varied experience as a teacher Miss Willard was appointed President of Northwestern Female College in 1871, the first woman to hold this position. Soon after, the institution became part of Northwestern University, and she became Dean of the Woman's College and Professor of Aesthetics. Miss Willard tried to exercise strict supervision over her girls, especially in their relations with the men students, but in this she did not receive the support to which she felt entitled from the university authorities. 12

11 Rev. Lemuel Moss, Annuals of U.S. Christian Commission, 663; L. P. Brockett and Mrs. Mary C. Vaughan, Woman's Work In The Civil War, 374; Frances Willard, Woman and Temperance, 160; Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem, VI, 2888
12 One writer declares that the authorities thought she was too lax with her girls. Cf. Charles Carey Waddle-"A Modern Crusade", Cosmopolitan, II, 274. July 1891.
There were other causes of disagreement, and in June, 1874, she tendered her resignation. In the meantime, she had become greatly interested in the Woman’s Crusade, although she did not participate in it, except on one occasion, during a short stopover in Pittsburgh. After her resignation Miss Willard received several flattering offers from girls’ schools, but decided to enter temperance work. She was made President of the Chicago W.C.T.U., and then corresponding secretary of the organization.13

Only a comparatively short time elapsed before two opposing groups appeared in the W.C.T.U., one led by Mrs. Wittenmyer, and the other by Miss Willard. The initial question on which this split occurred was woman suffrage. During the summer of 1875 Miss Willard influenced the Illinois W.C.T.U. to pass a resolution, "That since woman is the greatest sufferer from the rum curse, she ought to have power to close the dramshop door against her home".14 At the national convention in the autumn Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace, step-mother of General Lew Wallace, introduced a similar resolution, which was adopted.15 Two years later another resolution to the same effect led to a prolonged discussion. A strong group felt that the W.C.T.U. should have nothing to do with woman suffrage, even on questions which solely concerned the liquor traffic. The resolution was finally passed by a close vote.16

The suffrage faction now felt strong enough to make an attempt to capture the Presidency. It nominated Francès Willard for the position, but Mrs. Wittenmyer was reelected by a vote of 60 to 39. Stung by this

13 Willard, Glimpses of Fifty Years, 337; G. Seldes, Stammering Century, 261; R.F. Dibble, Strenuous Americans, 217.
14 Woolley and Johnson - Temperance Progress, 215.
15 Report, 1875, 61.
16 Report, 1877, 176.
defeat Miss Willard resigned her position as corresponding secretary. Miss Willard resigned her position as corresponding secretary. Soon after, she was elected President of the Illinois W.C.T.U., and started the circulation of a "Home Protection Petition" to the legislature, asking that women be allowed to vote on temperance issues. Some of the neighboring states began to circulate these petitions, greatly to the dismay and anger of Mrs. Wittenmyer. Here another fundamental line of cleavage became apparent between the opposing leaders. Mrs. Wittenmyer believed in a centralized administration. The state and local unions were to carry out only those policies approved by the national body. All were to have a uniform organization and method. Miss Willard was a states-rights advocate, to borrow a term from American political phraseology. The local unions were to be left as free as possible to decide what policies they would support.

The editor of Our Union, the W.C.T.U. paper, belonged to the Wittenmyer faction, and refused space to communications from states making the Home Protection Petition their main work. This led to a bitter quarrel when the national convention met. Frances Willard contended that as the preceding convention had passed the resolution in favor of woman suffrage on temperance questions, she was only carrying out a policy which the national body had officially approved. The editor of Our Union, therefore, had no right to exclude the articles dealing with this question. Disregarding this argument the conservatives pushed through the following resolution—"That while we would not trammel our members in the exercise of

17 Report, 1877, 164.
18 Willard, Glimpses, 363
19 Ibid., 368. It was not many years after she became President before Miss Willard changed her views, and began to insist that a state union could not pursue a policy disapproved by the national organization.
20 Report, 1878, 27
their private views, yet we believe that as a society we can best subserve the interests of God and humanity by going before the public, with one issue, therefore, we deprecate the introduction of any side questions, and recommend the presentation of our cause from a Gospel standpoint that will command the sympathy and cooperation of the Christian Church. 21

Miss Willard was again nominated for President but Mrs. Wittenmyer won by a vote of 78 to 66. 22 This was destined to be her last victory. In 1879 Miss Willard was elected by the decisive vote of 99 to 40. 23 For the next nineteen years she was to dominate the W.C.T.U., completely.

The new regime lost little time in introducing a number of changes. The different activities of the W.C.T.U., had been in charge of a number of standing committees, but these were now abolished except for the executive committee. In their place "departments" were established in charge of "superintendents". 24 Miss Willard felt that by making one woman responsible for a single line of work, both the amount and the quality of this work could be increased. Of course, this depended on the type of woman selected as superintendent, and here Miss Willard proved herself a very able judge. She was always on the lookout for talented women, and she gave them quick and cordial recognition when she found them. 25 There is no doubt that this system greatly increased the effectiveness of the organization.

21 Ibid., 42. This exactly expressed the policy followed by such successful organizations as the Anti-Saloon League, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association. One is tempted to ask whether the W.C.T.U. would not have accomplished more if it had followed this course.
22 Ibid., 35
23 Report 1879, 66
24 Report 1880, 104
The state and local unions were given a large measure of independence. The only requirements were that the members pay their dues and sign the total abstinence pledge. This pledge had been adopted in 1877, and read as follows, "I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented and malt liquors, including wine and cider, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of, and traffic in, the same." At the same time the famous white ribbon, emblematic of purity and peace, had been adopted as the W.C.T.U. badge.

The basis for representation in the national convention had been one delegate for each Congressional district, regardless of the number of W.C.T.U. women in it. This was manifestly unfair, so a change was made, allotting one delegate for each 500 members.

The growth of the W.C.T.U. had been rather slow between 1876 and 1879, probably because of the internal strife. Only four new state auxiliaries were organized, and 5,000 new members added, making a total of about 14,000. With her customary energy Miss Willard set to work to correct this condition. Almost nothing had been done in the southern states, where the Civil War bitterness still lingered, and anything coming from the North was looked upon with suspicion. In 1881 Miss Willard went South on a three months organizing trip, and when she came back a department of Southern Work was established. This was so successful that at the 1887 convention Miss Willard proudly reported that "for the first time in our annals every Southern state is represented."

26 Ibid.
27 Report 1877, 172; Willard, Glimpses, 361
28 Report 1881, 50
29 Union Signal, Dec. 3, 1891
30 Report 1887, 93.
In 1882 Miss Willard and her secretary, Miss Anna A. Gordon, set out with the intention of visiting every town in the country with a population of 10,000 or more. The first year five new states were organized, and the next year eleven.\textsuperscript{31} The membership leaped to 52,000 in 1883.\textsuperscript{32}

One great handicap which hampered the growth of the W.C.T.U., was the lack of adequate finances. The membership dues were fifty cents a year, of which the national organization received only five cents, the rest being divided among the state and local unions. During the first year the receipts of the national union amounted to $381.83.\textsuperscript{33} Three years later they were still below seven hundred dollars.\textsuperscript{34} All the national officers served without compensation until 1879, when the corresponding secretary was paid enough to defray the expenses of her position. The President remained unsalaried for seven years longer.\textsuperscript{35} Miss Willard felt that a more adequate budget was imperatively needed. She declared, "The National W.C.T.U., is like a pauperized relative dwelling in the home of fortunate but apathetic kinsfolk".\textsuperscript{36} In 1885 the Constitution was amended so as to increase the national dues to ten cents per member.\textsuperscript{37}

Part of the increased income was used to pay a staff of eight organizers and three lecturers, who were sent out in 1886. These were recruited from the W.C.T.U. Training School, which had been started several years before. The aims and methods of the W.C.T.U. were taught by lectures and home study, and a model union was organized to serve as a practical train-

\textsuperscript{31} Brief History of W.C.T.U., 22
\textsuperscript{32} Union Signal, Dec. 3, 1891
\textsuperscript{33} Report 1875, 40
\textsuperscript{34} Report 1924, 157
\textsuperscript{35} Report 1886, 48
\textsuperscript{36} Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883
\textsuperscript{37} Report 1885, 188
Within five years the new staff of organizers had increased the membership to 153,000, in spite of the secession of some members and their formation of the Non-Partisan W.C.T.U., about which we will have more to say in another connection. There were now fifty state and territorial organizations with over 7,000 local unions. 39

The increasing affluence of the W.C.T.U. led it into the most unfortunate enterprise it ever attempted. Indeed, it might be said that the Woman's Temple is the skeleton in the W.C.T.U. closet. The individual who started the whole affair was Mrs. Matilda Bradley Carse, who at various times was a member of the Cook County Board of Education, and President of the Chicago Foundlings' Home, the Central W.C.T.U. of Chicago, and the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association. 40 Mrs. Carse was born in Ireland, and came to the United States in 1858, settling in Chicago. Her child was run over by a drunken driver, and this caused her to devote her life to the temperance cause. 41

Ever since the Crusade the Chicago W.C.T.U. had held a daily 3 o'clock prayer meeting in the Y.M.C.A. After about ten years the Y.M.C.A. decided it needed the space for its own purposes, and the women had to evacuate their quarters. Mrs. Carse prepared a plan to erect a building for the local union, but something happened which caused her to greatly enlarge her ideas. In the Spring of 1886 the national headquarters of the W.C.T.U. were transferred from New York City to Chicago. 42 Mrs. Carse had a brilliant inspiration. Why not erect a skyscraper in downtown Chicago to house both the national and local unions and, at the same time, secure a rich source

38 Willard, Woman and Temperance, 230
39 Report 1891, 284
40 Union Signal, March 27, 1890
41 Standard Encyclopedia of Alcohol Problem II, 524
42 Willard, Woman and Temperance, 217
of revenue by the rental of the surplus space? Mrs. Carse later declared—
"I was conscious, as though a voice from Heaven had announced it, that I
was to undertake the erection of such a building."43 Judging from the re-
results, the voice came, not from above, but below.

The project appealed to Miss Willard, and in August, 1887, the Wo-
man's Temperance Building Association was incorporated with Mrs. Carse
as President.44 At the national convention Miss Willard enthusiastically
asserted that "the Temperance Reform is to have in Chicago its Westminster
Hall, its West Point, and its gold mine, all in one".45 A resolution was
passed endorsing the plan and pledging cooperation, but expressly declar-
ing that the W.C.T.U. would assume no legal responsibility. Mrs. Carse
was not to begin building until $500,000 had been secured.46

Mrs. Carse sold $600,000 worth of stock to Chicago capitalists with-
in the next few years, and also received about $75,000 in gifts from
W.C.T.U. members.47 The stock purchasers pledged themselves to allow the
W.C.T.U. to buy their stock back within twelve years by the payment of
five per cent interest for the time their money had been invested. Mar-
shall Field, the great merchant, bought $250,000 worth of stock and was
made President of the Board of Trustees. The site selected was at the
corner of LaSalle and Monroe streets, and was owned by Mr. Field. It was
leased from him at a rental of $40,000 a year. The famous architect,
John W. Root, was engaged. He was the first of the "high building archi-
tects", and had already designed the Montauk, Rookery, Phoenix, and
Rialto buildings.48 The Woman's Temple was to be a thirteen story building

43 Union Signal, March 28, 1895
44 Union Signal, Nov. 6, 1890
45 Report 1887, 81
46 Report 1887, 58
47 Report 1889, 151
48 R.C. McLean, "The Passing of the Woman's Temple" The Western Architect,
in the French Gothic style. On the first floor there was to be an auditorium, lighted by memorial windows and lined with tablets to commemorate the lives of temperance heroes. As Miss Willard had said, it was to be The Westminster Hall of the temperance cause. The W.C.T.U. was to occupy the eleventh and twelfth floors, while the rents from the rest of the building would bring in $250,000 a year, according to Mrs. Carse. The cornerstone was laid on Nov. 1, 1890.

It was not long before doubts began to be expressed about the Temple. It was felt that the cost was going to be prohibitive, and that the W.C.T.U. would never be able to control the building. In order to put a stop to these attacks Mrs. Carse determined to issue $300,000 of six per cent Temple Trust Bonds in order to secure control of the Temple stock. Before doing so she went to Miss Willard and suggested that she be legally authorized by the W.C.T.U. to act as its trustee. Miss Willard refused, but said she might proceed on her own responsibility.

The bonds were issued, and Mrs. Carse started a great campaign to sell them. In an article in the W.C.T.U. paper she declared, "They are just as secure and safe as government bonds, and pay two or three per cent more." Why wait for the slow process of gathering gifts and contributions to gain control of the Temple? By buying the bonds the women would not only be making a good investment, but would hasten the time when the white-ribboners could call the Temple their own. At the national convention Miss Willard, who was no financier, and who seems to have been dazzled by Mrs. Carse's virtuosity in this field, referred to her as the "Alexander

49 Union Signal, Nov. 6, 1890
50 Report 1897, 504
51 Union Signal, Oct. 1, 1891
52 Ibid., Nov. 26, 1891
Hamilton of our W.C.T.U. republic." She went on to say that she "hoped that all white ribboners who are looking for good and safe investments will become purchasers of these Temple Trust Bonds". Thus urged, the convention passed a resolution pledging the W.C.T.U. to use its influence to sell the bonds.

Mrs. Carse persuaded some of the stockholders to make over their stock to her in return for bonds. Marshall Field agreed to turn over his stock on payment of $50,000 and $10,000 quarterly thereafter. Within a year and a half Mrs. Carse disposed of all the bonds.

In the meantime the building had been completed and was ready for occupancy in May, 1892. The cost was $1,265,000, somewhat more than had been expected. However, the result was an artistic triumph for the architect. With her customary enthusiasm Miss Willard pronounced it "the most beautiful office building in the world." While others may not have been willing to go so far, they agreed that it was a handsome edifice.

If it had not been for one unforeseen event, Mrs. Carse might have successfully completed all her plans. The W.C.T.U. had moved to its new quarters, and the rental of the building was proceeding satisfactorily, when the Panic of 1893 came along and spoiled everything. Some of those who had moved in went bankrupt, while others broke their leases. Renewed attacks began to be made against Mrs. Carse's financial methods, some of her critics even doubting her honesty. Mrs. Carse was forced to defend

53 Report 1891, 140-143.
54 Ibid., 74
55 Union Signal, Jan 28, 1892
56 Report 1892, 135
58 Union Signal, March 30, 1893; April 6, 1893
herself against charges of mismanagement and illegal acts before the executive committee of the W.C.T.U., but the committee indefinitely deferred action on the charges. Miss Willard remained loyal, declaring at the national convention that the Woman's Temple was an affiliated interest (i.e. an enterprise to which the W.C.T.U. gave its good will and support, but over which it had no legal control.) She said that if any of the national officers were hostile to the Temple they ought to say so frankly before allowing their names to be used as candidates for re-election. The W.C.T.U. could not exist as a house divided against itself. This stand seemed to restore harmony for a time, but it was only on the surface. Doubts continued to be expressed, but the resourceful Mrs. Carse tried to silence them by securing the appointment of a committee of twelve leading men, including Lyman J. Gage and H.H. Kohlsaat, to make an investigation. They reported that the Temple was sound. Mrs. Carse then started another campaign, this time to raise a fund to retire the bonds. She succeeded in getting Marshall Field and a few others to make conditional gifts, but she could get very little from W.C.T.U. members.

At the 1897 convention Mrs. Carse was forced to admit that affairs were at a crisis. Interest on the bonds had not been paid for a year, and she had written the bondholders that no more interest would be paid. During the year the building had shown a deficit of six thousand dollars. Mrs. Carse admitted that during the last ten years she had received about two hundred thousand dollars from W.C.T.U. members for the Temple and that there was only about thirty thousand dollars of unencumbered assets to.

59 New York Tribune, May 5, 1893
60 Report 1893, 102
61 Union Signal, Jan 9, 1896
show for it. The temple stock was worth less than half of par. Miss Willard recognized the fact that the W.C.T.U. was not legally responsible, but said it was morally bound to see that the bondholders were paid.

The convention responded by voting that an effort be made to raise the money, but another woman, and not Mrs. Carse, was to act as treasurer. Seven of the trustees of the Woman's Temple resigned, including Miss Willard and the rest of the national officers. This was done by order of the executive committee so that all connection with the unfortunate enterprise might be severed. It was high time that this be done. Ever since 1893 the membership had been declining, due not only to the business depression, but to the bickering over the Temple.

Miss Willard was determined to pay the bondholders. She contributed three thousand dollars of her own money, and began to appeal personally to wealthy people for gifts, but soon had to give this up because of illness. Her health had been poor for a number of years, and now worry over the sad state of affairs, which she took very much to heart, added the finishing touch. She died on Feb. 18, 1898, amid universal grief and despair. Her dominance over the white ribboners had been so complete, and feeling over the Temple issue was so acute, that many felt that now that Miss Willard was dead, the W.C.T.U. would also die. This fear proved unfounded. Other leaders arose, and the organization began to prosper again.

An executive committee meeting was called on July 15, 1898, and recommended that no further efforts be made to own or pay for the Temple.

Meanwhile, another brilliant inspiration had come to Mrs. Carse. The

---

62 Report 1897, 506
63 Union Signal, Nov. 4, 1897
64 Ibid., Nov. 25, 1897
65 New York Tribune, Nov. 6, 1897
66 Report 1827, 69
building was to be re-named Willard Temple, and serve as a memorial to the great leader. In this way, the raising of funds would be greatly facilitated. The executive committee put its foot down, however, and decided that "the Temple does not appeal to the public as a fitting memorial".  

Marshall Field had taken over control of the building and the committee recommended that Willard Hall and the national headquarters in the Temple be leased if favorable terms could be secured.  

When the national convention met it approved the report of the executive committee, and voted that the Temple be discontinued as an affiliated interest. A resolution was offered which provided that the W.C.T.U. pledge its cooperation to the Board of Temple Trustees, in the retirement of the Temple Trust Bonds, but it was defeated by a vote of 267 to 76. Instead, a resolution was passed, "that while we are not legally bound, we regard it as a sacred trust to purchase, before the next convention, the Temple Trust Bonds, so far as available funds make possible".  

Mrs. Lillian M.N. Stevens, of Maine, vice-president at the time of Miss Willard's death, had at once taken charge of the organization, and soon proved herself to be a capable leader. She was now elected President, a position which she was to hold until her death, more than fifteen years later.  

Mrs. Carse had been bitterly disappointed by the action of the convention. Soon after it disbanded she resigned the presidency of the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, which was an affiliated interest of the W.C.T.U. and published all its literature. She vowed she would attend no  

---

67 Union Signal, Aug. 4, 1898  
68 Ibid.  
70 Report, 1898, 76.  
69 Union Signal, Nov. 24, 1898
more national conventions till she could return and say the Temple was paid for. 71 This is the last we are to hear of Mrs. Carse. Although she had nearly ruined the W.C.T.U. one cannot help admiring the courage and faith she displayed. Her bold financial methods were no worse than those of the contemporary captains of industry, and morally she was far superior to them. All that she did was for the greater glory of the W.C.T.U., and not for her own selfish interests. Although there were charges that she had misappropriated funds, there was no evidence to prove that this was the case.

The national officers seem to have done very little toward purchasing the bonds, as the resolution had provided, probably because of the lack of funds. A committee of the bondholders conferred with the Temple Trustees, and found that they had about eight thousand dollars in cash. It was agreed that on Jan. 1, 1900, this money was to be distributed ratably among the bondholders. 72 This meant a settlement of two and two-thirds cents on the dollar. The idea of leasing the W.C.T.U. quarters in the Woman's Temple was also abandoned, either because satisfactory terms could not be arranged, or, perhaps, because the memories connected with the place were too painful. In twelve years the white ribboners had spent almost half a million dollars—$250,000 in gifts, and about the same amount for the almost worthless bonds—and the net result was zero. 73

Miss Willard's home in Evanston, was known as "Rest Cottage". She had owned it jointly with her sister-in-law, Mrs. Mary B. Willard, who

71 Union Signal, Dec. 8, 1898
72 Ibid., Nov. 30, 1899
73 The Woman's Temple continued to stand till 1927, when it was torn down and replaced by the State Bank of Chicago Bld., a thirty story skyscraper. See New York Times, Feb. 20, 1927.
had later moved to Germany. When Miss Willard died she left Rest Cottage to the W.C.T.U. The organization decided that Mrs. Mary B. Willard's interest be purchased and the national headquarters be moved there.74 The arrangements were quickly made and in May, 1900, the W.C.T.U. moved in. Miss Willard's living quarters were left intact as a memorial to her, only the part that Mrs. Mary B. Willard had used being occupied by offices.

When Mrs. Stevens became President the membership of the W.C.T.U. had fallen almost to the low level of ten years before. Her first task was to arrest this decline, and she set about it with energy. In order to provide funds for organizing work she started the Frances E. Willard Memorial Fund. Each local union was to contribute at least two dollars annually to extend the work of the W.C.T.U. This brought in a small but steady income, and by 1906 Mrs. Stevens was able to keep 32 organizers and 9 lecturers in the field.75 The department of W.C.T.U. Institutes, which was an outgrowth of the Training School, also carried on organizing work, and brought in many new women. Membership began to go up again, and during this year reached 186,000.76 In 1909 a department of Proportionate and Systematic Giving was established. The purpose was to have every white ribboner revive the tithing system, and give one-tenth of her income to the Lord, as authorized in the Bible. One-half of the tithe was to go to the W.C.T.U.77 If fully carried out this ambitious plan would have brought in an enormous sum – one estimate was between seven and ten millions.78 Nothing even approaching this came in, but the financial re-
sources of the W.C.T.U. grew steadily stronger, and more organizers could be sent out. By 1914 membership had grown to 300,000.79

One important phase of this work which has not been discussed thus far was among children. Even as early as the Woman's Crusade the children had been organized, and some had prayed and sung before the saloons.30 President Wittenmyer declared that the most important work of the W.C.T.U. lay among the children. If they could be kept from contracting the drink habit, the saloons would get no new recruits, and would eventually die out.81 At first, the local unions took charge of the juvenile work. They established auxiliary children organizations bearing such names as Cold Water Armies, True Blue Cadets, Cadets of Temperance, and Bands of Hope.82 On Miss Willard's recommendation these were all unified, and were called Juvenile Temperance Unions.83 In 1886 the name was again changed to Loyal Temperance Legion. Miss Willard took a special interest in the L.T.L. and wrote its marching song, "Saloons Must Go". She also wrote the pledge which the children signed. It read -

"I promise not to buy, sell or give Alcoholic liquors while I live; From all tobacco I'll abstain And never take God's name in vain."84

As the children were asked to pay dues it was felt that there should be someone to represent them in the national conventions. In 1893 the constitution was amended to provide for this. One white ribboner who was active in L.T.L. work was to represent every thousand dues-paying children.85

79 Report 1924, 160
80 Ohio State Register, April 9, 1874; Stewart, op. cit, 226; Der Westbote, Feb. 21, 1874.
81 Report 1877, 143
82 A.F. Fehlandt, Century of Drink Reform, 242
83 Report 1876, 110
84 Boole, Give Prohibition Its Chance, 47
85 Union Signal, Nov. 2, 1893
Not content with the children, the W.C.T.U. went after the babies, and started a "Cradle Roll." The mother was asked to sign a pledge to teach her infant the principles of total abstinence and purity, following which a white ribbon was tied around the child's wrist and a prayer offered. The baby became a White Ribbon Recruit, and after reaching the age of six became eligible for the Loyal Temperance Legion.

For those past adolescence another organization was provided - the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union, (later changed to The Young People's Branch). This was really a social club with total abstinence as its basis. Young men were invited to join as honorary members. It was then the duty of their lady-friends to get them to sign the total abstinence pledge, and interest them in temperance work. The young women were trained in W.C.T.U. work so that they could be useful when they later joined the parent body. This hierarchy of juvenile organizations resembles those which the Communists and Fascists have established. Provision has recently been made for mature men. On signing of the pledge and payment of a dollar a year they become honorary members. They take no active part in the work of the W.C.T.U., but lend their influence when called upon, and help to give strength and standing to the organization. There are about 25,000 of these honorary members at present.

The W.C.T.U. included organizing work among Indians and Negroes among its activities. The Indian squaws do not seem to have made very promising white ribboners, and not many converts were gained among them.

86 Ibid., Nov. 28, 1901
88 Willard, Woman and Temperance, 293
89 C.C. Waddle, "A Modern Crusade" - Cosmopolitan II, 276. July, 1891
89a Report 1932, 99
The Negro women, on the other hand, were of a higher type, and were open to religious appeals. In the eighties two departments for work among the colored people of the North and South were established with Negro women as Superintendents. In the North no difficulties arose. The Negro converts were treated as equals and became members of the regular unions. In the South the white women refused to permit this, so separate "No 2" state organizations were set up for Negroes. Miss Willard disclaimed all responsibility for this, saying that it was arranged by mutual and entirely amicable agreement between the white and colored women. She declared the W.C.T.U. took no cognizance of color in its legislation, and had never done so. Many Negroes refused to accept these statements, and charged that Miss Willard's actions and utterances served to give encouragement to the practices of the Southern states towards the Negro. It was even claimed that her speeches showed that she looked upon lynching as a necessary evil. She denied this as wholly unfounded, and declared that she was a true friend of the Negro. In 1896 the national W.C.T.U. passed a resolution expressing its unalterable opposition to lynching. However, the organization of "Jim Crow" Unions went steadily on, till eleven Southern states and the District of Columbia had them. Mrs. Booker T. Washington was made President of the Alabama No. 2 Union, but interest in the W.C.T.U. did not last very long on the part of the Negroes. By 1922 only Maryland, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia had No. 2 Unions; the rest had disbanded.

90 Report 1887, ccxiv; 6
91 Report 1894, 129
92 Union Signal, June 21, 1894; New York Tribune, Aug. 1, 1895
93 New York Tribune, Sept. 11, 1897
94 Report 1896, 37
95 Union Signal, Nov. 9, 1899
Mrs. Stevens died in April, 1914, at the age of seventy. She had proved herself a worthy successor to Miss Willard. Her firm and cautious leadership had restored unity and in the sixteen years of her rule the membership climbed to three hundred thousand, or more than double what it had been when she assumed office. Miss Anna Adams Gordon became the new President. As a young woman Miss Gordon had met Frances Willard in 1877 and the two instantly became firm friends. Miss Gordon had been studying music, but she gave this up, and became Miss Willard's private secretary. She became interested in juvenile work and for many years was leader of the L.T.L. She was elected Vice-President-at-Large after Miss Willard's death and served in this capacity during Mrs. Stevens' term of office.

As a memorial to Mrs. Stevens, Miss Gordon started the Lillian Stevens Legislative Fund. Each local union was to contribute one dollar annually, and the money was to be used for the maintenance of the legislative headquarters in Washington.

On the day that the 36th state ratified the prohibition amendment, announcement was made of the Jubilee Fund. The goal set was a million dollars, of which three hundred thousand was to be used for the advancement of world prohibition. A year later the Jubilee Committee decided

96 Encyclopedia of Alcohol Problem III, 1119
97 Report 1921, 39
98 Miss Willard visited San Francisco on one of her organization trips, and was horrified at the traffic in opium and women which she found there. The result was the formation of the World's W.C.T.U. in 1883 for the suppression of these evils, as well as the liquor traffic. The first President was Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, sister of John Bright, the celebrated English statesman. Organizations have been set up in over fifty countries, with Mrs. Mary C. Leavitt of Boston as the great organizer. Miss Willard wrote the Polyglot Petition in 1884 asking for the prohibition of the alcohol and opium traffic, and it received over seven million signatures in different countries. The work of the World's W.C.T.U. falls outside the scope of this volume.
that a second goal should be added. This was a paid up membership of one million. At the 1924 Jubilee Convention the national treasurer reported that the financial goal had been reached — the million dollars had been raised. The membership figures told a different story, standing at only 388,098.

There has always been a wide discrepancy between the number of paid up members reported at the conventions, and the membership claimed by the national officers. In 1885 there were 69,121 paid up members, but the corresponding secretary was claiming 200,000. In her autobiography Miss Willard declared that by 1888 the W.C.T.U. had grown to half a million. In that year the paid up membership was 138,527. Recently the official claim has been 600,000 women. According to the latest report of the Treasurer, the paid up membership is 318,675. Mrs. Anna Marden DeYo, the present corresponding secretary, offers the following explanation:

"Nothing is more elusive than the actual membership of the W.C.T.U. I suppose there is not a local union in the land which does not actually have more members than the number reported, for there are always those who fail to pay dues, either from their own carelessness or the failure of the treasurer to collect from them. These members wear the white ribbon, attend the union meetings, they help to carry on the work, the community considers them a part of the W.C.T.U., and they really are. Indeed, they would be indignant if they were told they were not white ribboners. But it is these women, some in everyone of our 10,500 local organizations, who are responsible for the dues-paid membership failing to represent the actual strength of the organization. I can present no figures to substantiate my claim, but I am very sure that if these working members of the organization could, year after year, be counted as dues-paying members, the nation W.C.T.U. would not fall short of a million members."

In 1922 Miss Gordon was elected President of the World's W.C.T.U.

99 Union Signal, March 25, 1920
100 Report 1924, 161
101 Report 1888, 121
102 Glimpses of Fifty Years, 455
103 Union Signal, March 12, 1927
104 Report 1932, 118
105 Letter to the author, March 28, 1933
Three years later she retired as head of the National W.C.T.U. to devote herself wholly to the world organization. She was succeeded by Mrs. Ella Alexander Boole. Mrs. Boole was born in Van Wert, Ohio and attended Wooster College, receiving the degrees of A.B., A.M., and Ph.D.; She married the Rev. W.H. Boole, a Methodist minister, and moved to Brooklyn, N.Y., which has been her home ever since. She early became active in the New York W.C.T.U., and served as its President for more than twenty years. Miss Gordon died in 1931 and Mrs. Boole became President of the World's W.C.T.U. The following year she desired to retire as head of the National W.C.T.U. but was persuaded to continue for another year, Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith has been elected to succeed her, and will take office Nov. 1, 1933. Mrs. Smith is a resident of Iowa, and taught school there for fourteen years. She is an ordained minister in the Church of Christ (Disciples). Her official connection with the W.C.T.U. began in 1894 and she has been president of the Iowa W.C.T.U. since 1913, and vice-president-at-large of the National organization since 1926.

106 Standard Encyclopedia of Alcohol Problem I, 366
107 Ibid., VI, 2457
CHAPTER III

The Prohibition Campaign

From the beginning the W.C.T.U. took an active interest in political matters. As its members had no vote some other method of influencing legislation had to be used, and this was found in the petition. The W.C.T.U. became proverbial for its petitions, and no other organization has ever equalled it in this respect.

In December, 1873, Senator Howe of Wisconsin introduced a bill for a commission to investigate the liquor traffic. It was to inquire into the effects of drink on crime, pauperism, public health, and the moral, social, and intellectual well being of the people. The prohibition legislation of Maine and other states was to be studied, and recommendation made as to what course Congress should pursue. Senators Schurz and Bayard made strong speeches against the bill, the former asserting that it would establish a precedent which would lead in the direction of legislation properly belonging to the police power of the states. Schurz also declared that the bill was part of a general movement in favor of prohibitory legislation and that the commission would not be impartial in its investigations.¹ The Senate passed the bill after accepting an amendment offered by Senator Bayard that the commissioners should not all be advocates of prohibitory legislation. In the House the Judiciary Committee reported the bill favorably, but it was not brought up for a vote.²

The temperance forces then sought to bring pressure to bear. Congress was deluged with petitions, a large part of them gathered by the W.C.T.U. Resolutions were passed urging the House to concur in the Senate bill, but all in vain.³ During the next twenty years the Senate passed the bill no

¹ Congressional Record, 43 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 2, 1760
² House Reports, 43 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 1. No. 250
³ Report 1874, 29
less than seven times, but it was always killed in the House. Finally, a compromise was worked out, by which the Federal Commissioner of Labor was authorized to investigate the economic aspects of the liquor problem, and incorporate the results in his annual report. 4

As soon as it became evident that it would take a long time to set up the liquor commission, the temperance advocates decided not to wait for its investigations. Instead, they sent petitions to Congress, demanding prohibition for the territories and the District of Columbia, and a law prohibiting all military and civil officials from using liquor. 5 The W.C.T.U. had come out for prohibition in 1875, when it passed the following resolution: "Resolved that whereas the object of just government is to conserve the best interests of the governed; and whereas the liquor traffic is not only a crime against God, but subversive of every interest of society; therefore, in behalf of humanity, we call for such legislation as shall secure this end; and while we will continue to employ all moral agencies as indispensable, we hold prohibition to be essential to the full triumph of this reform." 6 A huge petition was sent to Congress and presented by Mrs. Wittenmyer, asking for Constitutional prohibition. 7 Inspired by Frances Willard, Henry W. Blair, a representative from New Hampshire, introduced the first resolution for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution on Dec. 12, 1876. The proposed amendment prohibited only distilled liquor, until and was not to become effective until the year 1900, or if ratified after Dec. 31, 1890, it was not to go into effect until ten years later. 8 This was to give

4 12th Annual Report 1897 U.S. Commissioner of Labor., 9
5 New York Tribune, March 22, 1876
6 Report 1875, 61
7 Standard Encyclopedia of Alcohol Problem, VI, 2889
8 Congressional Record, 44 Cong., 2 Sess. Vol 5, 145
the distilleries time to wind up their business. The W.C.T.U. passed a resolution commending Blair's amendment, but asking him to prohibit fermented as well as distilled liquors. He did this in 1887, also eliminating the time clause. Blair introduced his amendment in eight congresses. It was reported favorably from committee several times, but never came to a vote. The W.C.T.U. lent its support by circulating petitions.

During the Hayes administration it appeared possible that the Republican party might become the champion of temperance legislation. President Hayes was known as a believer in temperance, and during his stay at the White House he was a total abstainer. His wife had belonged to the executive committee of the Crusaders in Fremont, Ohio, and afterwards became a member of the W.C.T.U. When she entered the White House Mrs. Hayes issued the famous rule that no liquor would be served at the White House dinners, to the unbounded delight of the temperance people. To show its appreciation the W.C.T.U. proposed to dedicate a fountain to Mrs. Hayes, but the President disapproved. Instead, he suggested a picture of his wife, to be hung in the White House. This was agreed to, and the picture was painted by Daniel Huntington.

In the campaign of 1880 the W.C.T.U. stood solidly for Garfield in the belief that he favored total abstinence and prohibition. After the

---

9 Report 1878, 41
10 Report 1884, 66
11 Report 1889, 157
12 Some of those who attended these dinners declared that, unknown to Mrs. Hayes, the confectioner was serving orange ices with a rum center. When he read about this later, ex-Pres. Hayes declared this was incorrect. By his orders the flavor used in the ices was the same as that found in Jamaica rum but there was not a drop of liquor in them. Cf. Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 304; Benj. Perley Poore, Reminiscences I, 549; L. W. Busbey, Uncle Joe Cannon, 229
13 A. J. Eckenrode, Rutherford B. Hayes, 314
14 Willard, Glimpses of Fifty Years, 371
election, Miss Willard was one of a committee that waited on the President to pledge him to support temperance measures. He received them very coldly, and refused to commit himself, greatly to the surprise and grief of Miss Willard. The experience caused her to give up the Republican party, and look elsewhere for political support.

In August, 1881, the Lake Bluff Temperance Convocation met, with Miss Willard in attendance. A group of people who felt as she did decided that a new party must be formed to stand for prohibition and woman suffrage on temperance questions. The name decided on was, "The Home Protection Party". Miss Willard got the phrase, "Home Protection" from a speech made in 1876 by Mrs. Letitia Youmans, the Canadian W.C.T.U. leader. Mrs. Youmans had taken it from the tariff vocabulary of the Dominion. The Illinois W.C.T.U. promptly endorsed the new party. At the National Convention Miss Willard devoted a large part of her Presidential address to an appeal for support, but the convention refused to act. Twelve or fifteen delegates became so incensed, especially at the woman suffrage side of Miss Willard's address, that they seceded, and formed the short-lived, "National Woman's Evangelical Temperance Union".

The Good Templars had organized the National Prohibition Party in 1869 (changed to the Prohibition Reform Party in 1876.) It had been the first political organization to indorse the Woman's Crusade, but the Crusaders had refused its offers of cooperation. In 1880 Miss Willard had been invited to attend the Prohibition Reform Party Convention, but refused.

15 Ibid., 376
16 Willard, My Happy Half Century, 305
17 Willard, Glimpses, 380
18 Stewart, Memories of the Crusade, 241
After the formation of her new party Miss Willard was glad to cooperate. A convention met at Chicago in the Summer of 1882 and the Home Protection Party, the Prohibition Reform Party, and other temperance elements were united under the name of the Prohibition Home Protection Party. Their belief was that the temperance issue was now becoming dominant in politics, just as the slavery issue had been dominant in the forties and fifties. They remembered how the anti-slavery parties had progressed from one name to another; first the Liberty, then the Free Soil, and finally the Republican Party, with new elements added each time, and they were convinced that the same process was now in operation. Miss Willard became a member of the executive committee of the new party.

At the 1882 convention of the W.C.T.U. Miss Willard exerted herself to the utmost, but was unable to secure a specific indorsement of the Prohibition Home Protection Party. However, she succeeded in putting through the following resolution—"We rejoice in the day that gives recognition to our prohibition principles by political partisans and we will endeavor to influence the best men in all communities to commit themselves to that party, by whatever name called, that shall give to them the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes."20

In the 1880's the second great prohibition wave struck the states. The feature that distinguished it from the movement in the fifties was that now an amendment to the state constitution was the goal, whereas before it had merely been statutory prohibition. Bitter experience had

19 Colvin, op. cit., 133
20 Report 1882, 28
taught the temperance men how easy it was for the politicians to weaken or repeal these laws, and they were determined to write prohibition into the Constitution, where it would be more stable and permanent. Another advantage was that it gave the people a change to vote on the question, so the popular will could be expressed directly and authoritatively. 21

The first state to adopt constitutional prohibition was Kansas, largely due to the leadership of Governor John P. St. John. In order to head off a stringent local option law which was about to pass the Senate, the liquor men foolishly agreed not to oppose the submission of a constitutional amendment. They counted on killing the measure in the House but were unsuccessful, and the amendment was submitted to a vote of the people in November, 1880. The liquor men organized the "People's Grand Protective Union" and raised a fund of $100,000. The other side formed the Kansas State Temperance Union with St. John as President. 22 The W.C.T.U. took an active part in the hard-fought campaign. Besides the usual circulation of petitions, it conducted special work among the Negroes who had recently come to Kansas from the South. It was later claimed that 99 per cent of the Negroes had voted dry. 23 The prohibition amendment was carried by a majority of eight thousand. Two years later constitutional prohibition was submitted to the people of Iowa. For four years the Iowa W.C.T.U., under the leadership of Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, had been agitating for this measure, collecting thousands of names to petitions, and distributing a great deal of literature. Miss Willard had recognized Mrs. Foster's ability, and made her national

21 Colvin, Prohibition, 136
22 Ibid., 138
23 Report, 1881, lxii; 1880, 74
superintendent of the newly created Department of Legislation and Petitions. After a thorough educational campaign the people of Iowa adopted constitutional prohibition by a majority of nearly thirty thousand. Soon after, the State Supreme Court declared the amendment invalid because three words which had been added to the original text of the bill by the House did not appear in the legislative journal kept by the clerk. Similar situations developed in Indiana and Oregon, which led to the charge that these omissions were intentional and a deliberate effort to thwart the will of the people.24

The next great state campaign was in Ohio. In 1882 the Ohio W.C.T.U. under the leadership of Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, began to circulate petitions, and gathered 157,000 names. So great was the interest aroused that the women flocked to join the W.C.T.U. and the local unions in the state more than doubled.25 The legislature was forced to submit a prohibition amendment, but in an attempt to mollify the wets it also submitted a license amendment (the Ohio Constitution had a clause prohibiting liquor licenses.) In the hectic campaign that followed the W.C.T.U. kept thirty speakers constantly in the field, including such nationally prominent figures as John P. St. John, John B. Finch, Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, and Frances Willard. More than forty thousand Amendment Heralds, a campaign sheet, were distributed.26 The election was held on October 9, 1883, and when the results came in it was found that the license amendment had been overwhelmingly defeated. The vote on the prohibition amendment was,

24 Colvin, op. cit., 140
25 A.M. Hills, Life of Mary A. Woodbridge, 83
26 Union Signal, Sept. 20, 1883
yes - 323,189, and no - 240,975. This would seem to indicate a temper-
ance victory, but there was a clause in the Ohio Constitution to the
effect that a proposed amendment must receive a majority of all the votes
cast at the election. There were about 720,000 votes cast at the elec-
tion, so that the 323,189 votes the amendment had received were not a ma-
jority, and thus the proposal did not become a part of the constitution. 27
The W.C.T.U. circulated petitions to resubmit the amendment and got two
hundred thousand names, but the legislature took no action. 28

As the presidential election of 1884 drew near, the W.C.T.U. made
plans to force all parties to take a stand on the temperance issue. In
each state and territory non-partisan conventions of men and women were
to be held, and resolutions passed to the effect that they would vote for
no party that did not have a prohibition plank in its platform. They were
then to adjourn till the last nominating convention had been held. The
idea was to frighten the major parties into adopting prohibition, or, if
not successful to send the temperance vote into the Prohibition Home Pro-
tection Party. 29

The W.C.T.U. sent a memorial to all the nominating conventions asking
that both their platforms and candidates should advocate a national prohi-
bition amendment. Miss Willard was commissioned to present this memorial.
At the Republican Convention she had some trouble in getting a hearing, but
was finally given fifteen minutes by the platform committee. The members
listened to her coldly, and the platform they reported had nothing to say

27 C.B. Galbreath, History of Ohio, II, 629
28 Hills, op. cit., 116
29 Willard, Glimpses, 385
on the temperance question. Later the W.C.T.U. memorial was found on
the floor of the committee room, slimy with tobacco juice. It was
photographed by Mr. J. A. Van Fleet, editor of The Lever, a temperance
paper, and facsimil es were spread broadcast as evidence of the Republi-
can party's disrespectful treatment of the Christian women of the coun-
try. It proved an effective campaign document.

If the Republican party, "the party of moral ideas," had treated
the W.C.T.U. memorial in this fashion it was idle to expect that the Demo-
crats would do any better. It was a well known fact that few of the tem-
perance people were Democrats, and that nothing could induce them to vote
for "the whiskey party", as they called it. It was, therefore, good
politics to take the other side, and the Democratic platform of 1884 had
a plank opposing all sumptuary laws.

In answer to the memorial the Greenback party put the following plank
in its platform.- "For the purpose of testing the sense of the people on
these subjects we are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an
amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of sex, and
also on the subject of the liquor traffic." This was not satisfactory to
the W.C.T.U. which considered that it was not strong enough.

The Prohibition Home Protection Party Convention had been originally
planned for May, but it was postponed till after the other parties had
met to give them one more chance to indorse prohibition. When the conven-
met Miss Willard presented her memorial, and it was accepted with tremen-
dous enthusiasm. For its candidate the party turned to ex-Gov. John P.
St. John of Kansas, who had left the Republican party. One action which Miss Willard greatly regretted was the change of name to the "Prohibition Party". She felt that the phrase "Home Protection" was valuable, and should be preserved.34

The five general officers of the national W.C.T.U. issued a statement that since the Prohibition party had accepted its memorial the W.C.T.U. was bound to support it. All the state organizations except Iowa and Pennsylvania acquiesced.35 These strongly Republican states refused to give up their allegiance. At the national convention a great debate was held as to whether the resolution pledging the W.C.T.U. to support the party that furnished the best embodiment of prohibition principles should be re-affirmed. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster of Iowa presented a strong argument against it, but the resolution passed. Another resolution was offered leaving the national superintendents and state presidents free to give or withhold support to the Prohibition party. The National W.C.T.U. was to work for the Prohibition party only in those states where the state union gave its consent. This failed to pass, and in protest Mrs. Foster resigned as superintendent of the Department of Legislation.36 She was a strong Blaine supporter, and refused to work in behalf of St. John. During the campaign she joined in starting the National Non-Partisan League. After issuing several pamphlets attacking the Prohibition party the movement collapsed.37

34 Willard, op. cit., 401; Report 1895, 44
35 Willard, Glimpses, 402
36 Report 1884, 40
37 Colvin, op. cit., 385. There is no connection between this organization and the Non-Partisan League that appeared in North Dakota in 1915.
The Prohibition National Committee decided to concentrate on certain pivotal states, especially New York. St. John made eleven addresses in this state, and aroused great enthusiasm. The Republicans became alarmed, and appealed to the Prohibitionists to withdraw their ticket. They declared that the idea of rebuking the Republicans was all wrong, as it only played into the hands of the Democrats, the party of rum. St. John might draw off enough votes from Blaine to elect Cleveland.38

The W.C.T.U. worked hard for St. John. Among other activities, it started a weekly campaign paper, The Issue of Today, which ran for twelve weeks.39

The results of the election justified the fears of the Republicans. The Prohibition vote, which had been 10,000 in 1880, increased to 151,000. In New York state they polled twenty-five thousand votes, enough to cause the state to go Democratic by the narrow margin of 1047 votes. The Rev. Dr. Burchard's remark about "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" also contributed to this result while the work of the bolting Republicans (Mugwumps) was a factor of no slight importance. The Republicans were furious. They denounced the Prohibitionists and the W.C.T.U. as the cause of their defeat. St. John was burned in effigy in more than a hundred towns, and in Kansas St. John County was changed to Logan County.40 The W.C.T.U. was called a political party, and many ministers refused to let the organization use their churches for meetings.41 But the white-ribboners refused to repent of their sins. An editorial in the Union Signal pointed out that the temperance people, when aroused, held the balance of power.

38 New York Tribune, July 26 and Sept. 1, 1884.
39 Report 1884, 94
40 Colvin, 166
41 Willard, Glimpses, 407
great majority were still in the old parties, and it behooved these parties to pay attention to temperance demands if they wanted to keep them there.\textsuperscript{42}

Events in the years immediately following made many Republican politicians apprehensive that prohibition was indeed becoming the dominant issue, and that it might destroy the old parties. In 1884, Maine, which had been under statutory prohibition since the fifties, adopted constitutional prohibition by a vote of 3 to 1. Two years later Rhode Island followed. In the period from 1880 to 1886, out of seven statewide votes on this question, only North Carolina had given a popular majority against prohibition.\textsuperscript{43} The Prohibition party was growing rapidly. In 1886 it claimed to hold the balance of power in fourteen states and fifty eight Congressional districts.\textsuperscript{44} The Republicans were in a dilemma. If they wholeheartedly supported Prohibition they would lose the great German vote, and incur the enmity of the powerful liquor interests. If they refused it looked as if they would lose the temperance vote. The politicians made efforts to temporize. Statements of interest appeared in the Republican platforms, but the liquor men were given to understand that they were for vote getting purposes only. In some states certain groups, calling themselves "Anti-Saloon Republicans" appeared. In 1886 they called a national convention to meet in Chicago. Three hundred delegates from twenty states appeared. Some were genuine reformers, but most of them were politicians. William Windom was elected chairman, and a platform

\textsuperscript{42}{Dec. 18, 1884}  
\textsuperscript{43}{Colvin, Prohibition, 144}  
\textsuperscript{44}{Ibid., 169}
adopted. It declared that the government should restrict and control
the saloons, and prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor in the terri-
tories. For the states it advocated prohibition amendments. 45

A number of factors acting together made for the decline of the pro-
hibition movement after 1886. During this year the National Protective
Association was formed by the liquor interests to present a united front
against the prohibitionists. 46 Charges were soon being made that it was
using the immense resources at its disposal to subsidize the press, buy
up political machines, and corrupt elections. 47 As early as 1883 the New
York brewers were using the same methods of pressure politics that the
Anti-Saloon League later adopted. They sent letters to all candidates for
public office, asking their stand on temperance legislation. Those who
sent unsatisfactory replies, or who failed to answer, were fought at the
election. 48

The high license doctrine came along to divide the temperance forces
and reduce the demand for constitutional prohibition. Its supporters
claimed that it was a step towards prohibition. It would reduce the num-
ber of saloons, and this in turn would reduce the amount of liquor manu-
factured and sold. It would also make the saloon-keeper more law-abiding
and respectable for fear of losing his license. Convinced by these argu-
ments, thirty-two states and territories passed high license laws between
1881 and 1889. The results were unexpected. There was a slight reduction
in the number of saloons, but the remaining ones were handsomer and more

45 Oberholtzer, History of U.S., IV, 430; The Nation, Sept. 23, 1886
46 A. M. Schesinger, Rise of the City, 355
47 Colvin, Prohibition, 203
48 P. H. Odegard, Pressure Politics, 246
commodious. In order to secure outlets for their products, the great
brewers and distillers began to set up and finance great numbers of
saloons. Eventually the brewers dominated the retail field. The li-
quor interests were quite willing to pay high licenses because of the
greater security it gave them, and the cost could in large part be passed
onto the consumer. But their primary reason for accepting it during this
period was that it would head off state prohibition. The politicians
were delighted. Here was a solution to the troublesome problem that was
acceptable to both sides, and that could be used to repress the prohibi-
tion agitation which was such a disturbing factor in politics.

The W.C.T.U. never accepted the high-license arguments. Its position
was that the manufacture and sale of liquor was "a crime against civil and
a sin against Divine Government." A license was a permit to commit this
crime. The organization charged that the real secret of the demand for
high license was that it would reduce taxation. Far from being a step
towards prohibition, high license was a positive hindrance. Miss Willard
declared that high license had set back the temperance cause at least ten
years. She quoted the organ of the liquor interests, Bonfort's Wine and
Spirit Circular, that "though the liquor trade cannot now defeat Prohibi-
tion, High License can." The W.C.T.U. also advocated the abolition of
the internal revenue tax on liquor which the federal government had levied
since the Civil War. It condemned the principle which permitted the govern-
ment to derive revenue from the vices of the people.

49 Schlesinger, op. cit., 357
50 Colvin, op. cit., 208
51 Union Signal, March 15, 1883
52 Report 1889, 109
53 Report 1887, 43
The decline of the prohibition movement can be traced in the results of the state elections. In the period from 1887 to 1890 twelve states voted on prohibition amendments, and only in North and South Dakota were they adopted. In addition, Rhode Island, which had adopted an amendment in 1886, repealed it three years later. The W.C.T.U. took the leading part in most of these campaigns. In Pennsylvania more than a quarter of a million names were gathered to petitions, and volunteer lecturers covered every part of the state. On election day the women worked at the polls, and their children paraded with signs appealing for the protection of the home. The Republicans had been forced to agree to submit the amendment, but in spite of the fact that Pennsylvania was a heavily Republican state the amendment was defeated by a majority of 188,000. This caused many drys to accuse the party of insincerity. It was also charged that wholesale election frauds were responsible for the defeat of the prohibition amendments in many states. To make matters worse, the Supreme Court handed down the Original Package decision in 1890. The court decided that liquor could be shipped into a dry state and sold in the original packages. As it was inter-state commerce, only Congress had the right to regulate it. In the opinion of one authority the decision practically nullified state prohibition. Congress proceeded to pass the Wilson law giving a state jurisdiction over all liquor shipped in, but the Supreme Court construed it to mean that an individual in a dry state might import all the liquor he wanted, provided it was for his own personal

54 Cherrington, Evolution of Prohibition, 177
56 Report 1889, cxxxx
57 D.R. Dewey, National Problems, 129
58 Cherrington, op. cit., 181
The disagreement within the W.C.T.U. over the support given to the Prohibition Party eventually led to another secession. In 1885 the national convention passed the customary resolution to support that party which furnished the best embodiment of prohibition principles. A protest was thereupon presented signed by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, the first President of the W.C.T.U., and twenty-four others. It declared that the W.C.T.U. was founded as a non-sectarian, non-partisan body, and the organization should not be committed to aid and support a political party. The executive committee issued a reply which denied that the White-Ribboners were in any full sense members of the Prohibition Party. The W.C.T.U. had not spent a dollar for party purposes. Individuals and states were free to express their opinion as they saw fit, but fidelity to the Union, its unity, and its officers must be sacredly maintained. The next year the convention passed a stronger resolution specifically indorsing the Prohibition Party by name whereupon Mrs. Foster and her group presented another protest. This was repeated in 1887.

During the campaign of 1888 Mrs. Foster organized the Woman's National Republican Association and fought the Prohibition Party with great vehemence. In an attempt to please the temperance element the Republican convention passed a resolution— "That the first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well directed

59 135 U.S. 100; 170 U.S. 412
60 Report 1885, 44
61 Ibid. 55
efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality". This meaningless statement failed to gain the approval of the W.C.T.U. 62

It had been the hope of the temperance forces that prohibition would become one of the dominant issues of the campaign but they were doomed to disappointment. President Cleveland's tariff message created such excitement that all other issues were forgotten during the campaign, greatly to the delight of the liquor interests. 63 In an attempt to attract Republican votes, the Prohibition Party platform even had a plank advocating tariff protection. It nominated General Clinton B. Fisk, and he polled 250,000 votes, a gain of 70 per cent over 1884. 64

At the W.C.T.U. convention, which met while the campaign was in progress, the struggle between the two factions became more intense. To prevent the non-partisan group from circularizing the delegates it was ordered that no literature could be distributed in the hall without the approval of the general officers. Mrs. Foster presented her annual protest, which was referred to the executive committee. While she was in the midst of a speech a delegate moved the previous question. Miss Willard, who was presiding, sustained the motion, and Mrs. Foster was forced to sit down. 65 Miss Willard had become an advisory member of the Prohibition Party Executive Committee, and she now admitted that the national W.C.T.U. had become "practically partisan". 66 The following summer the Iowa union refused to pay any dues to the national treasury, claiming they were used to help the Prohibition party. At the national convention Miss Willard declared she

62 Willard, Glimpses, 438
63 Colvin, Prohibition, 194
64 Ibid., 199
65 Adams and Foster, Heroines of Modern Progress, 259
66 Report 1888, 29
had resigned her position on the executive committee of the Prohibition Party, and she attempted to prove that the W.C.T.U. was once more non-partisan. But the convention passed a resolution that anyone who opposed the Prohibition Party was guilty of disloyalty to the W.C.T.U. Thereupon, the Iowa delegates walked out. A motion was then passed that a new W.C.T.U. be organized in Iowa that would act in harmony with the national body.

There were others besides the Iowa delegates who were dissatisfied with Miss Willard’s policies. They held a meeting immediately after the close of the convention, and a provisional committee was appointed, which issued a call for a convention of non-partisan women to meet in Cleveland, Jan. 22, 1890. It was felt that they could no longer tolerate the equivocal actions of Miss Willard. She had committed the W.C.T.U. to the cause of a political party, while at the same time she was denying its partisanship. There was also complaint about the complex activities of the organization, some of which had very little to do with temperance.

At the appointed date 264 delegates assembled from ten states and the District of Columbia. It is interesting to note that nearly all these states were normally heavily Republican. This suggests that these women were Republicans, and that nothing that Miss Willard could do was going to make them give up their allegiance to the Grand Old Party. Committees were appointed, and a new society, The Non-Partisan National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, was organized. Mrs. Foster was nominated for President but declined, saying she could do more for the Society

67 Adams and Foster, op. cit., 260
68 Report of Non-Partisan National W.C.T.U. Convention, 1890, p. 11. An account of these activities will be found in Chapters VI to IX.
as a private individual. Mrs. E. J. Phinney of Cleveland was then elected. Before adjourning the following resolution was passed, "That we fully and freely recognize the right of every member of this organization to her own individual religious convictions and political opinions and preferences, and their exercise according to the dictates of individual conscience, and declare that no majority in such organization should ever in any manner interfere with these inalienable rights". 69

During the year 3752 Iowa women and 3503 Pennsylvania women left the W.C.T.U. and joined the new organization. 70 Non-partisan state organizations were set up in these states, as well as in Maine, Vermont, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, and Ohio. John D. Rockefeller became the largest contributor to the new organization giving $700 in 1894. 71 A paper, The Temperance Tribune, was established. Membership, however, began to drop, and in 1896 it was only 4400. In that year, Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, Miss Willard's old opponent, was made President of the non-partisan body. 72

The Harrison administration proved to be very unpopular with the temperance people. The President drank wine at public dinners, and it was notorious that the Shoreham hotel in Washington, owned by Vice-President Morton, sold liquor over its bar. The Secretary of State was even accused of using the consular officers to drum up trade for the American brewers. 73 As the campaign of 1892 approached the Prohibition party

69 Ibid., 34
70 W.C.T.U. Report, 1890, 148
71 Non-Partisan Report, 1894, 49
72 Non-Partisan Report, 1896, 21. The national organization remained in existence only a few more years, but some local unions continued into the 1920's.
73 Colvin, Prohibition, 245.
leaders determined to secure at least a million votes. It was thought that this number would compel a realignment of parties on the temperance issue. With the help of the W.C.T.U. an agreement was circulated among temperance supporters, binding them to vote the Prohibition ticket, providing one million signatures were secured. But the required number of signatures could not be obtained. At the election it was not the Prohibition, but the Populist party which polled a million votes. By so doing it made its major issue (free silver) the dominant one in the succeeding election. The Prohibition party polled 264,000 votes, only a slight gain over the last election.

In 1895 the W.C.T.U. took an important step. It established a legislative headquarters in Washington with Mrs. Margaret Dye Ellis as Superintendent, a position which she was to hold till 1919. Mrs. Ellis, a very able woman, was personally selected by Miss Willard, and quickly proved her capacity. Her weekly Washington Letter to The Union Signal soon had a wide influence. At first Mrs. Ellis relied almost exclusively on petitions in her efforts to influence legislation, but she soon found that letters and telegrams to Congressmen were much more effective in bringing pressure to bear on them.74 She had only to issue a call in her Washington Letter to flood Congress with thousands of appeals.

Another important event which took place during this year was the organization of the Anti-Saloon League as a national society. At the organizing convention in Washington the W.C.T.U. sent two fraternal delegates, and the Non-Partisan W.C.T.U. sent five.75 The people behind this

74 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 91
75 Non-Partisan Report, 1895, 7; Union Signal, Dec. 31, 1896
new movement considered that the partisan plan for Prohibition had failed. They proposed to bring all temperance elements into a cooperative effort, but without doing violence to their political or religious affiliations. They proposed to work through men instead of parties, and to begin from the ground up by concentrating on local option.76

It was not to be expected that the W.C.T.U. would become very enthusiastic about the Anti-Saloon League while it kept its alliance with the Prohibition Party. But this alliance was not destined to last much longer. In 1896 the Prohibition Party split in two over the free silver issue. When the party convention voted to confine the platform to the single issue of prohibition, the broad gauge western delegates withdrew and organized the National Party. The W.C.T.U. was grievously disappointed because the Prohibition Party had not included the customary woman suffrage plank in its platform, but it refused to take sides between the two factions.77 At the election the Prohibition Party lost heavily, polling only 132,000 votes, while the National Party got 13,000.

At the next W.C.T.U. convention Miss Willard diplomatically declared her loyalty to both wings of the Prohibitionists. She said that reports concerning the Anti-Saloon League during the last election were not encouraging, and indicated it had been "a brake on the Prohibition train, and a buffer for the Republican temperance people." However, she had decided to cooperate with it. She desired to see Prohibition put forward in every state in the country in which it did not already prevail. She called on the Anti-Saloon League, which represented the party in power, to

76 Cherrington, Evolution of Prohibition, 252
77 Union Signal, June 11, 1896
lead the temperance forces in this fight. After Miss Willard's death in the following year the W.C.T.U. ceased to pass resolutions indorsing the Prohibition Party. Relations with the Anti-Saloon League became more friendly, and a few years later Mr. E. S. Dinwiddie, one of the League leaders, was invited to address the W.C.T.U. Convention.

During this period the enforcement of prohibition laws in the dry states was very lax. Although Maine was under constitutional prohibition, 161 dealers in Portland paid the federal liquor taxes in 1893. This state of affairs did not seem to worry the W.C.T.U. very much. In an interview Miss Willard said - "We, as temperance workers, did not consider the question whether a prohibition law was enforced or not, as the vital point. Our whole movement is based upon the moral principle, in the belief that it is the best law." There were other white ribboners, however, who considered it their business to see that all temperance laws were enforced. In this connection we must cite Mrs. Carry A. Nation, and her hatchet. In the middle nineties she had helped to organize a W.C.T.U. local at Medicine Lodge, Kansas. Kansas had adopted a prohibition amendment in 1880, but the state had become honeycombed with "joints" which did a thriving business in illegal liquor. In the summer of 1899 Mrs. Nation started a prayer crusade against the "joints" in Medicine Lodge. She soon abandoned peaceful methods, however, and began to use force, breaking up the liquor places with rocks till she found that a hatchet was a more effective weapon. After she had cleaned up Medicine

78 Report 1897, 96
79 Union Signal, Dec. 1, Dec. 15, 1904
80 Schlesinger, Rise of City, 358
Lodge she was elected President of the Barber County W.C.T.U. Mrs. A.M. Hutchinson, the State President, issued a statement that the W.C.T.U. would not officially accept responsibility for Mrs. Nation's activities, but when she smashed the finest saloon in Wichita, the local W.C.T.U. held a thanksgiving meeting, and retained a lawyer to defend her. 82 Although arrested several times, nothing could be done to her because the joints were illegal. Many white ribboners joined her in her raids, and became expert hatchet-wielders. Altogether between forty and fifty places were wrecked, with the destruction of bar fixtures and liquor valued at $150,000. The cowed legislature passed a measure declaring the joints to be common nuisances, and making it a penal offense for anyone to be found in them. 83

The National W.C.T.U. could not at first decide what attitude to adopt towards its unconventional member. An editorial in the official paper remarked that -

"Mrs. Nation is a white ribboner, but she has a method all her own, and one which is not found in the plan of work of the W.C.T.U., who are waging a peaceful war for God and Home and Native Land, an organization whose weapons, the ballot included, are not carnal but spiritual, to the pulling down of strongholds of sin. While we cannot, as an organization, advise the use of force except by officers of the law, we are wide awake to the fact that Mrs. Nation's hatchet has done more to frighten the liquor sellers and awaken the sleeping consciences of Kansas voters than the entire official force of the state has heretofore done." 84

A month later there was a definite turning away with the declaration that, "more harm than good must always result from lawless methods". 85

On the surface it appeared as though the temperance movement was steadily losing ground. In 1896 South Dakota had repealed its prohibition amendment, and seven years later New Hampshire and Vermont got rid of

82 Herbert Asbury, Carry Nation, 107. This is the latest and best account.
83 Ibid. 208
84 Union Signal, Feb. 28, 1901
85 Ibid., March 28, 1901
their prohibition laws. In 1903 only Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota still had prohibition. But there was a counter movement in operation. The Anti-Saloon League was rapidly extending its organization into every state and territory, and it was beginning to assert its leadership in the temperance cause. Its leading principles - centralization of authority, singleness of purpose, political utilization of the power of the Protestant churches, and avoidance of partisanship in politics, were almost the exact opposite of those which the W.C.T.U. had hitherto pursued. The Anti-Saloon League was thus able to prevent internal quarrels, and weld itself into an effective fighting machine. Another great advantage was its financial strength. Once a year the League sent its representatives to the Protestant churches to tell of the work, and to solicit contributions. Although there were some large subscribers, the churches were the chief source of its funds. The W.C.T.U. never had the churches thrown open to it in this way, although there were occasional exceptions. It depended on membership dues for most of its funds, and these did not amount to a very large sum.

The League adopted a strictly realistic attitude. It declared that in the last analysis the success of Prohibition was dependent on the slow but sure process of the creation of temperance sentiment and the crystallization of that sentiment into public opinion. Until a majority of the people in a majority of state legislative districts reached the point of open hostility to the liquor traffic, it believed its efforts ought to be

86 Odegard, Pressure Politics, 79
87 Ibid., 191
88 Letter of Mrs. Anna Marden DeYo to author, March 28, 1933
directed toward building up sentiment, and carrying local option contests, rather than in making a fight for state-wide Prohibition. The experience of the eighties had shown that there must be a strongly organized sentiment for enforcement back of any state Prohibition law.\textsuperscript{39}

The concentration on local option soon began to show results especially in the South and West. For example, of 48 county option elections in Texas in 1902, 41 voted dry.\textsuperscript{90} By 1906 more than a third of the population of the country was living in dry territory. The League felt that the time had come to widen its activities, and work for state-wide prohibition.\textsuperscript{91}

The passage of a prohibition law by the Georgia legislature in August, 1907, marked the beginning of the third great temperance wave in the United States. In the fight for this bill the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League worked together, "in the most perfect harmony".\textsuperscript{92} The Georgia W.C.T.U./legislative headquarters in Atlanta and Mrs. Mary H. Armor, the State president, addressed both the Senate and House temperance committees. Women from all over the state thronged the galleries during the debate.\textsuperscript{93} The legislators were under no illusions about the sentiment of their constituents, for as early as 1899 five-sixths of the area of the state was dry under local option.\textsuperscript{94}

The struggle over Oklahoma began while she was petitioning Congress for Statehood. Indian Territory, which was to be part of the proposed state had been under Prohibition by Federal law. Senator Gallinger introduced an

\textsuperscript{39} Cherrington, \textit{op. cit.}, 279
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid. 271
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid. 280
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Union Signal}, Aug. 15, 1907
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid. Aug. 1, 1907
\textsuperscript{94} Cherrington, \textit{op. cit.}, 267
amendment to the enabling act to the effect that the portion of the new state that had formerly been Indian Territory was to remain under Prohibition for twenty-one years after Oklahoma was admitted. Mrs. Ellis marshalled the forces of the W.C.T.U. behind this amendment, and it finally passed. After another struggle the constitutional convention submitted a Prohibition clause in the proposed Constitution to the vote of the people, and it was adopted in September, 1907, by a majority of 18,000. This aroused such great enthusiasm that within a few months Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina passed state-wide prohibition. Tennessee followed in 1909. In all these states local option had made great progress. For example, all but seven counties had gone dry in Mississippi. The W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League were again active agents in the passing of these statutes. The W.C.T.U. State President declared that the Alabama law was the result of temperance teaching through the W.C.T.U. crystallized into action by the machinery of the Anti-Saloon League.

The liquor people were alarmed at the momentum which the prohibition movement had suddenly acquired. In their panic they admitted that conditions in the saloons were bad, and promised to reform them. Julius Liebmann, President of the U.S. Brewers Association, agreed that the saloon ought to be utterly divorced from gambling and the social evil, and that no intoxicants should be sold to children. Hugh Fox, a very able man who had just been made Secretary of the organization, declared that he undertook his duties with the strong conviction that the brewers were abreast

95 Union Signal, Feb. 16, 1905
96 Cherrington, 282
97 Union Signal, Jan. 23, 1908
of public sentiment in regard to cleaning up the industry. He went on as follows:

"I believe that the members of the brewing trade have come to this convention with the grim determination to inaugurate a thorough reform of the retail business, at whatever personal cost, to join with the authorities, and, if necessary, to force the hands of the authorities in making the retail branch of the industry a decent, respectable, orderly, and proper business institution." 98

Some progress was reported in the next year. Against the "frantic opposition" of the Anti-Saloon League the Ohio brewers had pushed through the Dean Character law. It provided that before paying his annual tax a saloon-keeper had to swear that he was an American citizen, had never been convicted of a felony, had not knowingly sold to drunkards or minors, and had allowed no gambling or improper females in his saloon. The Ohio brewers had also established a Vigilance Bureau which employed a superintendent and twenty detectives to enforce the liquor laws. The clean up movement had two goals. 1. To secure a reduction in the number of licensed places where it was excessive and eliminate the law breaking and undesirable element among the saloon-keepers. 2. Adequate legislation for the licensing and general regulation of the traffic. 100

All this sounded well enough, but there remained a strong suspicion that the brewers would not proceed very far with their clean up movement if it operated to reduce their profits. They were too greedy, and hoped that the prohibition storm would soon blow itself out, as it had always

98 U.S. Brewers Association 48th Convention, 1908 pp. 32-38
99 U.S. Brewers Association 49th Convention, 1909, 133
100 U.S. Brewers Association Year Book, 1910, 132
done before. The W.C.T.U. did not believe in the brewers' sincerity, with their talk of elevating the saloon. It pointed out that there was no suggestion of the one method by which the brewers could reform the saloon, which was to refuse to sell beer to a law breaker. If the brewers were really sincere one ought to be able to distinguish the thousands of brewery-owned saloons by their law-abiding character, but no such distinction was visible. A well known magazine writer declared that the trouble with the brewers was that they had no brains. They thought that money was all-powerful, and that they could buy public opinion by corrupting the newspapers. The United States Brewers Association was itself forced to admit that it was not satisfied with the progress that had been made in reforming the saloon. Another attempt was made several years later with the establishment of the Temperate Tavern League, with the same lack of success.

The first lull in the prohibition storm occurred in Alabama. This state had recently come under statutory prohibition, but the temperance forces, led by Governor Comer, were not satisfied. They put through a bill in 1909 to submit a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. As Governor Comer signed the measure he turned to the President of the Alabama W.C.T.U. and said, "You ladies must get behind this and push it. The fight is not over yet. It is only started and we need your efforts." She replied, "We won't stop until we get everything that we want."
Something went wrong, however, and the amendment was rejected at the polls. Greatly heartened, the liquor interests poured out money at the next election, and defeated Governor Comer, and thirty-one of the thirty-two Senators who had voted for prohibition. In 1911 the legislature repealed the state prohibition law. 106

Nineteen hundred and ten was a year of defeat for the temperance forces. Constitutional amendments were defeated in Florida, Oregon, and Missouri, the adverse majority in the last named State being more than two-hundred thousand. The President of the U.S. Brewers Association jubilantly reported that "we have finally succeeded in breaking the backbone of the prohibition wave, which for two or three years had threatened practically to annihalate the brewing business of the country and its allied industries". 107

The insurgent revolt against the Republican tariff policy resulted in the election of a Democratic administration in Maine. The new legislature then proceeded to submit an amendment repealing constitutional prohibition. There developed one of the most bitterly fought campaigns that the State ever experienced. The W.C.T.U. exerted its utmost efforts, for if Maine were lost it would be one of the greatest setbacks that the cause could suffer. Miss Anna A. Gordon organized thirty-five thousand children into Young Campaigners for Prohibition, and they did effective work with their parades. Mrs. Stevens, the National W.C.T.U. President and a Maine woman, secured the services of Mr. John B. Pelletier, and he delivered addresses in both French and English to the French-Canadians, who formed

106 Colvin, Prohibition, 345
107 U.S. Brewers Association 50th Convention, 1910, 18
about one-eighth of the State's population. Speakers were also sent among the Italians and Swedes. Richmond Pearson Hobson, the Spanish-American war hero, who was now a congressman from Alabama and a temperance leader, toured the state, and made many addresses. The election was so close that it was nearly three weeks before it was definitely known that the effort to repeal Prohibition had lost by the narrow margin of 758 votes.

On September 10, 1911, the night before the election, Mrs. Stevens had issued her famous proclamation for National Prohibition at a great meeting in Portland. The proclamation read as follows:

"In the name of the World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, we hereby make this proclamation for a great crusade to carry the vital truth to the peoples themselves in all lands, and through them to place prohibition in the organic law of all nations, and ultimately in the organic law of the world; and to this high end, we invoke the blessing and guidance of Almighty God and the cooperation of the men and women of all lands who love their fellow men, and To America, the birthplace of the local, State, National, and World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, we hereby proclaim that within a decade, prohibition shall be placed in the Constitution of the United States; and to this end we call to active cooperation all temperance, prohibition, religious, and philanthropic bodies; all patriotic, fraternal, civic associations, and all Americans who love their country."

Less than two months later Representative Hobson introduced a joint resolution for a prohibition amendment, and the fight for National Prohibition was on.

The state campaigns continued to be disappointing. In spite of

108 Report 1911, 95
109 Colvin, Prohibition, 346
110 Union Signal, Sept. 14, 1911
great efforts by the temperance people both Arkansas and Texas rejected prohibition. At the special request of the W.C.T.U., Booker T. Washington wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Prohibition and the Negro," and Prof. Kelly Miller, wrote, "The Effects of Temperance Upon The Development of The Negro Race." As very few Negroes were allowed to vote in the South, this had little effect.

Just when things were at their worst, a resounding victory in West Virginia in 1919 put new heart into the Temperance people. A combination of lucky circumstances produced this victory. The liquor interests had collected about eight hundred thousand dollars which they expected to spend in the campaign, but the death of one of their key men, and other obstacles, made them anticipate defeat, so they did not spend their fund. There was real cooperation among the prohibition forces. A Ratification Federation was formed with representatives from all the churches and temperance organizations. Mrs. Lenna Lowe Yost, President of the West Virginia W.C.T.U., was placed at its head. Speakers covered every part of the state, and more than six million pages of literature were sent out. The result was that the Prohibition amendment carried by a majority of more than 92,000.

In 1913 the Anti-Saloon League felt that the time had come to begin work for national Prohibition. A survey had shown that more than a majority of the members of the House of Representatives represented districts in which the majority of their constituents were favorable to Prohibition. The League had just forced through the Webb-Kenyon bill with the help of the W.C.T.U. over President Taft's veto. The bill prohibited liquor ship-

111 Report 1911, 200
112 Collvin, Prohibition, 347; Union Signal, Nov. 14, 1912
ments into a state for a purpose illegal under its laws. This removed a serious hindrance to the enforcement of State Prohibition, but the League came to the conclusion that State Prohibition could never permanently enforced until National Prohibition had been secured. The convention which met in Columbus, Ohio, in November, 1913, unanimously decided in favor of an immediate campaign. At the same time the Council of One Hundred was organized, (afterwards changed to the National Temperance Council) representing all the temperance organizations in the U.S. The Council played an important part in the campaign by bringing the temperance leaders together in frequent conferences and eliminating some of the jealousies among the organization. Another body organized at Columbus was the Flying Squadron of America, composed of the ablest temperance orators. A whirlwind speaking tour was begun in September, 1914, which covered every State, and nearly every city in the country. Mrs. Ella A. Boole, and Mrs. Culla J. Vayhinger were W.C.T.U. leaders who participated in this campaign.

The W.C.T.U. convention was largely taken up with formulating plans for national Prohibition. The local unions were instructed to take up a collection for a campaign fund. It was voted that January 15, 1914, be designated as National Constitutional Prohibition Amendment Day, to be observed with fasting and prayer. The Anti-Saloon League Convention had authorized the formation of a Committee of One Thousand Men to meet in Washington in December. They were to march to the Capitol and present a resolution to Congress for the submission of a prohibition amendment. The

113 Cherrington, Evolution of Prohibition, 321
114 Ibid., 322
115 Union Signal, Nov. 20, 1913
W.C.T.U. decided to organize a Committee of One Thousand Women to accompany the men. After the resolution was presented, Representative Hobson, and Senator Sheppard introduced it as a joint resolution. Nothing further was done that session, but the W.C.T.U. helped to build a fire under the dilatory Congressmen by holding great mass meetings, and securing signatures and resolutions representing over five million people. The Hobson resolution was finally brought to a vote in the House on December 22, 1914. The result was 197 in favor of it and 189 against. Although the necessary two-thirds was lacking, the temperance forces were greatly encouraged by the fact that a majority had been attained.

Developments in the States gave further cause for jubilation. In 1909 the number of prohibition states had reached nine, but for over five and a half years there had been no increase in this number. The accession of West Virginia in 1912 had been offset by the loss of Alabama in the preceding year. Late in 1914 the deadlock was broken and Virginia, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, and Arizona adopted Prohibition by popular vote. Hitherto the South had been the most favorable region for temperance propaganda, but now the West became prominent. Here the initiative and referendum laws proved a valuable aid, for they made it unnecessary to put pressure on reluctant legislatures to submit the question to a vote of the people. In the four Western states which adopted Prohibition during 1914, all made use of the initiative and referendum. The W.C.T.U. took an active part in the circulation of petitions.

In 1915 five more states joined the Prohibition parade. Alabama

116 Cherrington, op. cit., 325
117 *Union Signal*, Jan. 1, 1915
118 *Colvin, Prohibition*, 430
repented its action in repealing Prohibition four years before, and passed a new law. Iowa repealed its so-called mulct law, which in effect had permitted the sale of liquor on payment of an annual fine for violating the state prohibition law. The Arkansas legislature passed a prohibitory law by a large majority. The Idaho legislature did likewise, and also submitted a constitutional amendment, which was adopted the following year by a vote of three to one. South Carolina had adopted a government dispensary measure in 1893, but it had proved a failure because of the graft and corruption which had attended it. Thirty-six of the forty-four counties in the state had abandoned the dispensary system in favor of Prohibition. Finally the legislature submitted a state-wide Prohibition law to a vote, and it was adopted by a majority of twenty-five thousand.

In December, 1915 the scene shifted back to Washington. The Prohibition amendment had been re-drafted to eliminate some weaknesses, and, to give it a non-partisan aspect, it was introduced by two Republicans and two Democrats. It was known as the Sheppard-Gallinger-Webb-Smith resolution. The Anti-Saloon League, however, decided not to press the resolution during that session because it knew it could not get the necessary two-thirds majority. At first the W.C.T.U. refused to acquiesce in this decision. The Union Signal carried large headlines urging that telegrams and letters be sent to the Judicial Committees urging them to report favorably the amendment. Late in March 1916, the W.C.T.U. also decided to give up the struggle for the time being. Its friends in Congress had

119 Ibid., 214
120 Cherrington, Evolution of Prohibition, 350
121 Ibid., 342
123 March 16, 1916
advised it that the legislative program which the President had mapped out for Congress would allow no time to put through the amendment. 124

As the election of 1916 approached the temperance organizations considered what attitude to take. It was known that Wilson was against national prohibition. Hughes was thought to be more favorable but he refused to commit himself. The Anti-Saloon League decided not to concern itself with the Presidency, but to concentrate on electing a two-thirds dry majority to Congress. In this it was completely successful. The W.C.T.U. was very much disappointed because Hughes had not mentioned Prohibition in his speech of acceptance. His record on the Supreme Court had led it to expect him to take a stand. Just before the election it decided to return temporarily to its support of the Prohibition Party. An editorial in the official paper declared that as an organization the W.C.T.U. gave its endorsement to no political party, but this year there was an unprecedented opportunity to make known the conviction that the liquor traffic must go by voting the Prohibition Party ticket. 125

When Congress met again for the short session both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees favorably reported the Prohibition resolution. It was placed on the calendar, but did not come to a vote. An important measure which was passed during this session was the Jones-Randall bill. It provided that no mail matter or publication containing liquor advertisement could be carried in the mails if addressed to any state in which it was unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for liquor. While the bill was being debated something quite unexpected happened. Senator Reed of Missouri, an ardent wet, offered an amendment prohibiting the transportation of liquor into states having prohibition. This was known as the Reed

124 Report 1916, 331
125 Union Signal, Nov. 2, 1916
Bone-Dry Amendment. Many of the dry states had permitted the importation of limited quantities of liquor for personal use, and Senator Reed apparently felt that this hypocritical practice ought not to be allowed to continue. The Bone-Dry Amendment was very unwelcome to the Anti-Saloon League, which only wished to prohibit the traffic in liquor, and not its use.\textsuperscript{126}

It has been charged that Bishop Cannon, the chairman of the League's National Legislative Committee, personally lobbied against the amendment, but it passed despite this opposition.\textsuperscript{127} The W.C.T.U. seems to have welcomed the amendment. An editorial in the \textit{Union Signal} said, - "The consensus of opinion among those who have studied the situation seems to be that the liquor interests unwittingly and unintentionally have brought about a piece of legislation that will speed John Barleycorn's departure".\textsuperscript{128}

When the United States entered the war the Prohibition movement received a tremendous impulse. The war centralized authority in Washington, stressed the importance of saving food, and branded the brewers as Pro-German, and the prohibition leaders adroitly made use of all these forces to put through war prohibition.\textsuperscript{129} Congress began to discuss the subject soon after war was declared, and Mrs. Ellis wrote to all the local W.C.T.U.'s urging that thousands of telegrams be sent to President Wilson demanding immediate prohibition as a war emergency measure.\textsuperscript{130} One of Lloyd George's remarks was widely circulated. He was alleged to have said- "We have three foes: Germany, Austria, and Drink; and the greatest of these is Drink."

The Anti-Saloon League also republished three English pamphlets, \textit{Defeat Or

\textsuperscript{126} Odegard, \textit{Pressure Politics}, 162
\textsuperscript{127} Colvin, \textit{Prohibition}, 394
\textsuperscript{128} March 1, 1917
\textsuperscript{129} Charles Merz, \textit{The Dry Decade}, 25
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Union Signal}, April 28, 1917
Victory, The Parasite, and The Fiddlers, which had great influence.  

Congress took a preliminary step in May, 1917, by prohibiting the sale of liquor to soldiers. The next month the House passed the Food Control bill, with a provision prohibiting the use of foodstuffs for the manufacture of beverage alcohol. The wets in the Senate threatened a filibuster unless this was modified. It was vital that the Food Control bill be passed at once, and President Wilson sent for the dry leaders, and appealed to them to agree to some compromise. The Anti-Saloon League demanded that Wilson send it a letter stating the facts, and that he was appealing to the patriotism of the drys to give way so that the bill should not be delayed. It promised to give this letter, "serious consideration". Wilson was reluctant, but finally sent a letter to the chairman of the Legislative Committee of the League. It was pronounced unsatisfactory, and Wilson had to write a second letter before the League graciously assented to compromise. The bill was changed so as to prohibit the manufacture and importation of distilled liquor, leaving it optional with the President to prohibit the manufacture of beer and wine. This went into effect in September, 1917.

This incident shows the amazing power which the League had acquired. In order to get through a vital war measure, the President of the United States had to come to hat in hand, and ask that it call off its legislative serfs.

The agitation for war prohibition hastened the submission of the 18th Amendment. There was some doubt whether the House would accept the Amendments which the Senate had made to the Food Control bill. The wets thought that if they allowed the 18th Amendment to be submitted, it would satisfy

131 Odegard, op. cit., 69
many drys, and thus avoid immediate war prohibition. They were confident that they could count on a wet majority in one house in thirteen states, which would be sufficient to block the adoption of the Amendment. To make assurance doubly sure, the wets added a time limit to the proposed amendment. Five years was first proposed, but the drys insisted on six years, and the wets agreed. The Senate passed the Amendment on Aug. 1, 1917, by a vote of 65 to 20. If the wets had been closely following the prohibition movement in the states they might not have felt so confident as to their ability to block the adoption of the Amendment. At the beginning of 1917 there were twenty-three prohibition states, and the dry momentum was increasing so fast that within two years ten more states were added to the list. The W.C.T.U. also showed that it did not quite realize the true state of affairs by appealing to Congress to eliminate the six year clause. When the House was debating the Amendment a compromise was agreed to by which the time limit was extended to seven years in return for giving the liquor traffic a year of grace after the Amendment should be ratified. The House passed the Amendment on December 17, 1917, by a vote of 282 to 128. The next day it repassed the Senate with the changes that had been made by the House. The W.C.T.U. was already busy raising a fund to work for the election of drys to the State legislatures. It now began a "Ring Every Door Bell Campaign" to insure ratification of the Amendment.

In the meantime, the demand for war prohibition which had died down somewhat, flared up again. A cartoon in the W.C.T.U. paper entitled "The Menace to the Nation's Grain Supply" depicted a rat (labelled "Liquor Traf-

133 Colvin, Prohibition, 444
134 Union Signal, Dec. 13, 1917
135 Colvin, op. cit., 448
136 Union Signal, Dec. 13, 1917; Jan 3, 1918
The drys pursued a rather inconsistent course. When the brewers had predicted that prohibition would mean a serious disturbance in the national economy the drys had stoutly denied it, and declared the liquor business was economically insignificant. Now they said it was a great gap in the national defense, using up huge amounts of food materials and labor. However, it is too much to expect propaganda to be consistent or truthful.

The fact that most of the brewers were of German descent, and that beer was a German drink, was not overlooked. Professor Daly of Harvard solemnly declared that, "Life-long drinking of mild beer has been one of the most potent causes for the amazing brutalities of official Germany." The W.C.T.U. was active in gathering signatures, and on March 1, 1918 a petition representing six million women was presented to the President urging that the production of malt beverages be stopped. The Senate had been investigating the German-American Alliance, and the W.C.T.U. gleefully published excerpts from the hearings under the title, "Pro-Germans and Brewers Join Forces Against Prohibition." The charter of the German-American Alliance was revoked in July, 1918, but a much more extensive investigation was begun in September. Three huge volumes of testimony were taken, conclusively showing that the U.S. Brewers Association had financed the German-American Alliance, which had organized the German element against Prohibition, besides carrying on Pro-German activities.

In spite of the fact that the Pro-German activities of the

137 Ibid., Feb. 28, 1918
138 Odegard, op. cit., 68
139 Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1917
140 Ibid., March 7, 1918
142 Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda, 66 Congress, 1 sess. Senate Document No. 62. Vol. 1, 329; 656; 1279.
brewers were carried on before the United States entered the war, the drys did not hesitate to denounce them as traitors who were actively working for the enemy.143

The demand for war prohibition could not be long denied. In May, 1918, Congressman Randall introduced an Amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, providing that no part of the appropriation was to be available unless the President prohibited the manufacture of beer. As finally passed the bill provided for the prohibition of the manufacture of beer and wine after May 1, 1919, and the prohibition of the sale of all liquor after June 30, 1919, to continue until the termination of demobilization.144 President Wilson was opposed to war prohibition, and if it had not been part of the Agricultural Appropriation bill he would have vetoed it. He thought it was not a food conservation measure, but an attempt to use the war emergency to declare the country dry by Congressional action.145

The ease with which the 18th Amendment was ratified surprised even some of the dry leaders. A number of factors were responsible, such as the war, the investigations which uncovered the political methods and Pro-German activities of the brewers, the stupidity of the liquor men, and the well organized and effective methods of the dry organizations. Among these dry organizations the W.C.T.U. is entitled to much credit, but without the Anti-Saloon League it is very doubtful if national prohibition could ever have been achieved. The politicians were always anxious to avoid the

143 Merz, Dry Decade, 27
144 Colvin, op. cit., 446
145 J.P. Tumulty, Woodrow Wilson As I Knew Him, 412
thorny question, but the League played the game of practical politics to such good effect, that in many States it became political suicide for a legislator to vote wet.

By November, 1918, fourteen states had already ratified, and others were only waiting till their legislatures met. On the day the Armistice was signed Miss Anna A. Gordon, National President of the W.C.T.U. issued the following proclamation -

"Representing the National W.C.T.U. of the United States, a republic about to write prohibition in its constitutional law, we hereby call upon the peoples of all faiths and of all organizations in the world's family of nations, to clasp hands with the World's W.C.T.U. and to help bring to full fruition its hope and its heroic service of thirty-five years on behalf of a sober world.

... At the close of the devastating world war, in the white heat of the limitless, unparalleled opportunities of a new internationalism, depending on the help of God, and of all who love humanity, we hereby proclaim by the year 1925, the triumph of world prohibition".146

In allowing herself only seven years the bring about World Prohibition Miss Gordon doubtless had the mistake of her predecessor, Mrs. Stevens, in mind. The latter had issued a proclamation for national prohibition in 1911 in which she gave the liquor traffic ten years more of life. Here it was only seven years later, and national prohibition was about to be ratified. Miss Gordon evidently thought that World Prohibition could be put through in the same time.

In January, 1919, a race among the state legislatures developed for the honor of being among the first thirty-six states to ratify the amendment. On January 16, Nebraska became the thirty-sixth state and the amendment was proclaimed. It went into effect a year later. In all, forty-six states ratified the amendment. Even New Jersey, "the wettest

146 Union Signal, Nov. 14, 1918

It has often been said that after the adoption of the 18th Amendment the drys believed that the millennium had come and that their work was over. The W.C.T.U. felt the danger of this state of mind and set to work to combat it. It demanded - "Will the members settle back with folded arms and self-satisfied air? Are the victories all won? Is the world saved from drink? Are you sure the laws will be enforced?". 147

The last question was not intended very seriously, for the declaration was made that the prohibition issue was now as dead as the Slavery issue, and without the slightest hope of resurrection. Now that Prohibition was in the Constitution, the wets must drop their opposition, or they would be classed as traitors and Bolsheviks. 148 At the same time, the W.C.T.U. wisely decided not to abandon its educational work. On the contrary, it urged with increased emphasis the necessity for scientific temperance instruction in the schools, the distribution of literature, and the display of prohibition posters. 149

With the adoption of the woman suffrage amendment the power and prestige of the W.C.T.U. greatly increased. The National President declared that now that the women were voters they must help enforce the 18th Amendment by electing officials who believed in prohibition and its rigid enforcement. They should report violations of the dry laws; nurture public sentiment for law enforcement; attend court when prohibition cases were tried, thanking the judge for "just sentences"; and exercise vigilance during sessions of the state legislatures to see that enforcement codes

147 Union Signal, Jan. 30, 1919
148 Ibid., Feb. 20, 1919; Sept. 30, 1920
149 Ibid., Feb. 13, 1926
It was determined that a strictly non-partisan policy must be followed. The gesture towards the Prohibition Party in 1916 had not been allowed to go further. Beginning in 1918 the legislative headquarters in Washington kept a file of all members of Congress, with a record of their votes on all wet and dry measures. Another contained the names of all members of the W.C.T.U. arranged by Congressional districts. A Congressman who voted wrong was certain to hear from his woman constituents in a very short time. The following variation of "Mary Had a Little Lamb" well expresses the White-Ribboner attitude —

Mary has a little vote  
That keeps our nation dry;  
It jumps right over party lines  
Ask nullifiers why.

It serves America so well—  
It "follows her" you know—  
That nullifiers sadly learn—  
Where Mary's vote will go.

The W.C.T.U. was proud of the fact that Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant U.S. Attorney General in charge of Prohibition, was a White-Ribboner, and did everything possible to help her. Even the children were not forgotten. Members of the Loyal Temperance Legion were enrolled as National Prohibition Guards. The General Secretary reported— "The Children have also proven themselves to be valuable detectives, having aided in the capture of stills, and having shared the joys of destroying confiscated 'wet goods'." Recently, in order to offset the wet claim that all young people drink and are opposed to Prohibition, the Youth's

150 Report 1921, 179  
151 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 173  
152 Ibid., 157  
153 Report 1921, 98
Roll Call was started. More than a million signatures were collected of young men and women between the ages of fourteen and thirty, who pledged themselves to total abstinence and the support of the 18th Amendment. Another device to encourage law observance was the Service Star. This was a white star on a blue background with the motto- "Serve America, Support the Constitution." This was to be placed in the windows of homes like the service stars during the war.

It was realized that the federal government could not hope to enforce prohibition by itself without the cooperation of the states. The W.C.T.U. took an active part in the great campaign in California which resulted in the adoption of a state enforcement act. In Pennsylvania the legislature passed an enforcement act, but failed to make an appropriation for it. This trick could not stop the white-ribboners. They went to Governor Pinchot, and offered to raise a fund and pay for the enforcement of the law. The Governor consented, and two Deputy Attorneys and a corps of agents were paid by the W.C.T.U. In collecting evidence among the speakeasies, the agents followed the regular practice of buying and drinking liquor in these places. However, this curious situation did not continue very long. It was charged that Mrs. Ella M. George, President of the Pennsylvania W.C.T.U., was using part of the dry fund to promote the candidacy of Governor Pinchot for U.S. Senator.

One of the first indications that the sentiment of the country was beginning to change was found in the straw votes taken by certain newspapers and magazines. The W.C.T.U. became violently opposed to these straw votes.

---

154 Report 1932, 80
155 Union Signal, Jan. 5, 1922
156 Gordon, op. cit., 159
and passed a resolution condemning them as a weapon deliberately intended to break down public morale in the matter of law observance. There was no assurance of fairness or accuracy, no restrictions as to age, residence or citizenship. The reason the dry vote was so small was that the drys considered the question settled, and did not take the trouble to send in their ballots. Therefore, a straw vote was no index of the way a regular election would go. After the **Literary Digest** took the lead with its nation-wide poll, it was charged that this was primarily a scheme to boost subscriptions. The names were secured from telephone books, and motor car license lists, and favored men. The drys were urged to vote in it, however.**159**

If there was one public official more obnoxious than any other to the **W.C.T.U.**, it was Al Smith. As early as 1927 the white-ribboners were working to prevent his nomination for President. During that year a resolution was passed to work for the nomination of candidates who were the undoubted friends of Prohibition. This was widely published, and offers of cooperation were received from other women organizations. Campaign conferences were held in eleven strategic cities. The **National Women's Democratic Law Enforcement League** was organized with the avowed purpose of stopping Smith. After this proved unsuccessful the Presidents of eleven **W.C.T.U.** state organizations in the South met in Nashville and issued a statement refusing to support Smith for President, in spite of the fact that they were Democrats.**160** Active work was begun for Herbert Hoover. More than two million of his pictures were distributed, while

---

158 Report 1926, 85  
159 *Union Signal*, March 8, 1930  
160 E.A. Boole, *Give Prohibition A Chance*, 132
ten million leaflets denouncing Smith's wet record were sent out.\textsuperscript{161}
The wet press became abusive, but the women were not intimidated, and redoubled their efforts. A special effort was made to get out the women who had never voted before. Afterwards Mrs. Boole declared - "We believe we had much to do with breaking the Solid South and contributed much to the big majority of the Republican Party in the last election."\textsuperscript{162} The "Hoovercrat" women had to undergo many unpleasant experiences after the election. Many of them were socially and politically ostracized.\textsuperscript{163}

One of the outstanding results of the Great Depression that began in 1929 has been the thorough discrediting of Prohibition. For this the drys themselves are largely to blame. During the period of prosperity they claimed that it was the direct result of Prohibition. In 1926 the W.C.T.U. declared that "Prohibition in America has been followed by a golden prosperity, marked by a greater productivity and a widespread purchasing power. Dry America is banishing poverty. Having outlawed the saloon, millions of working Americans now have luxuries where once their wage was but the scant right to live. Our country is dotted with better homes; our banks swell with surplus; our schools are thronged with happy youth. Material possessions are no longer the mark of an exclusive class for the prosperity born of prohibition is the common possession of all."\textsuperscript{164} It was claimed that Prohibition six billion dollars to the annual income of the nation.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 135
\textsuperscript{162} Report 1932, 83
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., 84
\textsuperscript{164} Report 1926, 65. A recent magazine article sets forth the theory that every major depression has caused a change of attitude towards liquor. If license was in effect there was a swing toward Prohibition, and vice versa, if Prohibition was in force. See J.H. Clark, Jr. "The Prohibition Cycle" \textit{N. Am. Rev.} 235:413 (May 1933)
When the depression came it was only natural that this illogical dry argument should be answered by the equally illogical wet argument that prohibition was the cause of the paralysis that was gripping the country. The sins of the drys were finding them out. Their talk of prosperity, and the abolition of poverty proved just as fatal to them as it did to Mr. Hoover.

During the 1932 campaign the W.C.T.U. was pathetically uncertain as to what course to follow. Both major parties had rejected Prohibition, and the Democrats had come out flatly for Repeal. Mrs. Boole, in her presidential address at the national convention, asked,

"But for whom shall we vote in November? We are perplexed and puzzled. Our plea to the major political parties for Dry planks was rejected. . . . I would not presume to dictate to any member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union how she should vote. My advice is to evaluate the platforms of all parties, study the records of candidates, ask yourself the question—How can I so vote as to save the Eighteenth Amendment, or as much of it as possible? Will my vote put administration in the hands of an enemy of prohibition or of one who is its friend, but who is overwhelmed with the problems of state enforcement. Follow your own conscience when you have prayed about it. Do not stay at home on election day."

This veiled plea for Mr. Hoover did not receive much support. There was some talk about a new third party, but Mrs. Boole declared there was neither time nor money available for this. It would seem that the logical thing to do was to support the Prohibition Party, which had abandoned none of its principles, but Mrs. Boole was opposed to this also. The convention adjourned after passing resolutions that Prohibition had caused the United States to suffer less than other countries from the depression, and that it was unalterably opposed to repeal or modification.

165 Report 1932, 87
166 New York Times, Aug. 19, 1932
167 Report 1932, 61
CHAPTER IV

Votes for Women

Frances Willard was responsible for the "Do Everything" policy of the W.C.T.U. Practically every moral reform in existence received her sympathetic attention, and most of them were included as white-ribbon activities. When she was elected President in 1879, there were nine standing committees to carry on the different lines of work. Within three years there were thirty-seven departments, each in charge of a different activity. Even Miss Willard felt this growth was too rapid, and recommended a reduction.\(^1\) Some departments were consolidated or discontinued, but new ones arose, and by 1887 there were forty departments and two standing committees.\(^2\)

Doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of the "Do Everything" policy. Mrs. Sophia F. Grubb, Superintendent of the Foreign Department, declared the organization had too many irons in the fire.\(^3\) The women who seceded in 1889, and formed the Non-Partisan W.C.T.U. were also of this opinion.\(^4\) But Miss Willard rejected these warnings. She declared she failed to see why two or more issues should not be pressed simultaneously if they were not incompatible. The alcohol nerve ran through every part of the body politic, and the scalpel had to be applied wherever it existed.\(^5\) Mrs. Stevens continued this policy, and during her term of office the number of departments reached a high mark of forty-three. During Miss Gordon's incumbency reductions began to be made, and this continued till the number was cut in half. At present there are twenty-one departments and two branches.

1 Report 1882, lxxii
2 Report 1887, 5-10
3 Report 1885, xxvii
4 See above, page 68
6 Report 1932, 9-11
The remainder of this dissertation is devoted to a study of the departments. No attempt is made to trace them all, for they were combined, changed, and discontinued with such great rapidity that it was impossible to keep track of some of them. Only the more permanent and significant are discussed. First on this list is the Franchise Department.

The connection between temperance and woman suffrage was always very close. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony began their careers as temperance reformers, but they soon found that the temperance men were not immune to the prejudice against women who took an active part in public discussions. After she had been forbidden to speak at a convention of the Sons of Temperance, Miss Anthony organized a Woman's State Temperance Society at Rochester, New York, in 1852. The following year she came to the conclusion that women must become the political equals of men before they could hope to reform society. She accordingly left temperance and other minor reforms to devote herself exclusively to woman suffrage. She always remained faithful to this principle, but she frequently had to fight hard to convince her associates that it was the best policy. 7

During the Woman's Crusade a number of conservative women became convinced that they must have the vote before they could hope to get rid of the liquor traffic. A letter which appeared in the New York Tribune expressed this idea very effectively, as follows -

"To deny her the use of that most efficient moral weapon, a vote, and then urge her into a physical contest with it [the rum traffic] is very like saying that women cannot use artillery, or Spencer rifles, but ought to form the advance in an attack on an army well drilled in their use, and sending them forward armed with broadswords, javelins,"

7 R.C. Dorr, Susan B. Anthony, 65; 77
and other implements of mediaeval warfare".  

Suffrage leaders were not sympathetic to the Woman's Crusade. They felt that it was a desecration of womanhood and religion. Elizabeth Cady Stanton said it was little more dignified than mob law. The proper place for petitions and appeals against liquor was in legislative halls rather than to rummaders and drunkards in the dens of vice. Depraved passions and appetites needed wholesome laws to restrain them. If the women would only see this and demand the right of suffrage with half the zeal and unanimity with which they stormed the saloons, it would be granted. This statement of intentions against the liquor traffic was much more frank than the suffrage leaders afterwards permitted. In the opinion of some observers the permanent effect of the Woman's Crusade was not that it decreased intemperance, but that it gave an impetus to the suffrage movement, by suggesting to many men that if women could vote they would vote on the side of morality.

The first W.C.T.U. convention was largely taken up with matters of organization, but in 1875 the national body passed a resolution that the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic should be submitted to all adult citizens, regardless of race, color, or sex. The American Woman's Suffrage Association sent a telegram of greeting expressing the hope that women, armed with the ballot, would soon help to make the laws which concerned human welfare. A non-committal reply was returned.

---

8 New York Tribune, Feb. 21, 1874
9 Cincinnati Enquirer, Feb. 26, 1874
10 History of Woman Suffrage, III 500, 501
11 Highland News (Hillsboro, O.) April 30, 1874
12 Report 1875, 61
13 Ibid., 65
The bitter struggle over suffrage that took place within the W.C.T.U. has already been described. Mrs. Wittenmyer and her group argued that if suffrage work were taken up it would close two-thirds of the churches in the country to the W.C.T.U., besides being a great handicap to the extension of the Society in the South. These were weighty arguments, and caused the convention to reject temporarily suffrage activity. The following year, however, Miss Willard defeated Mrs. Wittenmyer for the Presidency, and at once set to work to put her suffrage ideas into execution. A committee on Franchise was appointed in 1881 to assist states that desired to inaugurate measures for securing the suffrage in the interest of temperance. Miss Willard was made head of the committee. A few of the more conservative delegates seceded rather than approve what was being done, and formed a "National Woman's Evangelical Temperance Union", which soon went out of existence. The following year the Franchise Department was formally adopted by the convention. In 1883 a resolution was passed, favoring equal suffrage for men and women. This was an advance on the previous position, which had merely asked that women vote on temperance questions.

The liquor interests viewed the agitation for woman suffrage with growing alarm. They were familiar with the incautious utterances which some of the suffrage leaders had made, and they became convinced that if women were given the ballot it would mean the death knell of their business. The suffrage activities of the W.C.T.U. only served to confirm these fears. It was alleged that press reports of the brewers' convention of 1881 included the adoption of a resolution that prohibition was far less dangerous

14 See above, page 31
15 Report 1878, 31
16 Report 1881, 51; Willard, Glimpses, 380
than woman's suffrage. Prohibition could be repealed, but woman's suffrage would block any hope of this. Whether such a resolution was ever passed or not, it is certain that there were no more bitter foes of woman suffrage than the liquor interests. They entered not only every prohibition campaign, but every woman suffrage fight, and practically every liquor vote was also a vote against woman suffrage. This close connection between the two questions was a heavy handicap to woman suffrage. In the opinion of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, if there had been no prohibition movement in the United States, the women would have been enfranchised two generations earlier. If prohibition had not been victorious the United States would probably not yet have accepted woman suffrage. Men hostile to prohibition but in favor of suffrage were frightened away by the continual insistence of the liquor men that woman suffrage meant the speedier coming of prohibition. Men hostile to prohibition and indifferent to suffrage would not listen to suffrage arguments that would otherwise have convinced them.

The Nebraska suffrage campaign in the early eighties demonstrated the deadly effect of the liquor opposition. The brewers lined up all the saloons against the Amendment. Many prominent men had promised their help, but as election day approached most of them developed a sudden aloofness. Nebraska allowed aliens who had taken out their first papers to vote, and the saloons did very effective work in organizing these foreign voters against woman suffrage. The Amendment was defeated by a 2 to 1 vote.

17 Catt & Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 134. A search of the Proceedings of the U.S. Brewers Association, for 1881 failed to reveal this resolution.
18 Ibid., 279
19 Ibid., 111
Frances Willard was constantly attempting to push the W.C.T.U. into active suffrage work, but the great majority of the White-Ribboners were still opposed to such a course. During the 1883 convention the resolutions committee recommended a petition to Congress for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. The convention refused to accept this, preferring to leave the state unions free to make their own suffrage policy. It was not till four years later that a resolution was passed advocating an Amendment to the National Constitution as the final goal of all the efforts for the enfranchisement of women. In her report the superintendent of the Franchise department confessed that up to 1887 the W.C.T.U. had done very little work for woman suffrage.

A more active policy was now begun. The Kansas W.C.T.U. zealously cooperated with the Equal Suffrage Association to persuade the Kansas legislature to grant municipal suffrage for women. The bill was passed in 1887, and proved to be a success. Efforts were then made to extend municipal suffrage to other states. Michigan granted municipal suffrage in 1893, but the state courts held that the legislature had no authority to create a new class of voters: This decision was universally accepted, and no more states granted municipal suffrage. A petition signed by two-hundred thousand members of the W.C.T.U., calling for a suffrage amendment was presented to the United States Senate early in 1887. Soon after, the Senate voted 34 to 16 against the Amendment. It was not until 1914 that the Senate voted on suffrage again.

20 Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883
21 Report 1887, 44: xvi
22 Report 1889, colxviii
23 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 190
The activity of the Franchise department was increased when Anna Howard Shaw became superintendent in 1888. Her connection with the W.C.T.U. extended back to the days of the Crusade, when she earned part of her expenses at Albion College by lecturing for the temperance women. 25 Frances Willard was greatly impressed by her ability and at the first opportunity put her in charge of the suffrage work of the W.C.T.U. Susan B. Anthony also recognized her ability, and was finally able to persuade her to give up her connection with the temperance organization, and devote herself exclusively to suffrage work. 26 The W.C.T.U. thus lost one of its most gifted leaders.

There were some encouraging suffrage victories during the nineties, which caused some to feel that the final victory was not far away. The Territory of Wyoming had granted the vote to women in 1869, and when the state constitution was drawn up this policy was continued. When the constitution was debated in Congress some Southern Democrats demanded that woman suffrage be removed, but many regarded this as merely an excuse for opposition. The Democrats would have excluded Wyoming from statehood if they had had the power, in order to prevent the addition of two more Republicans to the Senate. All their efforts proved unavailing, and Wyoming became a state with women's suffrage in 1890. 27 During this year another step forward was taken when the schism in the suffrage ranks was healed. Since 1869 there had been two rival organizations. The National Woman

25 Shaw, Story of A Pioneer, 72
26 Ibid., 182. Miss Shaw says this took place in 1888, but in the W.C.T.U. Reports she is listed as superintendent of the Franchise department from 1888 to 1892.
27 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 83
Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, emphasized the federal suffrage method by holding its annual Conventions in Washington, and pushing the federal suffrage amendment. The American Woman Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone, concentrated on state campaigns until such time as enough states were won to ensure the passage of a federal amendment. There were also personal differences between the leaders, but all these quarrels were finally composed, and the two organizations were combined into the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as President.28

A bill was introduced in Congress in 1869 to enfranchise the women of Utah, with the expectation that they would use their votes to end the practice of polygamy. This threat, together with the example of Wyoming, led the Utah territorial legislature to pass a woman suffrage law in 1870. Polygamy did not cease, and Congress manifested its displeasure by disfranchising the women in 1887. In Utah this was denounced as unjust, and when the state constitution was later drawn up women were given the right to vote.29 Congress made no objection and Utah entered the Union in 1896 as a woman suffrage state.

Unusual political conditions in the West, with the rise of Populism, resulted in the adoption of woman suffrage in Idaho and Colorado. In the latter state the Governor and Senate were Populist in 1893, and a suffrage bill was passed and submitted to the voters for a referendum. No organized opposition appeared until the day before election, when the Denver Brewers' Association hurriedly began to distribute Anti-Suffrage dodgers. Due to

28 Ibid., 267
29 Ibid., 128
an oversight the first ones issued bore the imprint of the brewers' association. The liquor interests always tried to keep their activities against woman suffrage sub-rosa, but this time the newspapers were able to expose their methods. Although the vote was close, woman suffrage won because of favorable majorities in the Populist Counties.

In the Idaho election of 1896 all parties endorsed woman suffrage, and no organized opposition appeared. The amendment was easily carried.

As an organization the W.C.T.U. seems to have played an inconspicuous part in these early campaigns. The Kansas struggle of 1893 was an exception. Here the Equal Suffrage Association, and the other suffrage organizations received valuable aid from the W.C.T.U., and Frances Willard and Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge toured the state, making suffrage speeches. In spite of the great efforts made, the amendment was defeated because neither the Republicans nor the Populists supported it whole-heartedly. To increase the effectiveness of the suffrage work, the W.C.T.U. national convention recommended to the state executive committees that when a woman suffrage campaign was in progress, the State President and the National Superintendent of Franchise should constitute a committee to confer with the Woman's Suffrage organizations, and arrange a common plan of action.

Susan B. Anthony did not favor working with the W.C.T.U. because the latter's connection with temperance and other reforms was likely to prove a handicap. This is well illustrated by the California campaign of 1896.

The dominant Republican party had included a suffrage plank in its platform,

30 Ibid., 118
31 Ibid., 119
32 History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 641
33 Report 1894, 59
and the legislature had carried out the pledge by submitting an amend-
ment to the voters. Many newspapers and prominent men gave their sup-
port, and the outlook seemed favorable. Miss Anthony appreciated the
danger of injecting the temperance issue, and after almost quarreling
with Frances Willard, she forced her to promise that the W.C.T.U. would
keep out of the fight. This promise was broken in spirit when the white-
ribboners widely advertised that as soon as the women could vote they
would appeal to them to establish Prohibition. The grape growers and
wine makers became alarmed, and organized an opposition, the newspapers
withdrew their support, and the suffrage amendment was lost.34

Miss Anthony was convinced that the W.C.T.U. was following the
wrong policy in advocating so many reforms. On one occasion Frances Wil-
lard asked her to join in protesting against a prize fight. She refused
to have anything to do with it. "Don't you see," she demanded, "if women
ever get the right to vote it must be through the consent of not only the
moral and decent men of the nation, but also through that of the other
kind? Is it not perfectly idiotic of us to be telling the latter class
that the first thing we shall do with our ballots will be to knock them
out of their pet pleasures and vices?"35

Both the suffrage and temperance forces agreed that the foreign voter
constituted a great obstacle to their success. When Susan B. Anthony ad-
dressed the South Dakota Democratic convention in 1890, a delegation of
Russians attended, wearing large badges reading - "Against Woman Suffrage
and Susan B. Anthony." There were thirty thousand Russians, Germans, and

34 Dorr, Susan B. Anthony, 316-318
35 Ibid.
Scandinavians in the State, and all those with first papers were allowed to vote. It is alleged that on election day these men were led to the polls by saloon politicians, and after being voted they were marched away, and, within sight of the poll workers, were paid for their votes. South Dakota had no law against vote-buying. The foreign vote was an important factor in many other defeats which the Suffragists suffered.

In 1896 there were four suffrage states-Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah. In the next fifteen years not a single addition was made to this list. Many explanations have been advanced for this long period of failure. The Populists had been generally favorable to woman suffrage, but they rapidly lost influence after 1896. Some thought that the active hostility of the small number of women in the anti-suffrage organizations, and the passive indifference of the great majority of both men and women was the true explanation. This does not take into account the fact that all great reforms have been effected by determined minority groups, who have imposed their views on the indifferent majority. If the National American Woman Suffrage Association had had no other opposition than the few Anti-Suffrage women, its success would have been much more rapid. We must look for a more powerful opposing force. According to the suffrage leaders themselves this could be none other than the liquor interests, with their tremendous political power. As proof of this assertion they could point to the secret circular issued by the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon in 1906. This came into the possession of the press and was reproduced in several newspapers. It stated that it

36 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 116
37 E.N. Faulkner, Quest for Social Justice, 173
would take fifty thousand votes to defeat woman suffrage, and there were
two thousand saloons in Oregon. This meant that each saloon-keeper must
make himself responsible for twenty-five votes on election day. He must
personally conduct twenty-five voters to the polls, and give each one a
ticket showing how to vote. In spite of the publicity given to these in-
structions they were carried out, and woman suffrage was defeated.38

The territorial legislature of Washington had granted women the vote
in 1883, but four years later the courts declared this act invalid. This
decision held that a territorial legislature had no authority to enfran-
chise women, in spite of the fact that the women of Wyoming had voted under
a territorial law since 1869.39 When the state constitution was drawn up,
a separate suffrage amendment was submitted, and was defeated by the com-
bined opposition of both parties. Another amendment was submitted in 1898,
but was again rejected. After an interval of twelve years woman suffrage
was again submitted. A disagreement split the suffrage forces of the state
into two camps, and only a quiet campaign was made. The liquor men had
been active in the previous suffrage campaigns, but this time they thought
there was no danger, and they did very little. The result was astonishing.
The amendment was carried by a majority of twenty-four thousand.40 The
spell had been broken, and the suffrage leaders prepared for a new offen-
sive. The revolt against the old Guard Republicans, and the rise of pro-
gressivism confirmed them in their belief that the time was ripe for a for-
ward movement.

As late as 1909 the superintendent of the Franchise department com-

38 Catt & Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 124
39 Ibid., 113
40 Ibid., 174
plained that prejudiced members were handicapping her suffrage activities.\textsuperscript{41}

This shows that be no means all of the white-ribboners were convinced of
the desirability of woman suffrage. The W.C.T.U. had pursued a steady
educational campaign, however, and had succeeded in converting large
numbers of conservative church women. This probably constituted its
greatest contribution to the suffrage cause.\textsuperscript{42} When the new suffrage
movement began the W.C.T.U. prepared to take a more active part.

After the victory in Washington, California was selected as the next
point of attack. All the party platforms had woman suffrage planks, and
the legislature submitted an amendment in 1911. Ten thousand women carried
on an intensive six-month campaign, in which no method of arousing pub-
lic sentiment was neglected. The California W.C.T.U. worked day and
night, and filled hundreds of scrap books with short suffrage items,
to be distributed to libraries and waiting rooms.\textsuperscript{43} Millions of pages
of literature were broadcast, and free plate matter provided for the
press. The liquor men were not caught napping, as they had been in
Washington. In spite of the magnificent suffrage campaign, the amend-
ment only carried by a 3500 majority.\textsuperscript{44}

This victory led to the submission of suffrage amendments in six
states in 1912. The women in Arizona and Oregon used the initiative
and referendum laws to secure submission, rather than appeal to a hos-
tile legislature. In both these states the Amendment was victorious.

In Kansas the women had been voting in municipal elections since 1887.

\textsuperscript{41} Report 1909, 364
\textsuperscript{42} Brief History of the W.C.T.U., 38
\textsuperscript{43} Report 1911, 388
\textsuperscript{44} Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 176
A full suffrage amendment had been defeated in 1894, but the legislature was now prevailed on to submit another amendment. The W.C.T.U. was largely responsible for this, circulating many petitions, and conducting an effective lobby. The campaign was a quiet one with the Equal Suffrage Association, and the W.C.T.U. cooperating. The Amendment was carried by a safe majority. 45

During this year the liquor interests came out into the open, and fought suffrage in every state in which it was an issue. Largely due to their efforts, amendments were defeated in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ohio. In Michigan there was much evidence of fraud in the election. The old device was resorted to of delaying returns from certain precincts until returns from the rest of the state indicated how large an adverse vote was necessary to wipe out the favorable majority. Popular indignation forced another election in 1913, in which the German-American Alliance, a liquor financed organization, played a prominent part. Every member was circularized to vote and work against woman suffrage. The Amendment was snowed under by nearly one hundred thousand majority. 46 In Wisconsin and Ohio the same story was repeated. The liquor men fought the woman suffrage tooth and nail, and one of their most effective instruments was the German-American Alliance. At a meeting held in Youngstown, Ohio, the President of the Alliance openly claimed the credit for defeating the suffrage Amendment in Ohio. 47

The Progressive Party scored many local victories in the election of 1912, and, as the party was pledged to woman suffrage, this created a

45 Union Signal, Nov. 28, 1912
46 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 184
47 Ibid., 201
favorable situation. Seven states submitted suffrage amendments to be voted on in 1914. In Illinois where the Progressives held the balance of power in the legislature, a bill was introduced to give women the right to vote for presidential electors, municipal officers, and for those state officers not named in the state constitution as eligible by the votes of male electors. The wets resorted to every conceivable device to block the bill, but they were foiled by the well-organized suffragists and the bill passed. At the first election in which women participated more than a thousand saloons were closed by local option, chiefly in the small towns. The liquor trade papers cried "We told you so", and Neil Bonner, president of the National Retail Dealers' Association said:

"We need not fear the churches, the men are voting the old tickets; we need not fear the ministers, for the most part they follow the men of the churches; we need not fear the YMCA for it does not do aggressive work, but gentlemen, we need to fear the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the ballot in the hands of women; therefore, gentlemen, fight woman suffrage."48

This advice was followed and great sums of money were spent in the suffrage campaign states. The foreign vote was mobilized by the German-American Alliance and other organizations, and, wherever there were Negroes, they too were organized. Percy Andeae's instrument, The National Association of Commerce and Labor, appeared in 1913, and was lavishly financed by the brewers to defend them against prohibition and

48 Ibid., 154 The actual influence of the enfranchisement of women on the advance of Prohibition is difficult to determine. For a discussion of this question see Odegard, Pressure Politics, 86; note; L. Ames Brown, "Suffrage and Prohibition", N. Am. Review, 203:93 (Jan. 1916)
woman suffrage. The result of all this activity was that suffrage amendments failed in five states. Only in Montana and Nevada did the amendments carry. These sparsely populated states did not furnish much consolation for losing North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, and Ohio.

The center of interest now shifted from the states to the Federal Government. The Amendment which later became known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment was introduced in the Senate in 1878, and had been continuously pending since then, being introduced in every succeeding Congress. The only vote taken on the measure occurred in 1887, when the Senate defeated it by a vote of 34 to 16. The Southern Democrats were unalterably opposed, and they were sufficiently numerous to block a two-thirds majority. Even if the Amendment had passed Congress, ratification by several Southern States was necessary in order to attain the necessary three-fourths majority. The bitterness of Reconstruction still lingered, and the 14th and 15th Amendments had aroused the South to resist to the utmost any attempt to restrict state control of the franchise. If a woman suffrage amendment passed, it would mean that Negro women as well as white women could vote, and the South would not tolerate this. Finally, the South was one of the most conservative sections of the country, and believed that the place of woman was in the home. The case was, therefore, hopeless, and the suffrage leaders turned their main attention to state campaigns, until such time as the increase in the number of states would make a three-fourths majority possible without the South, and public sentiment would force Congress to pass a suffrage Amendment. When President Roosevelt was asked in 1908 to recommend woman suffrage in his annual

49 Ibid., 230
message he refused, and his advice was "Go get another state." By 1913 the suffragists had gotten six more states, and the time was ripe for another assault on Congress.

The militant suffrage campaign which began in England in 1906 was destined to have much influence in the United States. Miss Alice Paul, a New Jersey Quaker woman was in England doing social work at the time. She joined Mrs. Pankhurst's forces, and was arrested on one occasion. After she returned to the United States she prepared to infuse militant methods into the American suffrage movement.

The W.C.T.U. did not approve of what was happening in England. The superintendent of the Franchise department explicitly declared that British methods could not be adopted in this country because conditions were different. President Stevens said - "I will not venture to say that the women of Great Britain are injuring their cause by their militant proceedings... but I sincerely trust that the suffrage workers in America may never feel the necessity of employing similar warlike methods". The W.C.T.U. was soon forced to look on while just such methods were used.

In November, 1912, Alice Paul approached the National American Suffrage Association with a plan to organize a great suffrage parade the day before President Wilson's inauguration, and offered to raise the necessary funds. This plan was adopted, and Miss Paul was made Chairman of the Congressional Committee. The parade was well organized, and about eight-thousand women took part, but the police refused to protect them, and the

---

50 Report 1909, 364
51 Report 1912, 108
crowd treated them very abusively. The Senate investigated the incident, and the resultant publicity was of great value to the suffrage cause.52

Early in 1913 Alice Paul organized the Congressional Union. She felt the need of a national organization to support her in the work of securing a Federal Amendment. The National American Woman Suffrage Association was engrossed in state campaigns, and Miss Paul was of the opinion that she had not been given adequate financial aid and workers.53 She still retained her chairmanship of the Congressional Committee, and carried on the activities of the two organization as one. Many members of the older body began to feel that Miss Paul was trying to capture it for her militant policies. They refused to reappoint her chairman of the Congressional Committee unless she resigned as chairman of the Congressional Union. She refused to do this, and thereafter the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the Congressional Union would have nothing to do with each other.54

Congress was convened in special session on April 7, 1913, and on that day a great suffrage demonstration was held in Washington. Petitions which White-ribboners had helped to gather were presented to Congress, asking for a suffrage Amendment. Two months later, the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage favorably reported the Amendment.55 This was the first favorable report in twenty-one years. A vote was taken in March, 1914, and the result was, yea53, nay54, eleven votes short of a two-thirds majority.

52 Catt & Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 243
53 Inez H. Irwin, Story of The Woman's Party, 36
54 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 244
55 Report 1913, 373
Two weeks previous to this vote the National American Woman Suffrage Association made a move which it was later to regret. At its request Senator Shafroth of Colorado introduced another suffrage amendment. This provided that when a state initiative petition, signed by eight per cent of the electors voting at the preceding general election, should request the submission of the question of woman suffrage, such question should be submitted, and a majority of those voting on the measure should be sufficient for adoption. The suffrage leaders took this course in deference to the general belief that suffrage was a matter for the states to settle, but at the same time they wanted to make it easier to adopt state suffrage. The Shafroth Amendment caused much dissension within the suffrage ranks. The Congressional Union refused to have anything to do with it. The National American Woman Suffrage Association officially supported it, but so many members were dissatisfied that it was withdrawn at the end of two years, just in time to avoid a split in the organization.  

One of the leading ideas Alice Paul brought from England was that of holding the party in power responsible. In 1913 the Democratic Party controlled both the executive and legislative branches of the government, so this idea could be applied. When Wilson became President he astonished a delegation of women by telling them that woman suffrage was an entirely new matter to him, and he had never devoted any thought to it. Alice Paul saw to it that he thought long and hard on this subject in the next few years. In February, 1914, the Democratic caucus passed a resolution that woman suffrage was a state and not a Federal matter, and Wilson con-

56 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 247
57 Irwin, Woman's Party, 33
occurred in this decision. The party was now on record, and Alice Paul could state that the Democrats were blocking the passage of the suffrage Amendment. She proposed to appeal to the nearly four million women voters in the nine equal suffrage states to vote against the Democratic Party nationally until it ceased to block national suffrage. It was her belief that if the result in a national election could be affected, no party would dare to trifle with suffrage any longer. The success of this first campaign is open to question. Miss Paul stated that the Congressional Union had campaigned against all the forty-three Democrats running for Congress in the nine suffrage states, and only nineteen had been elected. However, there had been only eighteen Democrats from these states in the previous Congress. As another proof of its success the Congressional Union pointed to the fact that after the elections the House Rules Committee agreed to an early vote on the Suffrage Amendment, whereas before it had refused to do so. The vote was taken on January 12, 1915, and the result was 124 votes for the Amendment and 204 against. This was seventy-eight votes short of a two-thirds majority. Much hard work remained to be done before Congress yielded.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association conducted four state campaigns in 1915. The decision was made to attack some of the great Eastern States, and New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts were selected. The undertaking proved to be too ambitious. The suffragists organized tremendous campaigns, but the liquor interests were strongly

58 Ibid., 75
59 Ibid., 119; Catt & Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 248.
60 Irwin, op. cit., 95
entrenched, and, as usual were the most active opposing force. The Amendments were defeated in all four states by large majorities. President Wilson came home to New Jersey to vote for woman suffrage, and this marked another stage in his suffrage education.

The W.C.T.U. had never taken charge of a suffrage campaign, and the repeated suffrage defeats had made it doubtful whether the best methods were being used. It believed that the church vote could be persuaded to support woman suffrage just as it supported prohibition. One of the points in the Prohibition plans for these years, was that in all suffrage campaigns the relation of woman's ballot to the destruction of the liquor traffic was to be emphasized. In 1918, the W.C.T.U. was given its chance to conduct a suffrage campaign in West Virginia. Mrs. Lenna Lowe Yost was President of both the state W.C.T.U. and the State Suffrage Association, and she was placed in charge of the suffrage campaign. She had conducted the state prohibition campaign in 1912, and had scored a resounding victory, which she was confident she could repeat. A flying squadron of prominent men and women speakers was sent to every part of the state. Twenty organizers were sent out, and two-hundred thousand congressional speeches on suffrage were mailed. The liquor interests had been prevented from exerting their full strength in the prohibition campaign, and they were still smarting under the smashing defeat they had suffered. They sought revenge in the suffrage campaign and they lined up every voter that could possibly be controlled. The Amendment was defeated.

61 Report 1915, 56
62 See above, page 81
at the polls by a majority of more than 98,000.\textsuperscript{63} It seems that the W.C.T.U. was wrong in believing that conservative church men who voted for prohibition would also vote for woman suffrage. During this year two other unsuccessful suffrage campaigns were waged in Iowa and South Dakota. The W.C.T.U. took an active part, and endeavored to console itself by pointing to the enormous educational value of these campaigns.\textsuperscript{64}

The white-ribboners were given another chance to manage a suffrage campaign in 1917. The suffrage organization in Maine was rather weak, while the State W.C.T.U. was a very influential body. The suffrage leaders decided to invite Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, the National Superintendent of the Franchise department, to manage the Maine campaign. This was accepted with alacrity, for the W.C.T.U. was anxious to redeem itself. The campaign was short, but very thorough. A million and a half leaflets were distributed, and every voter was mailed a petition with the signatures of the women of the county in which he resided. The clergy were circularized three times, the State Grange and members of the legislature, twice. Almost five hundred meetings were held. President Wilson wrote a letter appealing to the Maine Democrats to vote for woman suffrage. The Republican Governor also spoke for the measure. Yet all these tremendous efforts ended in failure. The Amendment was rejected by almost a two to one majority. In spite of the fact that Maine had been under Prohibition for a long time, there was a pronounced liquor opposition, and this was an important factor in the campaign.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63} Catt & Shuler, \textit{op. cit.}, 301
\textsuperscript{64} Report 1916, 100
\textsuperscript{65} Catt & Shuler, \textit{Woman Suffrage}, 302-303.
In the meantime, the Congressional Union had been active in Washington. In July, 1916, it launched the Woman's Party, with but one plank in its platform, the enfranchisement of women through a Federal Amendment. At the national convention the Progressive Party endorsed National Suffrage, but the Democratic and Republican planks were unsatisfactory. Later, however, Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican nominee for President, sent a telegram to Senator Sutherland of Utah declaring himself in favor of a Federal Amendment. The Woman's Party thereupon decided to oppose the Democrats in the woman suffrage states. Wilson carried all but one of these states, and it was commonly believed that the woman vote in California had saved the day for him, but the Woman's Party claimed that the protest vote it had organized had accomplished its purpose. Vance McCormick, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is alleged to have said that the Democrats would have to pass the suffrage amendment before 1918 if they wanted to control the next Congress.

Alice Paul decided on a new line of action and in January, 1917, began picketing the White House. This continued for more than a year and a half. The disorders which occurred, caused an immense amount of publicity, and this brought the suffrage issue before the country as nothing else could. It was one of the most important factors in the final suffrage victory. For six months the government wisely refrained from disturbing the pickets, but the banners became provocative, and a determined effort at suppression began. Wholesale arrests were made, but as fast as pickets were removed to the police station others took their place. The

---

66 Irwin, Woman's Party, 157
67 Ibid., 180
Suffragists demanded that they be treated as political prisoners, but this was refused, and they were given very harsh treatment in an effort to break their spirit. The women went on hunger-strikes in protest, and forcible feeding was resorted to. Alice Paul was one of the hunger-strikers, and she was confined for a time in the psychopathic ward of the prison hospital in an attempt, it was charged, to drive her insane. The heroic fortitude of the suffragists created much sympathy for them and their cause, and the policy of forcible suppression was a complete failure.68

The Suffragists won their most important state victory in November, 1917, when New York adopted a suffrage amendment. Although the suffrage campaign was a spectacular affair, it is doubtful if the victory could have been gained without the benevolent neutrality of Tammany Hall, which experienced a change of heart.69 The Legislatures of North Dakota, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Michigan followed the example of Illinois and granted Presidential Suffrage to women. The number of presidential electors for whom women could vote was increased to 232 and no party could any longer afford to ignore the suffrage demands. Arkansas gave its women the right to vote in the primaries, which, in this one-party state had all the force of voting in the elections.

Reluctantly, Congress was forced to move. After overcoming many difficulties a vote was secured in the House on January 10, 1918, and the result was 274 to 136. This was a two-thirds majority, but there was not

68 The best account is in Irwin, Story of The Woman's Party, pp. 193-298. See also Doris Stevens, Jailed for Freedom.
69 Catt & Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 297-298
a vote to spare. In spite of appeals by President Wilson and the chairman of the Republican National Committee, the Senate rejected the Amendment on October 1, by a vote of 62 to 34, two short of a two-thirds majority. This led the National American Woman Suffrage Association to conduct campaigns against four Anti-Suffrage Senators in the Congressional elections of 1918. The Woman's Party again campaigned against the Democrats, following its policy of holding the party in power responsible. There were two exceptions, in New Jersey and New Hampshire the Republican Senatorial candidates were anti-suffrage while the Democratic candidates were favorable. The Woman's Party, therefore, supported the Democratic candidates in these states. Both of these men were defeated, but the results of the election indicated that in the next Congress a two-thirds majority could be mustered in the Senate.

The suffragists were not content to wait that long, and set to work to force another vote in the existing Congress. Three more states, Michigan, South Dakota, and Oklahoma had granted full suffrage to women, and public sentiment was growing more favorable every day. The Democrats realized that the next Congress, which would be controlled by the Republicans, was sure to submit the amendment anyway, and they were anxious to receive the credit for themselves. Great pressure was put on the recalcitrant Senators, but when the vote was taken in February, 1919, it was one short of a two-thirds majority. This was the last victory of the anti-suffragists. President Wilson called a special session of the new Congress to meet May 19, 1919, and, within two days the House passed the Suffrage Amendment with many votes to spare. On June 4, the Senate capitulated by a vote of 66 to 30.

70 Irwin, Woman's Party, 380
71 Catt & Shuler, op. cit., 540-541
The struggle for ratification was in many respects the hardest that the Suffragists ever went through. The element of time was important, for the suffrage leaders were determined that the women should vote in the election of 1920. They appealed to the Governors to call special sessions of their Legislatures, but many of them refused, and great pressure had to be exerted on them before they would act. Many dramatic events took place in the state contests. The suffragists found that they needed one vote in the West Virginia Senate. They appealed to Senator Bloch, who was in California, and he made a head-long dash across the continent, arriving in time to cast his ballot for ratification. Tennessee was the thirty-sixth state to ratify, but only after an epic battle in which both sides used every weapon at their command. On August 26, 1920, the Secretary of State proclaimed the nineteenth amendment. 72

The W.C.T.U. took an active part in the ratification campaign. The prohibition amendment had already been ratified, and the White-ribboners could turn their undivided attention to woman suffrage. President Gordon declared that the ballot in the hands of women would greatly aid in the enforcement of Prohibition. In preparation for their coming emancipation the local unions should study the duties and privileges of citizenship. 73

After the final victory the Suffrage Department was discontinued, and the Christian Citizenship Department took over the duty of educating the women voters to support Prohibition. Special attention was paid to immigrant women, and citizenship classes were organized for them.

72 Ibid., 455
73 Report 1919, 74
CHAPTER V

"Scientific" Temperance Instruction

The beginnings of the movement for scientific temperance instruction go back to 1889 when Miss Julia Colman, a writer of temperance stories for children, made an address to a teacher's institute in Fulton County, New York, in which she urged the great need of including temperance instruction in the teaching of physiology. In 1873, the National Temperance Society passed a resolution calling for a textbook in physiology that would show the origin and nature of alcohol, and its effects on the human system, and urging the introduction of such a text into public and private schools.

When the National W.C.T.U. was organized in 1874 the third item in its program of work was "teaching children in Sabbath schools and public schools the ethics, chemistry, physiology, and hygiene of total abstinence." Miss Colman was made superintendent of the department for the distribution of temperance literature. She sent her Temperance Catechism to the editor of the Indiana School Journal the next year, asking his cooperation in getting the subject before the Indiana State Teacher's Association. He complied with this request and succeeded in getting the association to pass a resolution asking that temperance instruction be included in the school curriculum.

By Frances E. Willard's special invitation Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, who was to become the great leader of the movement, attended the W.C.T.U. Convention of 1879. During the previous year she had persuaded the

1 Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association, 1886, p. 81
2 Ibid., 82
3 Union Signal, June 21, 1930; p. 5
4 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1886, p. 83
school authorities of Hyde Park, Massachusetts, to include the physiological effects of alcohol in the course of study. This was the first town in the United States to adopt this policy. Mrs. Hunt introduced the following resolution, which was adopted,

"That this convention considers the introduction of scientific temperance textbooks into the regular course of study in our public schools as a most hopeful line of work. We, therefore, urge the various states here represented to take immediate action to secure this important study taught in the schools of their several localities."

Mrs. Hunt was appointed chairman of a standing committee to carry this resolution into effect. The next year a "Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges" was created with Mrs. Hunt as Superintendent.

The first year was spent in organization work and in the creation of public interest by lectures. During this period Mrs. Hunt made 182 public addresses in ten states before school boards, colleges, normal schools, and teachers conventions. Some local school boards were induced to include temperance instruction in the course of study, but this instruction was very sketchy, the teachers claiming that the regular work in the branches required by law took up all the time, so that they had to neglect the temperance lessons. This confirmed Mrs. Hunt's opinion that temperance instruction had to be made mandatory or it would never be systematically pursued. She also came to the conclusion that the pupil had to know something of physiology and hygiene before the temperance instruction could be of value, therefore, the two ought to be

6 Report 1880, 104
7 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1886, p. 94.
Having determined to transfer her activities to the state legislatures, Mrs. Hunt worked out a plan of campaign in which the first step was to create sentiment among the people. Before the meetings for the nomination of legislators, agitation was to be carried on through the pulpit, platform, press, and prayer meeting for the choice of temperance men. After the election and before the legislature met an appeal was to be made to the people to instruct their representatives to vote for the temperance instruction law. Every legislator was to feel this pressure before he left his constituents.

Vermont was selected for the first attempt to carry out this plan. Mrs. Perkins, the State President of the W.C.T.U., arranged meetings for Mrs. Hunt, and large audiences listened while she set forth the reasons why temperance should be taught to children. Petitions asking for the law were circulated among the voters. Mrs. Hunt and Mrs. Perkins went to the State House daily to watch the progress of the bill. The result was that the measure passed by a good majority and was signed by the governor in November, 1882. The law did not prove satisfactory, there being as yet no clear idea of what its provisions should be. It specified only that physiology and hygiene, giving special prominence to the effects of alcoholic drinks should be among the subjects required in the public schools. It was soon realized that a few lessons to a few pupils could be interpreted as compliance with the law. In the next measure prepared, which was passed by the Michigan legislature in March, 1883, care was taken to provide

---

9 Mary H. Hunt, An Epoch of the 19th Century, 8
10 Union Signal, June 21, 1930. p.5
11 Hunt, op. cit., 67
that the new branch be taught to all pupils in all schools. 12

Mrs. Hunt had felt from the first that New York and Pennsylvania, with their large population, were the strategic points to be attacked. If they could be carried, the smaller states would fall into line with less labor. 13 The New York campaign, which lasted six months, was very elaborate. Over twenty-five thousand petitions were circulated to be signed by both voters and women. A personal letter with a copy of the petition was sent to each member of the Legislature and they were also deluged with letters from their constituents. Meetings and lectures were organized all over the state. The legislature finally passed the bill in 1884, by an overwhelming vote. The result was as Mrs. Hunt had hoped. Within a year, Rhode Island, Alabama, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Nevada, Maine, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts had followed New York's example. 14

An important factor in this success was the good showing which the Prohibition Party had made in the election of 1884, increasing their vote fifteen-fold over 1880. This worried the politicians, and they felt they had to make some concession. Provision for educating the children was the line of least resistance, and coincided with the politicians' idea that temperance was a matter for women and children. The liquor men did not have the intelligence to foresee the trouble in store for them when these children grew up, and did not fight these laws as hard as they did those which affected them directly and immediately. 15

12 Ibid.,
13 Ibid., 9
14 Ibid.,
15 Colvin, Prohibition In The U.S., 178-179
Pennsylvania presented a rather difficult problem due to its large foreign population and the more drastic law which was desired. It provided that instruction on the effects of alcohol should be included in each division of the subject of physiology and that it be studied as a regular branch. It was also the first law in which there was a definite penalty for non-enforcement.  

The local school boards were to forfeit their share of the state funds if they failed to comply with the law.

An intense opposition sprang up, and Mrs. Hunt and her assistants were forced to put forth their greatest efforts to counteract it. More than one hundred thousand names were gathered for petitions for the law, among them being one hundred saloonkeepers of Germantown. The following lively description of a scene in the legislature gives a good idea of the tactics that finally brought success.

"Almost before the Amen to the opening prayer had been uttered, a dozen members were on their feet offering the petitions sent in from their various districts in behalf of the bill for scientific temperance instruction. The dozen swelled to scores, and the scores multiplied all in a moment until so many boy messengers were flying down the aisles with the papers, and so many arms were waving in the air that from every seat there seemed suddenly to have sprung a great fluttering white blossom of petition. The clamor of voices grew more confusing, the feet of the messengers flew faster, and the bursts of laughter grew louder, until the chairman, despairing of all attempts to call on the members in order, took them up section by section. Even then it took long enough to read them, to suggest what a work the women had done who had secured the thousands of signatures. Among these women is one who has never let one morning of this session pass without a petition from some quarter for the passage of this bill. And they do not stop with petitions but they bombarded the hearts and heads of their representatives with letters; letters admonitory and beseeching, letters solemn and warning, letters proper and patronizing, letters of all sorts, shapes, sizes, and degrees of eloquence, but all pregnant with one mighty purpose, the ultimate passage of the bill".  

16 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1886; 89  
17 Ibid., 97  
18 Hunt, op. cit., 12
The measure was passed in March, 1885, the Senate voting for it unanimously and the House by a vote of 131 to 39.\textsuperscript{19} It must not be thought that the temperance people were successful in every state they invaded. During this period vigorous efforts were made to get a law through in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, and Louisiana, but here they were temporarily defeated.\textsuperscript{20}

Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, an ardent temperance leader, had introduced a scientific temperance instruction bill in the 48th Congress, but with no results. In the Fall of 1885 he urged Mrs. Hunt to come to Washington to direct a new campaign, and although she was very busy in the state legislatures she dropped everything and went to Washington.\textsuperscript{21} Her first step was to have the local W.C.T.U.'s in all the states circulate petitions which were then sent to Congress. The bill was drafted with great care and study to strengthen it at points where the state laws had proved weak. As finally passed it provided,

"That the nature of alcoholic drinks and narcotics, and special instruction as to their effects upon the human system, in connection with the several divisions of the subject of physiology and hygiene shall be included in the branches of study . . . and shall be studied and taught as thoroughly and in the same manner as other like required branches are in said schools, by the use of textbooks in the hands of pupils where other branches are thus studied in said schools, and by all pupils in all said schools throughout the Territories, in the Military and Naval Academies of the United States, and in the District of Columbia, and in all the Indian and Colored Schools in the Territories of the United States."\textsuperscript{22}

Mrs. Hunt appeared before a joint meeting of the Senate and House Committees on Education and made one of her finest addresses in support

\textsuperscript{19} N.E.A. Proceedings - 1886, 89
\textsuperscript{20} Tbid., 103; Hunt, op. cit., 19
\textsuperscript{21} N.E.A. Proceedings, 1886, 100
\textsuperscript{22} U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. XXIV, 69
of the bill. On February 3, 1885, Senator Blair asked for permission to print one thousand copies of this address for the use of the Senate. A sharp debate sprang up in which the propriety of using public money to spread temperance propaganda was questioned, but permission was finally granted.

The Bill was favorably reported by the Senate Education Committee, unchanged. Mrs. Hunt was advised to get a strong constitutional lawyer in the Senate to sustain Senator Blair in defending the bill. She picked Senator Edmonds of Vermont, and went out to his state to get the people to instruct him to befriend the bill. She was successful in this and the progress of the bill was greatly helped. On March 18, the bill passed the Senate, unamended.

The House presented a much more difficult problem. The Bill had been buried for three months in a sub-committee, the chairman of which, a Democrat, was apparently determined to let it die there. Mrs. Hunt sent out appeals and Congressmen were soon flooded with letters from their constituents demanding the passage of the Bill. The chairman argued that the bill was unconstitutional, and that it would offend the German voters. His constitutional arguments were refuted and petitions were circulated to be signed only by Germans, asking for the bill. The pressure became so great that on April 20, the measure was favorably reported, unchanged.

---

23 Senate Reports - 49th Cong., 1 Sess. Vol. 1; No. 85
24 Cong. Record, 49th Cong; 1 Sess. Vol 17, Pt. 1 p. 1084
25 Cong. Record, 49th Cong; 1 Sess. Vol 17, Pt. 3 p. 2480
26 Hunt, op. cit., 15
27 Ibid.
28 Cong. Record, 49th Cong; 1 Sess. Vol 17, Pt. 4 p. 3638
The problem now was to get the bill up for a vote before the end of the session. It was so low on the calendar that the only chance was on Suspension Bill Day, May 17, when in order to pass it had to have a two-thirds vote. The Republicans, including Thomas B. Reed, and William McKinley, were solidly for the bill, and the Democrats were afraid to take the full responsibility of killing it, so they consented to have it voted on, provided there was no debate. This was accepted, and the bill passed triumphantly by a vote of 209 to 8. 29 As Governor of New York, President Cleveland had signed the scientific temperance instruction bill which had been passed in that state, so there was no difficulty about his signing the federal statute, and he did so on May 20, 1886. 30

The movement in the states continued with gathering momentum. By about 1892 all but ten states had compulsory laws. 31 Mrs. Hunt thought up a novel way of keeping the members of the W.C.T.U. in touch with her progress. She appeared at the annual conventions with a map of the United States, each state covered with a black cap. She would then remove the caps from those states that had passed temperance instruction laws, amid cheers from the delegates. 32 There were soon no more caps to remove, Georgia, the last state, having passed an act in December, 1901. 33

The rapidity with which these laws were passed was not an unmixed blessing to the temperance people, as they soon discovered. Often weak and unsatisfactory statutes had been rushed through the legislatures, and subsequently had to be amended, a much harder job than the original passage.

29 Ibid., pt. 5, 4603
30 U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. XXIV, 69
31 Report, Comm. of Ed. 1889-1890, Vol. 2, 714
32 E.P. Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 36
of the bill, the legislators being disposed to let well enough alone while
the school officials were apt to construe such changes a reflection on
their seriousness in carrying out the act. 34

The Vermont Act of 1882, as noted above, could be easily evaded. A
supplementary law was passed in 1886, which provided that instruction on
the effects of alcohol was to be given to all pupils—orally to those who
were unable to read, otherwise by the use of physiology textbooks which
had to devote at least one-fourth of their space to temperance material,
or at least twenty pages in the texts used in the highest grade. Each
teacher, before lodging the school register with the district clerk, was
to certify therein whether the instruction had been given as required by
the act, and no public money was to be paid to the school district unless
this was done. 35 The Michigan Act of 1883 was amended in 1887 to include
the same provisions as to textbook space and certification by teachers. 36

The New York law was also pronounced unsatisfactory. There were no
textbook requirements, and no penalties for non-enforcement. After a
preliminary campaign the Ainsworth bill was passed in May, 1895. It pro-
vided that three lessons a week for fourteen weeks of each school year be
devoted to physiology and hygiene with special reference to the effects
of alcohol and other narcotics. Instruction was to be oral for the first
three grades, thereafter from a text, which must devote at least one-fourth
of its space to temperance matter or at least twenty pages in the high
school texts. 37 The State Superintendent of Public Instruction opposed
the bill, and after its passage many teachers and Boards of Education ap-

34 Hunt, op. cit., 23
35 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1886, 94
37 Hunt, op. cit., 24
pealed to the Governor to veto it. He hesitated but finally signed it, whereupon the State Teacher's Association passed resolutions denouncing the law, and appointed a Committee to secure its repeal. Mrs. Hunt started a counter campaign, and when the legislature met it soon became evident that no direct repeal could be passed. A conference was arranged between the two groups and a substitute bill was drawn which contained all the principles of the Ainsworth law, merely toning them down somewhat. The physiology lessons were only required for ten weeks a year, instead of fourteen, while the temperance material in the textbooks was reduced from one-fourth of the total to one-fifth. On February 18, 1896, it was presented to the committees on education of both branches of the legislature. The statement was publicly made that the measure was agreeable to the Teacher's Association and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. They soon repented of their bargain, however, as they came to realize that they had gained nothing by the bill. Therefore, they drew up and introduced the Malby bill into the legislature. According to Mrs. Hunt it repealed the Ainsworth Act and "provided practically nothing in its place, leaving the enforcement of the little it did provide, to school trustees and teachers." Both sides put forth their utmost efforts to get their measures through. It seemed for a time that the Senate would pass the Malby Bill, but the flood of petitions and remonstrances changed its attitude, and it passed the substitute bill by a vote of 31 to 14. The assembly had previously passed it and it went to the Governor, who

38 Ibid., 26
39 New York Tribune, Feb. 19, 1896; p. 3
40 Hunt, op. cit., 27
who signed it May 26, 1896. This was a victory for Mrs. Hunt. In the face of all opposition she had succeeded in conserving the principles she considered essential in a temperance instruction law.

The next year Illinois and Missouri passed additional legislation. The latter state had passed a rather unusual law in 1885, which was not at all to the liking of the W.C.T.U. It provided that scientific temperance instruction should be given only to pupils whose parents made a written request for it. The act of 1897 provided that temperance instruction be given to all pupils.

Ohio had joined the procession in 1888, but its act merely provided that it would be considered sufficient compliance with the law, if the instruction was given orally, without the use of textbooks by the pupil.

The law was amended in 1900 as follows:

"The nature of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics, and their effect on the human system in connection with the various divisions of physiology and hygiene, shall be included in the branches to be regularly taught in the common schools of the state, and in all educational institutions supported wholly or in part by money from the State Boards of Education, and boards of such educational institutions shall make suitable provisions for this instruction in the schools and institutions under their respective jurisdictions, giving definite time and place, therefore, in the regular course of study; adopt such methods as will adapt it to the capacity of pupils in the various grades and to corresponding classes as found in ungraded schools. The same tests for promotion shall be required in this as in other branches."

It is apparent that the Ohio Act was not very stringent when compared with some of the others. It left much to the discretion of the local school officials, and did not specify the number of lessons that had to

41 Ibid., 29.
42 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1886; 38
43 Report-Comm. of Ed., 1901-1902; Vol. 327
44 Ohio School Report, 1887; 156
45 Laws of Ohio, Vol. 94; 396
be given during the school year, or even that texts had to be used.

Mrs. Hunt had been successful in every campaign which she had personally directed. Time and again she had been summoned when a bill seemed destined to certain defeat, and by her organizing ability and persuasive methods she had always succeeded in getting it through. She finally met her Waterloo, however, in Connecticut, due in part to the desertion of her followers. This state had passed an act in 1886 and another in 1893 which provided for the instruction of all pupils in all public schools in temperance matters. Texts that devoted at least one-fifth of their space to temperance instruction were to be used, and the material was not to be massed in one chapter at the end of the book. Oral instruction was to be given to pupils unable to read. No teaching certificates were to be granted unless a satisfactory examination had been passed in physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcohol and other narcotics. If a local school board did not enforce the Act it was to receive no state funds. This law was in force eight years with very unsatisfactory results. At a meeting of the Connecticut Council of Education the opposition manifested by school officials was so great that Rev. J.H. James, Secretary of the Connecticut Temperance Union, suggested that the school people and the temperance forces get together and try to work out a bill. This was done and a measure was drawn up and presented to the legislature, and promptly passed. It received the support of all the School Officials and was endorsed by President Hadley of Yale and President Raymond of Wesleyan. It was strongly opposed by Mrs. Hunt. 47

46 Report-Comm. of Ed. 1900-1901; Vol. 1, 1037
47 Ibid., 1039
The new bill provided that the effects of alcohol and other narcotics on health, and especially on character, be taught in connection with physiology and hygiene. This instruction was not required below the fourth grade nor in the high school. Texts were not required below the sixth grade, and they did not have to devote any specified amount of space to temperance material. The bill was a compromise—it was more satisfactory to the teachers than the old bill, and it was more satisfactory to the temperance people than no bill at all, especially since a repeal bill had been introduced and had some chance of passing. In the next decade, many other states modified their laws, using the Connecticut statute as a model.

It is interesting to note that, while many of its members were opposed to the more drastic laws, the National Education Association favored temperance instruction in the schools. In 1880 it adopted a resolution "that this association most heartily approves the efforts made in Great Britain, and more recently in this country to introduce into the Schools needed instruction on the effects of alcohol upon the human system." In 1884 another resolution was passed rejoicing in the well directed efforts of the W.C.T.U. to secure compulsory laws for the teaching of temperance and recommending that such legislation be extended over the entire country. Ten years later a petition was presented to the Board of Directors asking for the creation of a department of physiology with special reference to the effects of alcohol. No action was taken. In the 1900 Convention a Committee of Seven was appointed to investigate the

---

48 Ibid., W.B. Ferguson, "Temperance Teaching and Recent Legislation in Connecticut," Educational Review, XXIII, 233 (March, 1901)
49 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1880; 157
50 Ibid., 1884; 15
51 Ibid., 1894; 41
teaching of physiology with special reference to the effects of alcohol and other narcotics. In its report the next year the committee declared that it cordially agreed that everything which public instruction could do in the battle against intemperance ought to be done. It recommended that a body of educational doctrine be formulated to guide temperance instruction throughout the country. Nothing further seems to have been done along this line. The N.E.A. recently continued its support by passing a resolution in 1930 urging all teachers to emphasize the evil effects of alcoholic drinks, tobacco, and other narcotics upon the human organism.

After Mrs. Hunt had got her laws on the statute books she was faced by an even more difficult task--the creation of an entirely new system of well-graded textbooks. Physiology, which had been introduced into the high schools about the middle of the 19th century, had up to this time, been relatively free from propaganda. One of the earliest textbooks, Physiology For Schools, by Reynell Coates, published 1844, made no mention of alcohol. A text published in 1857 called Elements of the Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene of the Human System, by Justin R. Loomis devoted a paragraph to alcohol which said that its general effects on the community were bad, but that it could be used advantageously by physicians as a medicine. Fourteen Weeks In Human Physiology, by J. Dorman Steele, published 1872, devoted about two pages to alcohol, which was characterized

52 Ibid. 1900, 187
53 Ibid. 1901, 193
54 Temperance Education in American Public Schools, p. 1
55 Hunt, op. cit., 40
56 Paul J. Fay, History of Science Teaching In American High Schools, 437
57 P. 160
as a valuable remedy, but so subtle and dangerous in its influence on the body that it should rarely be taken except under competent medical advice. Two temperance textbooks which had been published in the late 1870's, Alcohol and Hygiene, by Julia Coman and The Temperance Lesson Book, by Benjamin Ward Richardson, could not be used as texts because they contained no physiology, as provided in the Statutes.

The publishers were at first not interested in issuing new texts. They were not impressed by the size of the market created by a few state laws, the enforcement of which appeared to them doubtful. Mrs. Hunt finally induced J. Dorman Steele to revise his Fourteen Weeks in Human Physiology, mentioned above. About twenty-nine pages on alcohol and other narcotics were introduced in the chapters dealing with the circulatory, digestive and nervous systems. This provided a high school text. Mrs. Hunt then secured the services of Alice Guernsey, a young teacher, and brought her to her own home to write the other two books of the "Pathfinder Series", as it was called. The Child's Health Primer for the primary grades contained 41 pages on alcohol and other narcotics out of a total of 115. Young People's Physiology for intermediate grades had an even greater proportion—83 pages out of a total of 208. The series was completed in 1885, and represented a personal outlay by Mrs. Hunt of over six thousand dollars. All the Pathfinder books carried a full page endorsement signed by Mrs. Hunt and an advisory board.

The increasing number of laws led the publishers to change their

58 P. 150
59 Report, Comm. of Ed. 1889-1890; Vol. 2, 697
60 Union Signal, June 21, 1930; p. 6
61 Ibid.
62 Hunt, op. cit., 42
minds. They hastily issued some physiology books, most of them being the old texts with a little temperance matter tacked on as an appendix. They were unsatisfactory to Mrs. Hunt, and when she was asked to endorse them she refused to do so. This led to a "textbook war". Mrs. Hunt was denounced as a book agent acting under the cloak of philanthropy. In answer to these charges the W.C.T.U. repeatedly stated that neither Mrs. Hunt nor her advisory board received any compensation. This was inaccurate. The members of Mrs. Hunt's advisory board had incorporated themselves as the Scientific Temperance Association for the purpose of receiving royalties and editor's rights due Mrs. Hunt. The money was used to carry on the work. The W.C.T.U. never paid Mrs. Hunt any salary as superintendent of the Scientific Temperance Instruction Department, although she devoted her entire time to her work. She was not even given enough to cover the departmental expenses. Mrs. Hunt stated that the W.C.T.U. never paid even one-tenth of the annual outlay. For example, the Scientific Temperance Instruction exhibit at the World's Fair in Chicago cost two thousand dollars, of which the W.C.T.U. paid $125. Money had to be obtained elsewhere and Mrs. Hunt accepted the royalties, not for herself, but the cause. She thought it wise to keep this secret, and even the W.C.T.U. did not know about it till after her death.

In order to offset the book-agent charges Mrs. Hunt hit on the idea of a petition to the publishers asking them to revise their imperfect texts. It contained a syllabus of what should be included in a physiology text-

---

63 Report - Comm. of Ed. 1889-1890, Vol. 2; 697
65 W.C.T.U. Report 1908, 56; Hunt, Epoch of 19th Century, 60
book. After being signed by over two hundred leading American citizens it was presented to the publishers in 1887. The syllabus contained the following items:

1. (a) Alcohol is a dangerous and seductive poison.
   
   (b) Beer, wine, and cider contain this same alcohol, making them dangerous drinks to be avoided.

   (c) That it is the nature of a little of any liquor containing alcohol to create an uncontrollable appetite for more and, therefore, the strongest warning should be urged against taking that little, and thus forming the appetite.

2. Texts must teach the effects of these beverages on the human system i.e. upon the whole being—mental, moral, and physical.

3. Instruction must be well graded to the capacities of the pupils.

4. This is not a physiological but a temperance movement. In all grades below the high school this instruction should contain only physiology enough to make the hygiene of temperance and other laws of health intelligible. Temperance should be the chief and not the subordinate topic.

5. This effort to disabuse the mind of the rising generation of fallacies which lead to drink habits should purposely avoid reference to the medical use of alcohol, except to state that, as by common consent its lay prescription is condemned, the question of its use as a remedy may properly be relegated to medical treatises, as out of place and misleading in a school textbook.

In response to the petition nearly all the publishers expressed willingness to have the revisions made, on condition that Mrs. Hunt do the work herself, or else supervise it. They wanted to be certain that Mrs. Hunt would be satisfied with the texts so they would be sure to receive her endorsement. The work of revision began in the spring of 1888 under the

---

67 Hunt, op. cit., 46
68 Ibid., 49
supervision of Mrs. Hunt, and proceeded rapidly. By 1892 there were twenty-three endorsed texts. Ten years later the number had grown to thirty-three.69

After the death of Mrs. Hunt in 1906, the W.C.T.U. changed its policy and no longer endorsed textbooks. The reason given was the remarkable advance in scientific research on alcohol, which quickly made texts out-of-date, and also that the pioneer work was done, and the necessity for endorsement had passed. The organization decided simply to recommend, when called upon to do so, the books which were up-to-date in scientific research.70

The methods used in "scientific" temperance instruction stirred up a great deal of opposition. Many distinguished figures in the academic world were among these opponents, including President Low of Columbia, President Schurman of Cornell, President Taylor of Vassar, President Jordan of Stanford, President Hadley of Yale, President Raymond and Professor Atwater of Wesleyan, Doctor Bowditch and Doctor Fitz of Harvard, Professor Sedgwick of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and many others. Many of these men were members of the Committee of Fifty. This organization grew out of a group of scholars, who began to meet in 1889 for the presentation of papers on sociological topics. In 1893, they enlarged their numbers to fifty, and decided to concentrate on the liquor problem. Four subcommittees were appointed to deal with the physiological, legislative, economic, and ethical phases of the subject. In its report

69 Ibid., 68
70 Letter from Edith Smith Davis to The Survey, Vol. 32, 309; June 13, 1914.
the physiological sub-committee said-

"...under the name of 'Scientific Temperance Instruction' there has been grafted upon the public school system of nearly all our states an educational scheme relating to alcohol which is neither scientific, nor temperate, nor instructive". 71

Professor W.O. Atwater, who had made some important experiments on the physiological effects of alcohol, detected three types of errors in the endorsed texts. Sometimes they stated doubtful theories as attested facts, sometimes principles were laid down which were partly true and partly false, and sometimes their statements squarely opposed all the results of the latest and most accurate scientific research. 72 Here are some examples of these errors--

"Nature apparently makes no effort to appropriate it [alcohol]. It courses everywhere through the circulation and into the great organs, with all its properties unmodified... alcohol then, is not like bread or beef, taken hold of, broken up by the mysterious process of digestion, and used by the body. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as an aliment." 73

These statements are partly true and partly false. Alcohol does not undergo digestion, but only about 2 per cent is excreted unchanged, the rest being completely oxidized in the tissues, setting free energy which may be utilized for muscular work, or as heat to maintain the temperature of the body. This entitles it to be ranked as a food. 74 A good example of an absolutely false statement is an account of an experiment in which blood was taken from a drunken man, and a match applied to it, whereupon it blazed up... "to do this it must have contained 20 per cent of alcohol". 75

---

71 John S. Billings ed. Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem, I, 44
72 N.E.A. Proceedings, 1900, 245
73 J.Dorman Steele, Hygienic Physiology, 165
74 E.H. Starling, The Action of Alcohol on Man, 169
75 Steele, Hygiene Physiology, 135
This is impossible because after the concentration of alcohol in the blood passes seven-tenths per cent, death results. Other misleading statements included—"Alcohol is a poison." "The majority of beer drinkers die from dropsy".

Professor W. T. Sedgwick denounced this propaganda, and complained that before anyone could find a publisher or a market for an elementary physiology textbook they had to obtain the endorsement of a self-constituted committee of censorship. It was high time that scientists protested this state of affairs. An editorial in The Popular Science Monthly declared that the crude smattering of physiology in the texts was absolutely worthless as a preparation for understanding the subtle influence of alcohol. What was taught was not science but sham science. A writer in The Outlook said that scientific temperance instruction was an attempt to carry on a moral reform under the guise of instruction in science. The public schools were not the proper places to inculcate moral reforms.

The attitude of the temperance people showed that they had no conception of the true scientific spirit. Mrs. Hunt said regarding the Pathfinder Series,—

"What the production of this series has cost, no one can estimate who has not followed your national superintendent in her five years search for authors and publishers and in the effort to secure absolute scientific accuracy, not modified in favor of occasional or moderate use of alcohol."

76 Starling, op. cit., 169
77 Young People's Physiology - Pathfinder No. 2, p. 16
79 Ibid., 1041
80 Vol. 25, 555; August, 1884.
82 Hunt, op. cit., 42. Italics Mine.
In other words, she was interested only in finding one variety of truth, that which would support her position. Nevertheless, she always insisted that the textbooks were scientific and free from error.

Another temperance advocate had a similar attitude on alcohol. He said,

"I examine the best books at my disposal and obtain the opinion of men who claim to be experts as to its nature and the effect of its use on the human body. As a result of my investigations I am left in great doubt upon many points... Now what is the wise course for me to pursue? Shall I handle the matter with gloves lest I fail to teach the truth in all its minutiae. Shall I label the bottle 'Food to be used with care', or shall I label it 'Poison' and teach children under no circumstances to meddle with it? There can be no possible question as to my duty in such a case". 83

The Committee of Fifty questioned the author of an endorsed text and he replied,

"I have studied physiology and I do not wish you to suppose that I have fallen so low as to believe all of the things that I have put into those books." 84

But he was perfectly willing that the pupils who used his texts should believe them.

Mrs. Hunt contemptuously dismissed her opponents in the following terms,-

"That the bibulous, pleasure-loving, self-gratifying classes, as well as those interested in the traffic in alcoholic liquors, should challenge the testimonies of science that point to total abstinence, and which are taught in the endorsed books, was to be expected." 85

An editorial in The Outlook denounced this as pharisaism in its worst form. 86 Mrs. Hunt answered the charges made against the texts by selecting a committee of physicians who had the right views on temperance to

84 Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem, 34
85 Hunt, op. cit., 51
86 Vol. 63, 494; October 28, 1899.
examine them, and they turned in a report which stated that they had found them absolutely accurate.\textsuperscript{87}

One of the most objectionable features of the texts was their attempt to frighten the pupils away from alcohol by stressing the pathological effects of intemperance. The Committee of Fifty report stated,-

"These books, especially those intended for the lower grades, fairly bristle with statements of a character to work upon the fears of the reader, and remind one in this respect of patent medicine advertisements."\textsuperscript{88}

The following are some illustrations-

"A man who never drinks liquor will get well, where a drinking man would surely die".\textsuperscript{89}

"The common experience of mankind teaches us the imminent peril that attends the formation of this progressive poison habit. A single glass taken as a tonic may lead to the drunkard's grave."\textsuperscript{90}

Frank A. Hill, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, said it was psychologically a bad method to make the woes of intemperance the main reliance in an endeavor to save people from them.\textsuperscript{91} State Superintendent Nelson of Michigan thought there was a serious danger involved. Too constant dwelling upon topics that concerned the effects of alcohol tended to produce morbid conditions in the mind of the pupil, which might provoke him to make dangerous experiments.\textsuperscript{92} Many parents expressed their opposition to the things contained in the textbooks by refusing to buy them for their children. \textsuperscript{93} Dr. E. Schlee, a

\textsuperscript{87} Hunt, op. cit., 51
\textsuperscript{88} Physiological Aspects of Liquor Problem, I. 33
\textsuperscript{89} Child's Health Primer (Pathfinder Series No. 1), 35
\textsuperscript{90} Steele, Hygiene Physiology, 171
\textsuperscript{91} Report-Comm. of Ed. 1883–1894. Vol. 2, 1387
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid. 1886–1887, 217; Editorial in Science, Vol. 10, 49. July 29, 1887
\textsuperscript{93} Report-Comm. of Ed. 1886–1887. 130, 140, 142, 216.
foreign observer who made a report to the German Government on the American public school system, considered it an error in pedagogy to acquaint children with vices as yet foreign to their thoughts. In this connection the following verse from Pope was often quoted.--

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

After the turn of the century the constant criticism of the textbooks began to have some effect. A committee of the American Academy of Medicine reported in 1908 that the texts contained fewer pathological details, and paid more attention to the normal states. The ideal of a healthy, active physical life as a basis for success and happiness was kept in the foreground.

With regard to teaching methods there was much complaint about "over-teaching". A Committee of Five of the New York State Science Teachers' Association reported in 1902 that frequent and unnecessary repetition had led to dislike of the subject. Recommendations were made that instruction be limited to pupils in the 5th to the 8th grades inclusive. The use of charts showing morbid physiological conditions was condemned. The State Superintendent of Education in Vermont thought the pupils were required to devote an unreasonable length of time to the subject. A French visitor declared it was presuming too much on the patience of the pupil to have to listen to essentially the same material over and over again.

94 Ibid., 1892-1893, Vol. I, 540
96 Report- Comm. of Ed. 1900-1901, Vol. 1, 1049
97 Ibid. 1892-1898, 151
98 Ibid., 1904, Vol. 1, 611
The oral temperance instruction was in many respects even worse than that in which textbooks were used. Many of the teachers knew almost nothing about the subject, although in most states they were required to pass an examination on physiology with special reference to the effects of alcohol before receiving their certificate, and they were prone to make wild and extravagant statements, no doubt thinking that this was what was required of them. Some idea of the things they taught can be gained from the following answers taken from the examination papers of pupils in the Massachusetts schools who received regular oral instruction—

"When it passes down the throat it burns off the skin leaving it bare and burning. It causes the heart to beat many unnecessary times and after the first dose the heart is in danger of giving out so that it needs something to keep it up and, therefore, the person to whom the heart belongs has to take drink after drink to keep his heart going."

"Every drop that is taken rushes to two little cups in the brain."

"One result of alcohol is to make ordinary food not strong enough to satisfy the appetites of drinkers. They sometimes eat garlic with their food."

"It turns the blood to water."

Here are some answers from pupils who used textbooks—

"It will pickel [sic] the inside of the body."

"It draws the pores of the stomach so tight that the first coating on the stomach is so hard that it cannot perspire."

"His stomach becomes black and covered with cancers." 99

Many statements regarding the results of scientific temperance instruction were made, some of them far-fetched and extravagant. The "drys" claimed that it was one of the most important causes for the coming of

99 Ibid., 1889-1890, Vol. 2, 726
prohibition. An influential dry leader said—

"But for this remarkable achievement the prohibition victories of the first two decades of the twentieth century would have been practically impossible." 100

An editorial in School Life declared - "It is quite possible that those who appear to have been mystified by the alacrity with which state legislators ratified the Federal prohibition amendment may get some light from the story of May H. Hunt and compulsory teaching against alcoholics in the public schools." 101 Cora Frances Stoddard, the Superintendent of the Scientific Temperance Instruction Department, pointed out that children who entered school in 1890, when temperance instruction had become general, reached their majority about 1905. The enactment of state prohibition laws which culminated in the 18th Amendment began to gain momentum about 1907. The first movement was the cause of the second. 102

To the time when the scientific temperance laws were passed physiology and hygiene were only taught in the high schools. The laws introduced this branch of study into the elementary school, greatly increasing the number of pupils reached. In 1887, a year before the first Ohio law was passed, there were 11,144 pupils in the state out of a total enrollment in the public schools of 519,110, studying physiology. 103 In 1889, the number studying physiology had risen to 155,621 out of a total enrollment of 530,492. 104 In 1901, a year after the second law was passed, the number studying physiology was 323,609 out of a total of 829,857. 105 The temperance people were quick to claim credit for this great increase which

103 Ohio School Report, 1887, 46
104 Ibid., 1889, 61
105 Ibid., 1901, 87
they declared was of great benefit in teaching the laws of health.\footnote{Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem, III. 1289}

Mrs. Hunt even ascribed the gain of four and one-tenth years in the average length of life, as shown by the census of 1900, to the effects of scientific temperance instruction.\footnote{Hunt, March of Progress, 3.} A writer in the Atlantic Monthly contradicted these statements. He declared that the general hygiene taught was of no value, physical defects and unhygienic living being as common here as in other countries.\footnote{W.H. Alien, "A Broader Motive for School Hygiene" Atlantic Monthly 101:325, June, 1908}

This is easily explainable when it is recalled that only enough physiology and hygiene was included to serve as a background for the instruction on alcohol.

As other benefits of the movement, Mrs. Hunt claimed that it had educated the public school teachers in the principles of total abstinence. Many railroad companies and steamboat lines also began to issue orders prohibiting their employees from using liquor.\footnote{Hunt, Epoch, 89; March of Progress, 3}

The opponents of scientific temperance instruction put forth an effective rebuttal to all these claims by citing the figures for liquor consumption. One writer declared that in 1896, a year of unusual activity in promoting scientific temperance teaching, 67,039,910 gallons of whiskey were consumed. In 1913 the amount consumed was 140,418,289 gallons. Yet, he pointed out, the school textbooks asserted that the actual quantity of alcoholic drinks consumed was steadily decreasing.\footnote{E.H. Williams; "Temperance Instruction in American Public Schools and Its Results." The Survey, 32:74, April 18, 1914}

Taking per capita consumption as a more reliable index, in 1885 the figure for all alcoholic beverages was 13.21 gallons. In 1911 when a whole generation of school children had been educated in the dangers of alcohol, it
had risen to 22.79 gallons. A factor which must be taken into account here is the heavy immigration which occurred during this period, but this probably was responsible for only a part of this increase.

A word may be said here regarding the present status of scientific temperance instruction. All the states have retained their compulsory laws except Arizona, Wyoming, and Nevada. Wyoming leaves with the state educational department the preparation of the course of study, and topics on alcohol and other narcotics are being included. Nevada has a law providing a "Temperance Day" in the schools once a year. Thirteen states have passed these Temperance Day Laws. The Ohio Statute, passed in 1921, may be cited as an example:

"The Friday nearest the 16th day of January of each year shall be set apart as a day on which those in charge of the public schools of the state shall spend at least two hours time to carrying out a temperance day program as prepared by the superintendent of public instruction; information relative to the history of the temperance movement and of the physiological value of temperance shall be given the pupils. Such a day shall be known as temperance day."

After Prohibition went into effect the W.C.T.U. enlarged, rather than cut down, its school activities. It was anxious to have the children, especially those of foreign parentage, grow up as supporters of the 18th Amendment. Mrs. Edith Smith Davis, Mrs. Hunt's successor, introduced essay and poster contests as a means of interesting pupils. More than 35,000 of these contests have been held since 1920 in which two and one-half million children have entered papers discussing the ef-

111 Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1913, 17.
112 U.S. Dept. of Justice Bulletin, Alcohol, Hygiene, and The Public Schools, p. 4
113 Laws of Ohio, Vol. 109, 587
Effects of alcohol and nicotine. W.C.T.U. lecturers have addressed more than six thousand schools, colleges, and normal schools. The Scientific Temperance Instruction Department publishes *The Scientific Temperance Journal*, designed to aid teachers. Complete courses of study are outlined for each grade, and special topics are worked out in detail.

In recent years other subjects besides physiology and hygiene have been utilized by the W.C.T.U. for temperance instruction. It has urged that students in English classes write themes on temperance topics; in mathematics, graphs may be constructed showing the decline in the death rate since Prohibition; in civics, obedience to law may be emphasized; in economics, the costs of liquor drinking may be shown; in history, the story of the temperance movement may be told. The aim is to make every subject in the curriculum contribute to the indoctrination of temperance ideals.

114 Temperance Education In American Public Schools. 11

CHAPTER VI

Religious Activities

The white-ribboners were a pious group, and were much interested in introducing their temperance ideals into the religious field. The first Plan of Work, drawn up by Miss Willard in 1874, had many religious features. The children in the Sunday Schools were to be taught the ethics, chemistry, physiology, and hygiene of total abstinence, and prizes were offered for the best essays on different aspects of the subject. Pastors were to be asked to preach frequent temperance sermons, and at stated intervals have special temperance services in connection with the weekly prayer-meeting. It was essential that unfermented sacramental wine be used in the church, and this was to be a special line of work. Home Missionary work and Gospel temperance meetings were to be undertaken. Finally, there was to be a Trysting Time with God. The evening twilight hour was to be dedicated to prayerful thoughts about temperance, the greatest of reforms.¹ Later, the prayer-hour was shifted to twelve o'clock noon.

A standing committee on Sunday Schools was appointed with Mrs. E. J. Hackett as chairman. In 1878 the committee succeeded in persuading the Atlanta Sunday School convention to include a quarterly temperance lesson in the international series. The international Sunday School lesson committee subsequently refused to accept the action.² A department of Sunday School work was created in 1880, and pressure was put on the Sunday School authorities. Miss Willard presented several memorials to the international committee, and in 1885 she won a partial victory. A temperance lesson was granted, but it was to be given on the same Sunday as the quarterly

¹ Report 1874, 25
² Willard, Woman and Temperance, 221
review. Miss Willard was not satisfied and presented a petition at the International Sunday School Convention of 1890, asking that the temperance lesson be assigned a separate place by itself. The convention instructed the lesson committee to grant this request, if possible. Later, the quarterly temperance lesson was attacked as unwise and excessive, but others demanded that twelve temperance lessons be given annually. To avoid conflict, no change was made.³ Largely through the efforts of the W.C.T.U. the International Sunday School Association established a temperance department in 1906. Its aim was to make every officer, teacher, and pupil in the Sunday School a total abstainer, and a worker for prohibition and the extinction of the cigaret habit.⁴

A department of Unfermented Wine at the Lord's Table was created in 1880 to take the place of the committee that had been carrying on this activity. In 1887 the superintendent reported that almost four thousand churches were using the unfermented juice of the grape for sacramental purposes. Of the Protestant sects, the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Lutherans seemed the least inclined to heed the pleas of the white-ribboners.⁵ The Catholics, of course, refused to make any changes. At present this activity is carried on as a part of the Evangelistic department. This department was created in 1880, and carried on a great many activities. Gospel meetings were held at which the total-abstinence pledge was circulated. Bibles were distributed, and Bible classes and institutes conducted. Prayer circles were organized and devotional services held.⁶

³ M.C. Brown, Sunday School Movements In America, 88
⁴ Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 52.
⁵ Report 1887, lxxi
⁶ Report 1921, 115
The Flower Mission and Relief Work Department was started in 1882 on the initiative of Miss Jennie Casseday, an invalid who wanted to help other unfortunate and sick people. It held meetings in hospitals and public institutions and distributed flowers and delicacies among the inmates. Invalids and shut-in people were visited and religious services held. On Arbor Day trees and shrubs were planted. Somewhat similar is the Temperance and Missions Department, which was started in 1907. It cooperated with church and missionary boards, and aimed to secure a temperance secretary in each local missionary society and a missionary secretary in each local W.C.T.U. It also cooperated with the Americanization department in doing work among foreigners.

In 1888 Miss Willard pointed out that women made up two-thirds of the membership of the churches of the country. Yet they had almost no voice in fixing their policies. She proposed a "Church Union" made up of those protesting against a government of the church by its minority. It was to be open to all who subscribed to the Apostle's Creed, and took the triple pledge of social purity and total abstinence from liquor and tobacco. No one was to be required to leave a church to which he belonged in order to join the church union. Men and women were to be treated on terms of perfect equality, and the latter could be regularly licensed and ordained as ministers. The special work of the Church Union was to be among the masses of the people and in foreign lands, especially among women.

Miss Willard's proposal met with a hostile reception. It was charged that she was trying to organize a new church and bring discord among the

7 Ibid., 117
8 Gordon, op. cit., 207
9 W.T. Stead, "The Uncrowned Queen of American Democracy" The Review of Reviews 8:443, November, 1892
old ones. The W.C.T.U. was finally forced to pass a resolution that
it never had planned nor proposed organizing a new church, nor had Miss
Willard advised it to undertake any such work of supererogation. 10 As
in the case of the Anti-Saloon League, the membership of the W.C.T.U.
was overwhelmingly drawn from the evangelical sects, especially the Method-
ists and Baptists, and these sects had risen up in arms against the pro-
posed Church Union.

The W.C.T.U. was vitally interested in the question of the Bible
in the public schools. In 1886 a resolution was passed "That we as pa-
triots view with alarm the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools
of many of the large cities, and we favor the enactment by the states,
and Congress of laws which will place this textbook of temperance, moral-
ity, and government in every public school in the country". 11 When the
N.E.A. adopted a resolution favoring the use of the Bible in the schools,
the white-ribboners were enthusiastic in their praise. 12 No results fol-
lowed, and the W.C.T.U. complained that the schools were becoming godless
and heathen. They were bringing up a set of lusty young pagans who would
create havoc with American institutions. 13 In order to organize the work
better, a department of The Bible In The Public Schools was created in
1911. Public meetings were held, and superintendents of education were
requested to order Bible-reading in their schools. Literature was dis-
tributed, and pressure put on the state legislatures, in cooperation with
other organizations. The results were encouraging. By 1926 eleven states

10 Report 1890, 59
11 Report 1886, 142
12 Union Signal, Jan. 31, 1902
13 Report 1904, 261
had compulsory laws for Bible-reading. In six states the law specifically permitted the practice, while in twenty-one other states Bible-reading was permitted by the general terms of the law, or by reason of its silence. 14

A new development which made its appearance in New York State in 1926 was the vacation and Week-Day Bible schools. It was felt that in places where the public schools did not have Bible reading the children should be given this training after the regular school day, and during vacation periods. Temperance and anti-narcotic lessons were also included. There were 107 such schools in New York, with twenty-thousand children enrolled. 15 The work was so successful that the national organization took it up. At present, it is carried on by the Religious Education Department, which also takes care of the Sunday School and Bible In The Public School Work. 16

The Christian Citizenship department must be mentioned here, although most of its work is of a non-religious character. It is active among the young people's societies, such as Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, and the Baptist Young People's Union. It assists them to study all public questions, and the attitude of every aspirant for office, with special reference to prohibition. The aim is to make these young people active workers for law enforcement. 17

Sabbath Observance-

One of the many issues over which the W.C.T.U. and the foreign-born

---

14 L.T. Beman, Religious Teaching In The Public Schools, 70
15 Report 1926, 95
16 Report 1932, 11
17 Gordon, op. cit., 191
population violently disagreed was the question as to how Sunday should be observed. The "continental Sunday" with its picnics and games, which the German and Irish brought over with them, was regarded with horror, and denounced as a threat to American institutions. Miss Willard warned the White-ribboners that "this question is between the native and foreign-born people. Americans must be on their guard".18

Soon after the W.C.T.U. was formed it joined with other forces to bring pressure on the commissioners for the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. There was a rumor that the exposition would be open on Sunday, and the moral forces of the nation rose up in arms. The commissioners were forced to announce that no exhibits would be open on Sunday.19 This victory encouraged the W.C.T.U. to go on with the work although there was no special committee for it. After Miss Willard became President a more organized effort was called for, and in 1884 the Department for the Suppression of Sabbath Desecration was created, with Mrs. Josephine Bateham, of Painesville, Ohio, as Superintendent.20

Mrs. Bateham at once began to circulate a petition to Congress asking for the prohibition of Sunday mails, trains, and parades. Names and endorsements representing 1,500,000 people were gathered, and Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, presented the petition. Congress took no action at this time.

Mrs. Bateham appealed to all ministers to preach sermons warning against Sabbath desecration. The first Sunday in April was set aside as Sabbath ob-

---

18 Report 1892, 138
19 Report 1875, 55
20 Report 1884, 7
servance Day in the pulpit. Mrs. Batcham had little money for the dis-
trIBUTion of literature, but the International Sabbath Association came
to the rescue, and provided her with literature free of cost. The oppo-
sition to Sunday activities was carried to extreme lengths. Sunday camp-
meetings were religious in nature, but the W.C.T.U. considered them only
a flimsy excuse for picnics and gossip. Even Sunday funerals were opposed
because "usually they are a kind of Sunday dissipation involving work for
many, which should be avoided." The following pledge was adopted for circulation—

I. To observe the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.
II. To neither purchase nor patronize Sunday newspapers.
III. To use my influence, by word and example, against all
railroad and steamboat travel excursions on the Sabbath.
IV. To use my influence, by word and example, against the
opening of any store, barbershop, newstand, drug store,
(except for medicine) bakery, or any other place of un-
necessary work on the Sabbath.
V. Not to post or call for mail on the Sabbath.
VI. To endeavor to make the necessary Sabbath work at home
light and simple that all may enjoy the privileges of
the Sabbath.
VII. To use my influence for legislation that will preserve
the Sabbath in its quiet sanctity as a day of rest and
worship.

In 1888 Senator Blair introduced a Sunday Rest Bill at the request
of the W.C.T.U. It prohibited all secular work (except that of mercy and
humanity), and all games and amusements in territory under the exclusive
jurisdiction of the United States. No mail or interstate commerce was to
move on Sunday, and all military and naval drills and parades were to
cease. Hearings were held before the Senate Committee on Education and

21 Report 1887, XXIV
22 Report 1886, XXVII
23 Report 1886, 141; cxlviii
24 Report 1887, 51
Labor, and Mrs. Bateham appeared in support of the bill. She declared that two million people were engaged in needless Sunday labor, and that the government was "recreant to the principles of the fore-fathers who established this as a Christian government on the rock-bed of the Sabbath as the bulwark of all morality". To meet the demand for recreation she advocated the general adoption of a Saturday half-holiday, but the people should be required to respect the Sabbath quiet.25

Cooperating with other societies, including the newly formed American Sabbath Union, the W.C.T.U. circulated a mammoth petition for the bill. When it was presented to Congress it had signatures of individuals and societies representing ten million people, but the bill never came to a vote.26

After failing to stop the Sunday delivery of mail by law, the Sabbatarians were glad to accept a plan put forward by Postmaster General Wanemaker. If a majority of the people receiving mail from a local post-office petitioned that it be closed on Sunday the request was granted.27 It was not till 1912 that the rule against Sunday mail deliveries was universally applied.28

Long before the Columbian Exposition opened in Chicago, the W.C.T.U. was conducting a campaign to keep it closed on Sunday. Members were asked to pledge themselves not to attend the exposition if the Sunday closing rule was not observed.29 Largely, through the efforts of the W.C.T.U. the $2,500,000 souvenir coin grant which Congress made to the exposition was

25 Senate Misc. Documents 50 Cong. 2 Sess. No. 43, p.22
26 Report 1891, cixvi
27 Report 1897, 53
28 Report 1912, 309
29 Union Signal, Sept. 8, 1892
conditional on Sunday closing. This seemed to settle the question, but the opposing forces refused to accept defeat. They formed the World's Fair Sunday Opening Association and conducted a vigorous campaign. The majority of the exposition directors were in sympathy with this movement, and an event occurred which led them to act. Congress had been asked to make a separate appropriation of $570,000 for prizes and awards for the exposition, but decided this must come out of the souvenir coin fund. It directed the Secretary of the Treasury to withhold $570,000 of this fund until the exposition gave security it would defray the expenses of judges and awards. The exposition directors declared the contract had been broken, and they were released from all obligations to the national government. Beginning May 28, the Fair was to open Sundays.

The issues in this struggle became rather confused. A well known magazine charged that the Chicago brewers were working for Sunday closing of the Fair in order to increase the sale of beer. The strange spectacle was being presented of the church and the gutter working together to prevent thousands of people from enjoying the instruction and pleasure offered by the Fair. Sunday closing was a crime against the working classes, who could only attend on that day. It was also a crime against morality, for it meant the triumph of the saloon, the brothel, and the gambling hell. Susan B. Anthony stressed the same point, declaring she would far rather have a young man attend the Fair on Sunday than let him roam the streets of Chicago.

30 Alexander Jackson, ed. Sunday Rest In The Twentieth Century, 433. 31 Report of Pres. to Board of Directors of World's Columbian Exposition, 75;242. 32 The Arena, VI, 255. 33 R.C. Dorr, Susan B. Anthony, 308.
After the exposition was opened on Sundays, the Sabbatarians went to the U.S. District Court and secured a closing order. This decision was reversed by the Court of Appeals. The W.C.T.U. thereupon called for a concerted boycott of the fair. 34

The directors made the great mistake of opening only part of the exhibits on Sunday. When this fact became known patronage dropped off so much that it no longer paid to keep open. 35 The directors decided to close, but the friends of Sunday-opening went to the county courts and secured a temporary injunction. The judge kept putting off hearing the case and finally ordered a sixty day continuance, or in other words, until the close of the exposition. 36 In spite of all their efforts the sabbatarians met defeat in this case. The exposition remained open every Sunday, and the attendance increased.

Before the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, the W.C.T.U. circulated a petition for Sunday-closing and presented it to the commissioners. The request was not granted. Balked in this attempt, the white-ribboners turned to Congress, and again persuaded it to make Sunday-closing a condition of the $5,000,000 grant to the 1903 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. 37 This plan seems to have worked successfully the second time.

When the bicycle craze swept the country in the nineties the same complaint was made against it that was later made against the automobile.

The superintendent of the Sabbath Observance Department declared that from

34 Union Signal, June 29, 1893
36 Union Signal, August 3-September 7, 1893.
all over the country came the report that the bicycle was emptying the churches of young people on Sunday. Rightly used, the bicycle could solve the problem of necessary Sunday travel, but it was being employed mainly for pleasure.38

One of the big features of the work of the Sabbath Observance Department was the attempt to enforce the Sunday-closing laws for the saloons.39 This proved to be a very difficult task in the big cities. The alliance between the saloon-keepers and the politicians was so close that it was virtually impossible to secure honest enforcement of these laws. The only inconvenience that the Sunday drinkers suffered was to enter by the side door instead of the front door, and sometimes even this subterfuge was unnecessary.

Sunday baseball was becoming more popular every day, in spite of much opposition. In 1905 Chicago opened its parks for Sunday ball games and other cities soon followed, greatly to the dismay of the W.C.T.U.40 A local union in Kansas was reported to have stopped the evil with supernatural aid. It made Sunday ball playing a special subject of prayer, with the result that it rained for so many Sundays in succession that the teams decided to play on Saturday, as the women had asked them to do.41

As the twentieth century wore on, the white-ribboners were forced to admit sadly that Sabbath desecration was increasing all the time.42 An enormous flood of immigration was rolling into the country, and few of these people saw anything wrong in a little recreation on Sunday. Even the native-born Americans were abandoning the old Puritanical ideas. The W.C.T.U.

38 Report 1897, 420
39 Union Signal, Sept. 12, 1907
40 Ibid., July 27, 1905
41 Report 1908, 326
42 Report 1909, 309
might declare that "it is not so necessary that people be amused as that they should cultivate the habit of thought, of reverence for holy things and of worship"\textsuperscript{43}, but the answer was increasingly made that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. The rapid growth of the cities, with their worldly outlook, exposed more and more people to Sunday temptations. The facilities for recreation and pleasure were constantly increasing, and when the automobile came along few people were able to resist it. The long lines of autos seen on the highways every Sunday, the crowded golf-links, the outings, and picnics, all prove that the Sabbatarians have lost their fight. The W.C.T.U. no longer maintains a Department of Sabbath Observance, but the work is carried on as a part of the Evangelistic department.

Up to a year or two ago, many states allowed the old blue laws to remain on the statute books, even though they were not enforced. The depression has forced a change in this attitude. Legislatures have been shown that increased taxes could be collected if Sunday amusements were legalized. Within the past few months more than a dozen states have abolished or altered their Sunday observance laws. This was partly due to the Democratic landslide of last year, which brought in many new legislators who had no obligations to the church people. Nineteen states now permit Sunday movies, although some provide for local option on the question. Twenty-one states permit Sunday baseball. Some laws provide that a percentage of all receipts from Sunday amusements are to go for unemployment relief. Many ministers are showing a disposition to accept compromise measures. For example, Baltimore now permits Sunday amusements after 2 P.M.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{43} Report 1905, 319
\textsuperscript{44} Wm. C. White, "Bye, Bye, Blue Laws", Scribner's, XCIV, 107 (Aug. 1933)
Prison Reform

The W.C.T.U. was a pioneer in prison reform, and did especially valuable work for women and juvenile prisoners. During the Woman's Crusade evangelistic work was done among jail inmates and the religious element always remained a prominent feature of the prison work. Conditions in the prisons were so bad that the white-ribboners were forced to take some action. A standing committee on prison reform was appointed in 1877, and one of the first projects it undertook was a Girl's Reform School in Michigan. More than one hundred thousand names were collected and sent to the state legislature, which responded by appropriating thirty thousand dollars for the opening of such a school.45

When the standing committees were transformed into departments, the prison reform committee became the department of Prison and Jail Work, with Mrs. J. K. Barney as superintendent.46 One of Mrs. Barney's leading ideas was that only women ought to be allowed to handle women prisoners. To this end she advocated that police matrons be appointed for all jails. As a precedent she could point to the matron in the Tombs, the famous jail in New York City. More than forty years before, the Female Guardian Society of New York persuaded the authorities to allow a matron to be installed to care for the woman prisoners, and the experiment had been a great success.47 Following this example the Chicago W.C.T.U. induced the mayor to appoint a matron by agreeing to pay her salary. She soon became so indispensable that the city began to pay her salary.48

45 Report 1879, 12
46 Report 1880, 104
47 Report 1882, XII
48 Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883
Massachusetts legislature passed a police matron bill, and this much-needed reform began to spread rapidly.\textsuperscript{49}

Mrs. Barney demanded the complete separation of the sexes in jails, the isolation of juvenile offenders, and the classification of prisoners, to prevent hardened criminals from contaminating first offenders.\textsuperscript{50} Efforts were made to provide separate women's reformatory, and in Kansas petitions were circulated for an Industrial Home for Girls. Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett, Superintendent of the Heredity department, made the interesting suggestion that efforts should be made to prevent the propagation of the vagrant and criminal classes.\textsuperscript{51} She may have had sterilization in mind, and if so she was one of the earliest advocates of this idea. Several states now sterilize feeble-minded persons, but so far this has not been extended to criminals.

The drunkard was looked upon as a criminal by the white-ribboners, and they advocated that he be treated as such. Habitual drunkards were unfit to participate in the functions of government, and the ballot should be taken away from them.\textsuperscript{52} Frances Willard advocated laws compelling the indefinite detention of alcoholics in state work homes, where they could be reformed and cured.\textsuperscript{53}

During the organizing trips in the South, Miss Willard came in contact with the chain gangs and was shocked by the bad conditions which prevailed. She recommended that petitions be circulated for the abolition of the chain gang.\textsuperscript{54} The practice of leasing prisoners to companies and private individuals was general in the South, and untold evils resulted.

\textsuperscript{49} Report 1887, V
\textsuperscript{50} J. K. Barney, "The National W.C.T.U. Department of Prison, Jail, Police and Almshouse Work" Lend A Hand 2:413. July, 1887
\textsuperscript{51} Report 1887, cciii
\textsuperscript{52} Union Signal, Jan. 19, 1893
\textsuperscript{53} Report 1892, 96
\textsuperscript{54} Union Signal, Nov. 11, 1886
The W.C.T.U. conducted a campaign against this system and did its best to suppress it.  

The W.C.T.U. claimed the honor of being the first to advocate the appointment of policewomen to aid in protecting the morals of the community. Miss Willard recommended this in 1894. For a time the curfew and policewomen activities were combined into a department of Curfew and Policewomen. The W.C.T.U. is entitled to much of the credit for the general introduction of policewomen in American cities. They have proved themselves indispensable for certain types of work. Some aspects of the American police system called forth the unqualified disapproval of the women. The third-degree was especially obnoxious, and many protests were made against it.

The first reformatory for adults was opened at Elmira, New York, in 1876. In the same year the first indeterminate sentence law was passed by the New York legislature. When a prisoner proved by his general demeanor, and his progress in the learning of a trade that he had reformed, he was to be released on parole, put in a job, and given a chance to make good. The Elmira idea spread rapidly, but for some reason it was not at first applied to women. Outside of New York not a single reformatory for women was established till 1900, when one was created in Iowa. Then another ten years passed before another State ventured into this field. The W.C.T.U. worked hard to overcome this inertia, and in recent years progress has been more rapid.

Besides working for the indeterminate sentence and parole system, the

---

55 Report 1895, 259
56 Report 1894, 171; Report 1909, 290.
57 Report 1912, 25
58 Report 1910, 57
department of Penal and Reformatory Work advocated the abolition of the
death penalty, and the stripes and lock step system. The agitation a-
against capital punishment had been begun in 1897, and continued inter-
mittently for many years. Some states have abolished the death penalty,
but the results have not been very encouraging, and several states have
restored it. The department also advocated a small wage for prisoners,
and woman probation officers, physicians and warders for women prisoners.

Judge Lindsey's work in popularizing juvenile courts for children met
with the enthusiastic approval of the women. It was decided to establish
a department to further this, as well as other juvenile reforms. In 1907
a department of Juvenile Courts, Industrial Education, and Anti-Child
Labor appeared.

After the World War, the cry for Americanization led the Penal and
Reformatory department to begin the teaching of English to prisoners.
Their families were also taught American ways. This did not prove suf-
ficient to keep up interest in the department, and it has been discontin-
ued. The religious phase of its work has been taken over by the Evan-
gelistic department, which conducts prayer meetings in the prisons.

Peace And International Arbitration-

This department was started in 1887, with Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, a
Maine Quakeress, as Superintendent. The Ohio W.C.T.U. had had such a
department for three years, and its success there led Miss Willard to es-

tablish it in the national society. She declared that a Peace Department
was strictly germane to the work, for nothing increased intemperance like

60 Report 1913, 301
61 Report 1908, 260
62 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 200
war, and nothing tended toward war like intemperance.  

The principal work of the department was with the children. A resolution was at once passed to incorporate peace teachings in the regular lessons for the Loyal Temperance Legion. Prizes were offered in the public schools for the best essays on peace. Mrs. Bailey was greatly disturbed over the increasing number of children who were being given military drill. Strange as it may seem, the W.C.T.U. was itself an offender. The first Juvenile Plan of Work presented in 1875 had recommended the inclusion of military drill because of the great success which it had enjoyed in the local union at Rockford, Illinois. An army officer had persuaded the women to try it, and the children were enthusiastic about it. A lengthy debate took place in the National Convention, and the drill feature was rejected. However, the executive committee passed a resolution that inasmuch as the convention had authorized publication of the play for military drill in the W.C.T.U. paper, and had approved a statement that each union had discretionary power to adopt it or not, the committee recommended that it be introduced into all the Juvenile Temperance Unions. Miss Willard had been a member of the committee that drew up the Juvenile Plan of Work. After she became President she again recommended the general introduction of military drill as a means of attracting the older boys.

Mrs. Bailey exerted all her influence against these practices. She reported that in Rhode Island and California even the girls were being given a drill with brooms. After two years of pleading Mrs. Bailey finally prevailed upon Miss Willard to recommend that for the sake of consist-

63 Report 1887, 84  
64 Report 1875, 67  
65 Ibid., 73  
66 Report 1883, 65  
67 Report 1898, cxxiii
ency and harmony between departments, the military drill be given up. 68
This victory was very encouraging, but Mrs. Bailey soon found other
things to worry about, notably the wave of militarism that seemed to
be sweeping the country. Not only was the Navy being rapidly built up
and modernized, but boys' brigades were becoming popular. Howard Univer-
sity and other colleges started military training units. Many communities
were considering the introduction of military drill into the public schools. 69
The Grand Army of Republic fell in step by passing resolutions in favor
of military instruction in all schools and colleges. Ex-President Harri-
son had suggested this in a letter to The Century, in January, 1894.
The G.A.R. strongly endorsed his position. The newspapers were devoting
much space to this topic, and The Arena, and other first-class magazines
were supporting the movement. Mrs. Bailey was strongly opposed. To the
argument that military drill was a valuable health measure, she replied
that all the physical benefits could be better gained by a system of gym-
nastics. 70 Even the churches seemed to have caught the fever, which led the
W.C.T.U. to pass a resolution protesting against the formation of Cadet
Clubs in Sunday Schools. 71

The prevailing state of mind was shown by the general support which
President Cleveland received in the Venezuelan dispute with Great Britain.
The W.C.T.U. considered that Cleveland was too hasty and belligerent, and
threw its influence in favor of arbitration. This led some to doubt its
patriotism, but a dignified reply was made, declaring that "we fail to see
that haste to rush into war at every fancied insult is necessary to patriot-

68 Union Signal, Nov. 27, 1890.
69 Devere Allen, The Fight For Peace, 485
70 Union Signal, Feb. 8, 1894
71 Report 1895, 47
It must not be thought from this that the W.C.T.U. was prepared to resist a war, once it had been declared. Mrs. Boole has summed up the W.C.T.U. attitude by saying,

"In time of peace we have educated for peace. In times of war, the W.C.T.U. has given money, time, and influence to the winning of these wars."

There are some who doubt whether war can ever be prevented by this method.

When the Spanish-American war broke out, the white-ribboners tried to comfort themselves as best they could. The Union Signal declared on April 28, 1898 that,

"Never before has any nation with so many provocations to war and with so little fear from it, sought so persistently for a peaceful settlement of difficulties. It proves beyond a doubt that the day when nations will settle their differences by arbitration is at hand."

The victories of Dewey and Schley were hailed as proof of "the righteousness of this war undertaken in the name of freedom." But Mrs. Bailey was shocked by what was happening in the Philippines. A warm debate was held at the National convention, and the following resolution was passed-

"We deeply deplore the attitude taken by our nation with respect to the Philippine Islands, and since governments can derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed, we protest both against the policy which would compel a foreign people to submit to the rule of the United States, and against the war through which the administration is striving to enforce its policy."

This action showed courage and resolution, although the United States was not officially at war at this time.

In August, 1898, Czar Nicholas II became the hero of all peace advocates.

---

72 Union Signal, May 21, 1898.
73 Report 1927, 73
74 Allen, op. cit., 282
75 Union Signal, July 14, 1898
76 Ibid., Nov. 10, 1899
by issuing a call for the first Hague Conference in 1899. There was some speculation as to what had led the Czar to make his epoch-making proposal, and it was generally thought in the U.S. that it was due to the book by Jean Bloch called *The Warfare of the Future* in which it was prophesied that the increasing mechanization of instruments of war would result in large scale conflicts ending either in a long-drawn-out stalemate, or in a pseudo-victory costing far more than was gained. Modern research has shown that the Czar was not quite as altruistic as he seemed. Germany and France had recently equipped their armies with a new type of artillery which was much superior to the old. Russia did not have the money to buy the improved gun, and the disarmament proposal was merely a ruse to prevent the other nations from gaining too great an advantage.

Nothing of this was suspected at the time. The peace societies had long been trying to agree on a Peace Day, to be annually celebrated. Now the W.C.T.U. joined with other organizations in designating May 18, the Czar’s birthday. In spite of later revelations this day is still celebrated as "World Goodwill Day".

When the Hague Conference met the W.C.T.U. optimistically declared that the department of peace and international arbitration could almost see the beginning of the end of its labors. The conference accomplished little although the peace societies tried to make it seem important. The second Hague Conference, held in 1907, was scarcely more effective.

The Spanish-American war started a new demand for military training, and naval appropriations were greatly increased. The naval hero, Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson, went on a lecture tour, advocating that the

77 Allen, *Fight for Peace*, 298
78 *Ibid.*, 494
79 *Ibid.*, 496
80 *Union Signal*, Aug. 10, 1899
United States spend $1,500,000,000., and build the greatest navy in the world. The W.C.T.U. did its best to counteract this militaristic propaganda, distributing literature on "Military Drill for Schools", "The Boys' Brigade", and "Why Peace Societies Are Opposed to Military Drill". Mrs. Bailey undertook several ambitious projects, such as a secretary of arbitration in the Federal Cabinet, A Court of Arbitration in Washington, and the replacement of the U.S. Army by a national police force.

When the World War broke out the W.C.T.U. was both shocked and surprised. It had been following with great satisfaction the arbitration treaties which Secretary of State Bryan had been negotiating, and dreaming golden dreams of peace on earth and good-will towards man. Suddenly the war came along and rudely awakened them. They appointed a day of prayer, and passed a rather naive resolution that "the present war in Europe disproves the statement that the armaments of nations is ... conducive to peace". President Wilson was commended for his maintenance of strict neutrality.

In 1916 Mrs. Bailey retired as superintendent of the Peace Department after almost thirty years of service. The reasons for her retirement were not stated, but it is probable that her views on the preparedness campaign that was going on in the country had something to do with it. Mrs. Bailey opposed this campaign with all her strength, but the W.C.T.U. seemed to be gradually moving the other way. When the great preparedness parade

81 Allen, op. cit., 493
82 Report 1912, 364
83 Report 1914, 51
took place in Washington, with President Wilson marching at the head of sixty thousand people, Mrs. Ellis commented in her Washington Letter-
"It was not an outcry for war, but for peace, under the American flag."84

When the United States entered the war, the W.C.T.U. at once prepared to give full support. Miss Gordon issued a statement that the W.C.T.U. had always been a foremost factor for peace and international arbitration, "but we are loyal daughters of our country and we are face to face with war." It was suddenly discovered that the W.C.T.U. was primarily a patriotic organization.85

Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, wife of the "Great Commoner", had succeeded Mrs. Bailey as Superintendent of the Peace Department. She felt that peace lectures, the distribution of literature, and the organization of peace bands among children would be ill-timed and might possibly be misconstrued.86 In her report to the national convention she declared that the short and simple annals of the poor would make a large volume compared to the report of a Peace Department in war-time. No literature had been printed, and that left over from the previous year had been carefully sorted out. Only that to which no objection could possibly be made had been sent out.87

Like nearly everyone else in the country, the W.C.T.U. accepted the idea that this was a war to end war. It passed a resolution that,-

"While we deplore war as wholly evil in its inception, we yet believe that when it became necessary for our nation to enter the present world conflict, we came in on these high moral grounds, viz.: To vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and auto-

84 Union Signal, June 22, 1918
85 Union Signal, April 12, 1917
86 Ibid., July 5, 1917
87 Report 1917, 201
cratic power, and to set up among the really free and self-governed people of the world such a concert of purpose and action as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. 88

In her presidential address Miss Gordon asserted that "we are patriotic, first, last, and all the time". To support this claim she could point to the war-work that was being done. As President of the W.C.T.U. Miss Gordon was appointed a member of the Honorary Advisory Committee of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. 89

The W.C.T.U. set up a War Work Committee consisting of the general officers and six superintendents whose departments were closely related to the activities occasioned by the war. Several motor ambulances were equipped, social work was done in camps and hospitals, and comfort kits, hospital delicacies, and flowers were lavishly supplied. Temperance work was not forgotten, and the soldiers were shown the scientific value of total abstinence. About 75 per cent of the White-ribboners became Red Cross workers, and others contributed money and supplies. In addition, the W.C.T.U. adopted 2800 French war orphans. 90

After the war ended the Peace Department again became active, although Mrs. Bryan soon resigned because of ill-health. President Harding's action in calling the Washington Disarmament Conference was greeted with enthusiasm. A Woman's Petition was circulated, calling for the reduction of armaments. When the Conference met the petition was presented to Secretary of State Hughes.

Although the League of Nations was not mentioned by name the W.C.T.U. urged the cooperation of the United States in world affairs, responsible

88 Ibid., 44
89 Tda. C. Clarke, American Women and the World War., 28
90 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 131-132.
91 Report 1921, 33
membership in world organizations for peace, the outlawry of war by international law, and the reduction of armaments to police forces. Military training in the schools was opposed.92

In 1925 Carrie Chapman Catt founded the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. The W.C.T.U. became a member of this organization, which includes ten other women's societies, with a total membership of about six million. The Conference has endorsed the World Court, progressive unilateral disarmament, and the Kellogg Pact, but it carefully avoids any connection with uncompromising pacifism.93 At present, the W.C.T.U. limits its peace activities to the work of this organization. It feels that it cannot do more without neglecting its major issues—total abstinence and prohibition.94 The 1933 convention recently passed a resolution urging a reduction of one-third in the armies and navies of the world.95

92 Report 1922, 37
93 Allen, The Fight For Peace, 287
94 Report 1932, 89
95 New York Times, July 4, 1933
CHAPTER VII

Health Activities

At the Washington convention in 1881 Miss Willard recommended the creation of a department to teach the laws of health with special reference to the twin poisons, alcohol and tobacco. As a result the department of Hygiene was created, with Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson as Superintendent. The following year she was succeeded by Mrs. J. H. Kellogg of Battle Creek, Michigan, wife of the famous Dr. Kellogg. Soon after, a department of Heredity appeared to acquaint the people of the "facts" of heredity by scientific lectures, studies of eminent men, and women, and Bible readings. A national Bureau of Heredity Statistics was started to secure data on the inheritance of genius, will power, spiritual qualities, appetites, and passions. It was stated that women scientists studying heredity through the experience of intelligent mothers would bring to light many truths unattainable so long as heredity was studied by men alone. A Journal of Heredity was projected as an aid in educating the people.

The department had some curious notions as to what constituted scientific evidence. It published lists of Biblical citations as authority for many of its statements. A resolution was passed,-

"That we will be more faithful in reminding the people of the obligations incurred by those laws of hereditary descent which were first revealed to the children of God by the light of Divine revelation, and upon which is now focused the added light of science."

The White-ribboners seem to have relied much more on Divine revelation than on the light of science, accepting the latter only as confirmatory evidence.

1 Report 1881, lxiv; 53; Report 1882, 37.
2 Report 1884, xcv.
3 Union Signal, Feb. 21, 1884.
4 Report 1885, 42.
Miss Willard was opposed to the styles in women's dress from a health as well as a moral standpoint. She wrote a petition to the fashion plate magazines which declared that a dress which constricted the waist and compressed the trunk not only deformed the shape in a manner contrary to good taste, but resulted in serious injury to important vital organs. In the name of science and humanity, the fashion magazines were exhorted to lend their aid to the elevation of women to a more perfect physical estate by making the figures on their fashion plates conform more nearly to the normal standard requisite for the maintenance of health. It is certain that during the eighties women's dress was far from healthful. A writer described the lengthy skirts as the "street-cleaning-department style." This was also the age of the bustle, when it required 18 1/2 yards of material to make a stylish frock. The W.C.T.U. passed a resolution unqualifiedly condemning the wearing of long skirts on the streets, as a danger to public health. In 1890 Mrs. Annie J. Miller designed a "Willard Dress" with no corset, no bustle, the skirt ending at the instep, a high collar, and plenty of pockets. This dress does not seem to have been generally adopted even among the white-ribboners. More healthful fashions soon began to make their appearance, however. The bicycle craze, and the participation of women in sports resulted in the abandonment of the bustle, and the growing participation of women in business tended to make skirts shorter. Miss Willard daringly declared that it was merely a conventional, but not a real modesty that insisted on the

5 Frances Willard, My Happy Half-Century, 313
6 Schlesinger, Rise of the Cities, 148
7 Report 1892, 58
8 Report 1890, 13
9 Faulkner, Quest For Social Justice, 170.
concealment of the ankle. The White-ribboners approved of the fashions till the hobble skirt came along to arouse their ire. The changes which came during the World War were all in the direction of a more healthful dress, but they were denounced as morally objectionable. In the judgment of the W.C.T.U., the right balance between a healthful and a moral dress had not yet been struck.

In 1890 a department of Physical Culture was created to work for laws making courses in physical training compulsory in the public schools. Frances Willard declared that modern gymnastics supplied all that was good in the dancing school, and eliminated the many evils that forever condemned the latter institution in the judgment of intelligent parents. The progress of this movement was impeded by another group of people who desired to introduce military training in the schools. They introduced a bill in Congress for a Bureau of Military Education in the War Department to aid schools that desired to introduce military drill. After the Spanish-American War the wave of militarism died down for a time, but in 1912 Senator Warren of Wyoming, introduced a bill to train boys in the use of firearms, under the watchful eye of representatives of the War Department. Besides their efforts for compulsory physical education laws, the White-ribboners cooperated with the playground movement, tried to interest women in physical culture, and advocated the incorporation of physical training in the prison system. Due to their efforts, the N.E.A. established a department of physical education.

If it had not been for the untimely death of Miss Willard, it is probable that the W.C.T.U. would have taken an active interest in diet

10 Report 1891, 108
11 Report 1891, 109
12 Report 1896, 200
13 Report 1912, 218
14 Ibid., 215-218.
reform. A few months before her death, Miss Willard attacked the use of white flour as an unnatural food. Shredded wheat was the best cereal to eat. She had considered establishing a department of Vegetarianism, but had given up the project. 15 During the fight for the Pure Food law, the W.C.T.U. supported Dr. Wiley. When he was finding difficulty in enforcing it, he was again given its moral support. 16

The department of Health and Heredity, and the department of Physical Education were combined into the department of Health in 1913. When the war again revived the demand for military training in the schools, the Health department exerted all its strength to check the movement, maintaining that the schools should be used for peace, not war. 17 Its efforts were unavailing, and military training was introduced into many high schools and colleges.

One of the latest activities of the Health department is its campaign for periodic health examinations as a preventive measure. In one year forty-thousand White-ribboners were persuaded to submit to these examinations. 18 Other activities include the distribution of milk to poor children, health lectures, the preparation of health exhibits, and the distribution of health literature.

Humane Work.

This line of activity was taken up primarily because of Mrs. Mary F. Lovell, a Pennsylvania White-ribboner. She was an ardent animal lover and at various times served as secretary of the Pennsylvania Women's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, director of the American Humane Association, associate editor of the Journal of Zoophily, and member of

15 Report 1897, 126
16 Union Signal, Feb. 25, 1909
17 Report 1916, 190
18 Report 1926, 93.
the American Anti-vivisection Society. She considered that humane education was the real antidote to war, and all other cruelty and crime.\textsuperscript{19}

The W.C.T.U. gave Mrs. Lovell's ideas a sympathetic reception. Miss Willard recommended that the Scientific Temperance Instruction department endorse no textbook which contained vivisection experiments. The convention resolved that the teaching of kindness to animals be made part of the juvenile work. Another resolution condemned the slaughter of millions of birds to ornament the head-dresses of women, and the White-ribboners pledged themselves not to wear such head-dresses.\textsuperscript{20}

Many members began to investigate cases of cruelty to animals. The sad case of a Chicago car horse was cited. He had become sick, and a stupid veterinarian had prescribed beer. The horse grew so fond of it, that after he recovered he refused to work without his beer. The deadly drink habit rapidly extended its sway, and the horse finally died of delirium tremens, in great agony.\textsuperscript{21} To better prevent the recurrence of such cases, the department of Mercy was created, in 1890, with Mrs. Lovell as Superintendent. The department began to cooperate with the humane societies to enforce the laws against cruelty to animals.

The American Anti-vivisection Society had been founded in 1883. Its first aim had been regulation of vivisection experiments, but this was soon changed to total prohibition.\textsuperscript{22} The W.C.T.U. agreed with this stand, and cooperated with the society in the effort to stamp out vivisection.\textsuperscript{23} The state of Washington passed an anti-vivisection law in 1897, but no other state seems to have followed her example, although there was legislation

\textsuperscript{19} Sydney H. Coleman, Humane Society Leaders In America, 186.
\textsuperscript{20} Report 1887, 46-50; 97
\textsuperscript{21} Union Signal, July 19, 1888
\textsuperscript{22} Coleman, op. cit., 205.
\textsuperscript{23} Report 1890, 59; Union Signal, Nov. 17, 1892.
of a milder character. Nebraska prohibited trap-shooting, and the docking of horses' tails, while twelve states provided for compulsory humane education in the public schools. 24 With its usual faith in federal action, the W.C.T.U. passed a resolution calling for the creation of a Federal Board to study the conditions of, and suggest methods for the protection of Children and dumb animals. 25

The Mercy department did its most effective work among children. The Bands of Mercy which it organized to protect animals were mostly composed of children, with only a small sprinkling of adults. It became almost exclusively a juvenile activity, so in 1916 it was decided to discontinue the Mercy department, and transfer its work to the Loyal Temperance Legion. 26 The Legion circulates Mercy pledges, and distributes humane literature, such as "The Air Gun and the Birds", and "The Horse's Prayer".

**Non-Alcoholic Medication.**

One of the features of the Woman's Crusade was the physicians' pledge not to prescribe liquor for patients if anything else would serve the purpose. During the Centennial Exposition the International Medical Congress met in Philadelphia. Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, president of the W.C.T.U., sent the congress a letter of inquiry regarding the use of alcohol as a medicine. She received a most favorable reply, stating that alcohol did not have a definite food value. Its use in medicine was chiefly that of a cardiac stimulant, and there were other stimulants which could be substituted. As a medicine, alcohol was not well-fitted for self-prescription by the laity, and enormous evils resulted from this practice. 27

24 Report 1897, 86; Union Signal, Nov. 16, 1905.
25 Report 1904, 78
26 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 250.
27 Wittenmyer, Woman's Crusade, 769.
document was extensively circulated by the temperance people.

In 1883 the New York W.C.T.U. started a department of Non-Alcoholics in Medicine, followed by the national organization the next year. Little was done by the national department, and it lapsed in 1886. At this time Miss Willard was much more interested in another project. Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett had succeeded in convincing her that it would serve as a valuable example if a hospital could be established to demonstrate the practicability of the successful treatment of disease without the use of alcohol. Money was raised, and in May, 1886, the National Temperance Hospital was opened in Chicago, with accommodations for 30 patients. No alcohol was allowed, either for internal or external use. Dr. Burnett was superintendent and Miss Willard was chairman of the advisory board. The only other similar institution was the London Temperance Hospital, founded thirteen years before. Dr. Burnett organized the Clara Barton Training School for Nurses in connection with the hospital. She also suggested that a medical school be established whose teaching should be absolutely non-alcoholic. Dr. Burnett was not a good financier, however, and the hospital operated under a deficit. She was accused of expending money without due authorization, and was replaced as Superintendent by Dr. Mary McCrillis. Thereafter, conditions improved, and the hospital moved to larger quarters. When Miss Willard died the name was changed to the Frances E. Willard National Temperance Hospital. It ranked as an affiliated interest of the W.C.T.U., but the connection was soon severed because of the unfortunate experiences with the Woman's Temple and the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, the other affiliated interests. The

28 Union Signal, Oct. 20, 1904.
29 Gordon, Life of Frances E. Willard, 105.
30 Union Signal, Feb. 2, 1888.
31 Ibid., Feb. 7, 1889.
hospital is still in existence and recently moved into a new eight-story building overlooking Columbus Park.\textsuperscript{32}

In 1895 the Department of Non-Alcoholic Medication was revived, with Mrs. Martha M. Allen as superintendent. Leaflets were prepared for distribution, including, "Alcohol, A Narcotic in Large or Small Doses", by Dr. Myra A. Gillette, and "Substitutes For Alcohol In Medicine", by Mrs. Allen.\textsuperscript{33} Very little was known of what went into patent medicines till the Massachusetts state chemists began to analyze some of them. Mrs. Allen procured these reports, and at the 1897 convention read the per-cent of alcohol in some of the most widely advertised patent medicines. This was one of the first attacks upon them.\textsuperscript{34} Three years later Mrs. Allen published a book called \textit{Alcohol A Dangerous and Unnecessary Medicine}, which contained a long chapter on alcoholic patent medicines. This book gave the first published evidence of fraudulent testimonials used by patent medicine manufacturers, which Mrs. Allen had unearthed after much time and expense.\textsuperscript{35} The magazine, \textit{Physical Culture} also began to expose these fraudulent testimonials.

During this period the patent medicine companies made up the most important group of general advertisers. They were able to get the most brazen and untruthful advertisements printed, and this was especially true among the religious journals, who found them their most profitable source of revenue.\textsuperscript{36} In this connection an interesting and rather paradoxical fact may be noted. At the very time that the White-ribboners were establishing

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., Jan. 18, 1930. The hospital now uses alcohol for external medication. It is listed in the Hospital Register of the American Medical Association and is approved for intern training. The name has been shortened to the Frances E. Willard Hospital.

\textsuperscript{33} Report 1896, 194.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Union Signal}, Jan. 1, 1903

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., May 31, 1906.

\textsuperscript{36} Schlesinger, \textit{Rise of the City}, 196.
the National Temperance Hospital the Union Signal was printing many patent medicine advertisements. Among these were compounds with such innocuous names as Hood's Sarsaparilla, Paine's Celery Compound, and Ayer's Sarsaparilla. But upon analysis, these concoctions were later found to contain 18.8, 21, and 26.2 per cent of alcohol, respectively. Of course the publishers of the Union Signal did not know at the time they printed these advertisements that these medicines contained alcohol. After the W.C.T.U. purchased the Union Signal from the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, it was decided that no more patent medicine advertisements would be accepted.

Edward Bok, the able editor of the Ladies Home Journal, threw a bombshell into the W.C.T.U. ranks in 1904. He declared that hundreds of zealous White-ribboners living on farms or in small communities were allowing patent medicine advertisements to be painted on their barns and outbuildings. The W.C.T.U. should make it a condition of membership to have these advertisements removed. The religious papers, many of them with W.C.T.U. columns, were advocating prohibition with one hand, and receiving with the other hand money for alcoholic patent medicine advertisements. The White-ribboners constituted an important part of the subscription lists of these papers, and could compel them to discontinue these advertisements by threatening to cancel their subscriptions. The W.C.T.U. answered Mr. Bok by asking whether it had taken a contract to do all the work against patent medicine advertisements. Advertisements for these remedies may be found in the issues of March 24, 1884; Feb. 10, 1887; and March 15, 1888.

Ibid., Dec. 3, 1903. Even after the facts began to be known, the makers of Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, which contained about 20 per cent alcohol, were able to secure endorsements from prominent W.C.T.U. women. See Robert C. Washburn, The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham, p. 21.

medicines. And how did he know that the White-ribboners were allowing these advertisements on their barns?  

Bok returned to the attack in another strong editorial. The W.C.T.U. was always pointing to its department of Non-Alcoholic Medication, but he had selected fifty White-ribboners at random, and only twenty-seven knew of the existence of the department. Thirty-seven of these fifty women were regular takers of patent medicines, some of which contained from 12 to 30 per cent of alcohol. The W.C.T.U. had objected that a constitutional amendment would be necessary to compel its members to remove patent medicine advertisements from their barns. If this were true it should have been done years ago. The W.C.T.U. said it had written many letters to religious papers, asking them to discontinue patent medicine advertisements, but this method was manifestly ineffective, and something stronger was needed. The W.C.T.U. insisted that legislative action was the only remedy, but this was a matter for the future. Now was the right time for individual work. The W.C.T.U. declared that the basic trouble was the use of alcohol in prescriptions by the regular medical profession, and they wanted this stopped. But "Is it not a little more in line with the teachings of the Master, for whom you stand, to first clean your own doorstep before you ask others to clean their doorsteps?" Mr. Bok concluded by setting forth a program by which the W.C.T.U. could hope to accomplish definite results. Every member should be put under definite obligation not to take proprietary medicines except where specifically prescribed by a physician. The advertisements should be removed from the barns of White-ribboners. If a religious paper refused to cease printing patent medicine

40 Union Signal, May 5, 1904.
advertisements, subscriptions should be canceled.  

The women were furious, "Who is Mr. Bok anyway? And who set him up as dictator and instructor for the W.C.T.U.?" they demanded. The W.C.T.U. had done more than any other agency to arouse the country on the patent medicine issue. It did not have the absolute control over its members that Bok assumed it had. At the national convention Mrs. Allen admitted that some members were thoroughly prejudiced in favor of liquor as a medicine, and had no fear of drugs, no matter how powerful. What should be done with such members?

"Is it not better, so long as they do not use liquor as beverages, to retain them in our unions, and endeavor to educate them, than to cast them out as unworthy? Nearly all temperance pledges allow the medical use of liquor, thus teaching that the beverage use only is condemned. Then how can we blame people for their ignorance and prejudice? The W.C.T.U. pledge omits the words 'as a beverage', yet we take into membership women who use liquor as a medicine, for we know that many of these learn and adopt a better way after being awhile with us."

Mrs. Allen claimed credit for the W.C.T.U. for starting the agitation which had awakened Bok, but she admitted that his editorials had been very valuable in educating the public.

During this year the post-office began to take a hand by issuing fraud orders denying the use of the mails to patent medicine concerns operating in violation of the law. Newspapers printing objectionable advertisements of these concerns were also threatened with exclusion from the mails. Mrs. Stevens, president of the W.C.T.U., recommended

42 Union Signal, Sept. 22, 1904
43 Ibid., Sept. 8, 1904.
44 Ibid., Oct. 20, 1904.
46 Ibid., June 16, 1904.
that patent medicines carry on the label the amount of alcohol, opium, or other poisonous drugs they contained. The government should refuse to grant patents on compounds in which there was danger that the user would become addicted to the morphine or alcohol habit.

Many of the states passed pure food and drug acts. North Dakota was the leader in this respect, and its law provided that if a patent medicine included alcohol or other habit forming drugs in its composition, it had to be indicated on the label. Several administrative decisions were made which were aimed at alcoholic liquor disguised as patent medicines. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue ordered that anyone selling patent medicines composed chiefly of distilled spirits without drugs or medicinal ingredients sufficient to change materially the character of the alcoholic liquor had to be licensed as a retail liquor dealer. The manufacturers were also required to pay the internal revenue tax on liquor. It was hoped that this would prevent many people from unconsciously becoming habitual users of alcohol. The New York State excise commission soon after ruled that Peruna, one of the largest selling patent medicines, could only be sold by those holding a liquor license. Mrs. Allen suggested that the White-ribboners do their share by boycotting drug stores which sold alcoholic patent medicines.

The W.C.T.U. took little active part in the pure-food agitation, but it was so bound up with the patent medicine fight that it must be briefly mentioned here. In 1883, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley became Chief Chemist in the Department of Agriculture, and soon began a campaign against harmful food

---

48 Ibid., Nov. 23, 1905.
49 The Outlook, V.81:147, Sept. 23, 1905.
50 Union Signal, Nov. 23, 1905.
51 Ibid., May 31, 1906.
preservatives and adulterants, such as benzoate of soda, sulphate of copper, and borax. In 1889, Senator Paddock of Nebraska introduced a pure food bill which passed the Senate, but was killed in the House. The same thing happened in the following sessions of Congress. The bill passed one House, only to be killed in the other. In 1902 Dr. Wiley established what became popularly known as his "poison squad". By experiments on twelve healthy young men he proved the deleterious effects of adulterated foods. This proved to be a very effective device for arousing public interest. By experiments on twelve healthy young men he proved the deleterious effects of adulterated foods. This proved to be a very effective device for arousing public interest. 52 Dr. Wiley also pointed out the dangers to babies of soothing syrups which contained opium, and the injurious effects of catarrh cures depending on cocaine for their efficacy. He directed attention to the whiskey "rectifiers" who were perpetrating a gigantic fraud on the public. They took alcohol, artificial color, and flavor, and by mixing them imitated genuine whiskey, brandy, and rum. They controlled from 85 to 90 per cent of all the distilled spirits output in the United States.53

President Roosevelt declared in favor of a pure food and drugs bill in December, 1905, but the final impulse that led to the passage of the bill came from an unexpected source. In 1906 Upton Sinclair published a novel called The Jungle. He intended it as Socialist propaganda, but the incidental exposure of the conditions under which meat products were prepared horrified the country. Charles P. Neill and James B. Reynolds were sent out from the Department of Agriculture, and their report fully corroborated Sinclair's charges. An inspection bill was introduced, and when the packers stupidly tried to block it, Roosevelt made public a part of

53 Ibid., 205.
the Neill-Reynolds report. This provoked such an outcry that it forced
the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act on June 30, 1906.\(^{54}\) One sec-
tion of the bill provided that patent medicines in interstate commerce
containing alcohol, morphine, cocaine, opium, and other dangerous and ha-
bit forming drugs must indicate on the label the quantities used.\(^{55}\)

The Liquor Dealers Association, and The Proprietary Association of
America (made up of the patent medicine manufacturers), had been the most
powerful and effective opponents of the pure food bill.\(^{56}\) When the bill
became law they set out to nullify it. It had been anticipated that Dr.
Wiley would be the final authority in determining whether a product was
adulterated or misbranded, but the Secretary of Agriculture was persuaded
to set up a Board of Food and Drug Inspection in which Dr. Wiley could be
outvoted. He soon found that he could do nothing against certain classes
of offenders, particularly the whiskey rectifiers and patent medicine manu-
facturers.\(^{57}\)

In the meantime, the W.C.T.U. was still trying to persuade the reli-
gious papers to refuse patent medicine advertisements. The Presbyterian
General Assembly adopted a resolution presented by Dr. William Oxley
Thompson, President of Ohio State University, that publishers of Presby-
terian religious papers be asked to exclude all patent medicine advertise-
ments suspected of being fraudulent. The White-ribboners considered this
only a half-way measure.\(^{58}\) A decade later, William Randolph Hearst directed
his publications to reject all advertising of medicinal preparations con-

---

\(^{54}\) H.F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt, 428; H.A. Faulkner, Quest For
Social Justice, 237.

\(^{55}\) U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 770

\(^{56}\) Mark Sullivan, Our Times, II, 527.

\(^{57}\) H.W. Wiley, Autobiography, 238. Patent medicine sales suffered a slump
during the time they were being so violently attacked, but they soon re-
covered. In 1928 the sale of Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound
reached a total of $4,000,000, a three-fold increase in twenty years.

\(^{58}\) Union Signal, June 20, 1907.
taining alcohol or opiates in habit forming quantities.\(^{59}\)

One of the most effective attacks on patent medicines was a series of articles entitled, "The Great American Fraud", which appeared in Collier's Weekly. These articles were reprinted, and through the generosity of an anonymous donor Mrs. Allen was able to distribute 45,000 free copies.\(^{60}\) When the U.S. Pharmacopoeia was revised in 1911, the W.C.T.U. succeeded in having medicated wines removed from the list of drugs.\(^{61}\)

Four years later another great victory was won when whiskey and brandy were omitted from a new edition of the Pharmacopoeia.\(^{62}\) The American Medical Association succumbed to the prevailing dry sentiment and passed resolutions opposing the use of alcohol as a beverage, and as a therapeutic agent.\(^{63}\)

One of the weaknesses of the state prohibition laws was their failure to prohibit the sale of alcoholic patent medicines. When other sources were cut off, many people turned to some such "medicine" as Peruna, which was made up of 28 per cent alcohol and 72 per cent water, colored and flavored with caramel sugar/cubebs.\(^{64}\) The Internal Revenue Bureau made up a list of 246 patent medicines which were insufficiently medicated to render them unfit for use as a beverage, and ruled that they were subject to a special tax. This seemed to have small effect. It was reported that seven hundred bottles of Hostetter's Bitters, whose principal ingredient was alcohol, had been sold in two Virginia towns over one weekend. Carloads of Tanlac (16.4 per cent alcohol) were being shipped into Maine.\(^{65}\)

\(^{59}\) Ibid., Jan. 20, 1916.  
\(^{60}\) Report 1909, 212.  
\(^{61}\) Report 1911, 212.  
\(^{62}\) Report 1915, 180. They were restored in 1924.  
\(^{63}\) Report 1917, 145.  
\(^{64}\) Union Signal, Oct. 4, 1917.  
\(^{65}\) Ibid., March 29, 1917.
When the Volstead Act was passed it included a provision allowing the manufacture of whiskey for medical use. The W.C.T.U. was strongly opposed to this as a sop to ignorance and prejudice. It pointed to the leading medical societies which had declared alcohol unnecessary as a medicine. It at once became apparent that the failure to prohibit medicinal liquor was going to prove a source of trouble. In 1920 five times as much medicinal liquor was taken from bond as in 1917. Thousands of permits went to the makers of "booze" patent medicines. Great multitudes of new tonics, medicinal wines and extracts made their appearance. The Prohibition Commissioner announced he would cancel permits if medication was not increased so that patent medicines could not be used for beverage purposes.

Soon after prohibition went into effect many physicians who had never prescribed liquor suddenly discovered that it was indispensable. It began to be felt that it was derogatory to the dignity of the medical profession to limit the amount of liquor that might be prescribed. In 1927 the American Medical Association formally protested against this, greatly to the distress of the White-ribboners.

The W.C.T.U. has worked for state laws prohibiting medicinal liquor, with some success. There are eight states which absolutely prohibit medicinal liquor, while it is substantially prohibited in Nebraska and Utah. In addition, fourteen states allow the prescription of alcohol only, whiskey and brandy being prohibited.

67 Report 1921, 129.
68 Union Signal, Feb. 3, 1921.
69 Ibid., June 4, 1927. Congress has recently removed all restrictions on the prescription of medicinal liquor.
70 Ibid., April 11, 1931.
This activity was principally aimed at tobacco, which is technically classified as a narcotic. Soon after its organization, the W.C.T.U. began to pass resolutions condemning tobacco as demoralizing, and leading directly to drink. It was charged that the manufacturers of cigars soaked them in alcoholic liquor, and even flavored them with opium to make them habit-forming. Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett, the learned superintendent of the Heredity department, declared that just as the drink habit destroyed the moral nature, so the tobacco habit tended to destroy the affectional nature, and was at the root of many divorce cases. It was recommended that the textbooks for scientific temperance instruction include a chapter on the effects of tobacco, and this advice was followed.

The department for the Suppression of the Use of Tobacco and Narcotics was started in 1884. This name was soon shortened to the Narcotics department. In a badly scrambled sentence the superintendent tried to indicate the danger which was threatening the children. The sentence read-

"The ease with which the youngest boys can obtain cigars, simply by picking them up from the streets, as thousands do, with the constant example of Christian men and ministers of the Gospel, is fastening the habit upon such an army of boys, that mothers are beginning to wake up to the danger that is threatening and destroying children almost in their infancy".

The report went on to cite the case of a fourteen year old boy who died immediately after smoking his first cigar. A young man had dropped dead on the streets of a Western city, his death being caused by the use of cigarettes. Another had his face so badly poisoned by nicotine, that his

71 Report 1877, 176.
72 Report 1880, 10; Union Signal, Sept. 13, 1883.
73 Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883.
74 Report 1885, 49.
life was endangered, and his face disfigured. To remedy some of these conditions the department began to work for laws prohibiting the sale or gift of tobacco to minors. New Jersey and Mississippi had already passed such laws. When General Grant was dying of cancer of the throat, his condition was cited to children as an object lesson against the use of tobacco. By 1901 forty-two states, and the District of Columbia had laws forbidding the sale of tobacco to minors, due in part to the efforts of the W.C.T.U.

Another early activity was the effort to abolish the smoking compartments in the Pullman cars. Petitions were circulated, and fifty thousand signatures secured, but the effort was not successful.

In common with the rest of the country the W.C.T.U. was deeply prejudiced against the cigarette, as being especially dangerous to health, and morals. The prejudice against this particular form of tobacco did not begin to give way till the World War, and even today many people still have it. Frances Willard recommended that the White-ribboners work for a law forbidding the manufacture of cigarettes, and the following year the national convention ordered that a petition be sent to Congress for such a law. Anti-cigarette leagues were formed in the schools, and appeals were made to the state legislatures. Iowa and Tennessee passed laws prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and importation of cigarettes, but the Federal Courts declared them unconstitutional, because they attempted to regulate

75 Ibid., cxxviii
76 Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883.
77 Ibid., Jan. 15, 1885.
79 Report 1893, 312.
80 Report 1889, 164; Union Signal, Nov. 27, 1890.
interstate commerce. Congress was appealed to once more, in an effort to get an interstate commerce law against the cigaret.

During the Spanish-American War 35 per cent of the men examined by the army surgeons were rejected as unfit, while only 13 per cent were rejected in the Civil War. It was alleged that this great increase was almost entirely due to the cigaret habit. The nefarious Tobacco Trust was charged with giving away a chewing gum to children, called Gumbacco. This contained fine cut tobacco.

An alarming increase was reported in the number of drug addicts. The question was raised whether the drug fiend was to become as common as the drunkard. In some Southern localities it was reported that saloons in the negro districts were going out of business because their patrons were using cocaine instead of alcohol. The White-ribboners were warned that their fight against the drug evil must begin at home, in their own medicine cabinets. Many of them were using headache powders containing opium, and catarrh remedies containing cocaine. When the Harrison Narcotic Act was introduced, the W.C.T.U. actively supported it and rejoiced at its passage.

Congress had refused to pass an anti-cigaret law, so the states began to pass measures forbidding the manufacture and sale, but not the importation, of cigarettes. By 1913, the W.C.T.U. had helped to put anti-cigaret laws in the statute books of nine states—Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. In none of these states were cigarettes allowed to be sold. In North Dakota

81 Union Signal, Nov. 25, 1897.
82 Ibid., May 26, 1898.
83 Report 1898, 247.
84 Report 1903, 240.
85 Report 1915, 231.
snuff was also prohibited.\textsuperscript{86} The movement against tobacco reached its greatest height in the period immediately preceding the war. Due to the pressure exerted by the W.C.T.U., the Southern Methodist Convention passed a resolution prohibiting the use of tobacco by its ministers.\textsuperscript{87} Anti-Cigaretet Sundays were established in the Sunday Schools, and special lessons prepared on tobacco.\textsuperscript{88}

During the war, White-ribbon women were active in Red Cross work. There were certain activities, however, of which they did not approve. They sent petitions to the Red Cross asking that it discontinue sending tobacco to soldiers and sailors. The government was also asked to restrict the planting of tobacco, and thus release for food crops at least a part of the million and a third acres devoted to tobacco.\textsuperscript{89} Bitter complaint was made of the craze for sending tobacco to the soldiers, which was sweeping the country. The superintendent of the Narcotics department declared the W.C.T.U. would gladly sacrifice everything for "our boys", but it would not countenance sending them a poison which would decrease their efficiency, and cripple them.\textsuperscript{90} She refused to consider the fact that for a great many men this "poison" was one of the things that made life in the trenches bearable.

One of the features of the war that was particularly painful to the White-ribboners, was the great increase in the number of women who smoked cigarettes. As early as the beginning of the century protests had been made against the manufacture of jeweled pocketbooks to hold cigarettes for women

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Union Signal}, April 25, 1912; March 20, 1913.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Report} 1914, 211.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Union Signal}, May 8, 1913.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Report} 1917, 169, 171.
\textsuperscript{90} \textit{Union Signal}, March 29, 1918.
smokers, and cigaret rings to save their fingers from becoming tobacco stained.\textsuperscript{91} When the evil continued to increase the St. Louis W.C.T.U. opened a cigaret cure clinic for women only, in charge of a woman physician.\textsuperscript{92} Nothing availed, and the number of women smokers continued to increase. The figures on tobacco consumption were startling. They had risen from 1.8 pounds per capita at the end of the Civil War, to 7 pounds per capita at the end of the World War.\textsuperscript{93}

After the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment, the Association Opposed To National Prohibition charged that the W.C.T.U. was engaged in a secret campaign for an amendment prohibiting tobacco. This was denied as untrue, but the educational work against tobacco was ordered to continue, especially among women smokers.\textsuperscript{94} There were several things which seemed to justify the suspicion that the W.C.T.U. was preparing a campaign for the prohibition of tobacco. A pamphlet with the significant title "Nicotine Next" was being distributed by the W.C.T.U. in 1919. The Superintendent of the Narcotics department said,-

"When the blighting effects of the poison nicotine are fully realized - and within the next few years, science will give us some startling facts regarding tobacco - then will youth gird itself for this new crusade."

For the present, education was still the slogan.\textsuperscript{95}

The charge that Prohibition was increasing the number of drug addicts caused the White-ribboners to become much disturbed. They sought to disprove it by pointing to the great number of drug addicts in wet countries. Mrs. Wallace Reid had just produced her picture, "Human Wreckage", which

\textsuperscript{91} Report 1902, 274.
\textsuperscript{92} Union Signal, April 29, 1915
\textsuperscript{93} Report 1923, 141.
\textsuperscript{94} Report 1919, 31.
\textsuperscript{95} Union Signal, March 11, 1920.
was directed against the drug traffic. The W.C.T.U. sent her a letter of appreciation for her work.96

A new feature of the juvenile work was the crushing of cigar and cigarette butts. This was presumably to keep boys from picking them up. It was reported that the use of tobacco by those of tender years was on the increase. The average age at which boys began the use of tobacco had fallen to eleven years.97 A letter which a tobacco company was sending to boys on their birthdays was reproduced. Besides the letter, the boys were sent a carton of cigarettes.98 To combat these influences the W.C.T.U. introduced a scientific motion picture on the effects of nicotine into the regular visual education program of many public and normal schools. The W.C.T.U. had always been opposed to the use of tobacco by teachers, and it received with enthusiasm an order which the Kansas State Superintendent of Public Instruction issued. No recommendations for school positions would be made for those who used tobacco. Schools and colleges whose administrative heads smoked would be taken off the accredited list.99

With all its feverish activity, the W.C.T.U. continued to lose ground. The anti-cigarette laws were repealed one by one, till no state prohibited the sale of cigarettes, except to minors.100 The consumption of cigarettes went up by leaps and bounds, more than a hundred billion being smoked annually in the United States. An important factor in this great increase was the woman smoker. The tobacco companies appreciated this fact, and

96 Report 1923, 78
97 Report 1921, 100
98 Report 1922, 108
99 Report 1922, 119
100 Union Signal, Jan. 26, 1929
their advertising was increasingly addressed to women. The W.C.T.U. protested against billboards showing women smoking, and Senator Smoot thundered against it in the Senate, but the practice continued.

The department of Narcotics had worked long and faithfully. Three million cigaret and cigar butts had been crushed in 1926, but other millions were thrown down to take their place. Anti-tobacco pledges were circulated, but the number of smokers continued to increase. Medal contests and debates were held, playlets performed, window cards placed, and literature distributed, but no appreciable results followed. At the 1932 Convention the Executive Committee decided to discontinue the Narcotics department. The anti-tobacco activity was given to the Scientific Temperance Instruction department, and the narcotic drugs to the Medical Temperance department. 101

101 Report 1932, 47.
CHAPTER VIII

Publishing And Propaganda

The W.C.T.U. has always been keenly alive to the value of the printed word. At the first national convention a committee was appointed to consider the establishment of a paper. In June 1875, The Woman's Temperance Union made its appearance as a monthly, and was endorsed by the national convention as the official organ. Mrs. Mary C. Johnson, the National Recording Secretary, was the publisher, but she soon went to England, and was succeeded by Mrs. Mary T. Burt. The name was changed to Our Union in 1877. The paper soon became involved in the woman suffrage controversy which was raging in the national organization, both Mrs. Burt, and Miss Margaret E. Winslow, the editor, being opposed to woman's suffrage. They refused to print articles about the Home Protection Petition, asking for woman suffrage on liquor questions, which led Miss Willard to challenge their right to do so. Thereupon, Miss Winslow and Mrs. Burt resigned and were replaced by two of Miss Willard's supporters.

The White-ribboners appreciated the importance of circulating temperance literature, but they were not prepared as yet to do their own publishing. The National Temperance Society and Publication House, founded a few years before by Mr. John N. Stearns, solved this difficulty for the time being. A resolution was passed in 1875 recommending that the publications of this society be sent to all Sabbath schools and public libraries. The next year two important committees were established. The Press committee was appointed to interest editors in printing temperance material in their newspapers. Within a year the committee reported that it had

1 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 221.
2 Report 1878, 28
3 Report 1879, 54.
4 Report 1875, 61.
secured half a column to a column a week in two thousand newspapers. Half the country papers in Ohio were pledged to the insertion of such temperance matter as the W.C.T.U. might provide. After Miss Willard became President a Department For Influencing the Press was organized, and a monthly National W.C.T.U. Bulletin, containing paragraphs suitable for use in newspapers, was sent to all state superintendents.

The Temperance Literature Committee was also appointed in 1876. It prepared leaflets and broadsides which were published for it by the National Temperance Society and Publication House. In 1880 the situation was changed by the organization of the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association of Illinois. Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, who later became famous as the promotor of The Woman's Temple, was the founder. She felt that the White-ribboners ought to publish their own literature, and decided to employ her business talents to this end.

Mrs. Carse at once proceeded to establish The Signal to serve as the W.C.T.U. paper for the Western states. The field was not large enough for two papers, and proposals began to be made for their consolidation. After long negotiations it was decided that Our Union and The Signal were to be combined into a weekly paper, The Union Signal. The first number appeared January 4, 1883, with Mrs. Mary Bannister Willard as editor. The paper was owned and published by the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, but the W.C.T.U. was vested with editorial control.

The eighties witnessed the greatest relative increase in the membership of the W.C.T.U. and both the Union Signal and the W.T.P.A. (as the

5 Report 1877, 173.
6 Report 1884, VIII
7 Union Signal, Feb. 22, 1906.
Woman's Temperance Publishing Association was called) shared in this growth. The latter soon crowded out the National Temperance Society and Publication House, and in 1886 was adopted as the publishing house of the W.C.T.U. It became an affiliated interest, which meant that the W.C.T.U. endorsed it without having any financial or legal control. By the end of the decade the W.T.P.A. was printing 125,000,000 pages annually. Only about a third of this was temperance material, the rest being ordinary job printing. Mrs. Carse had 111 employees, of which 89 were women. Miss Willard made the claim that it was the largest temperance printing establishment in the world.

The Union Signal had started with about ten thousand subscribers. This rapidly increased till the number touched sixty-five thousand in 1891. Encouraged by her success, Mrs. Carse started publishing two new papers in 1887. The Young Crusader was a four-page weekly for L.T.L. children. It was edited by Alice Guernsey, who was prominent as a temperance textbook writer. The Oak and Ivy Leaf was a four-page monthly for young people, and was edited by Mary Allen West. During this period the Peace Department started two papers - The Pacific Banner for adults, and The Acorn for children, but they do not seem to have lasted very long. Some foreign language papers were also attempted, which will be discussed later.

During the nineties the depression operated to reduce the business of the W.T.P.A. The fact that Mrs. Carse was absorbed in the Woman's Temple, and could not give much time to publishing activities, was another

---

8 Report 1886, 142.
11 Union Signal, Nov. 17, 1892.
12 Report 1887, 80
13 Report 1889, 145.
unfavorable factor. The circulation of The Union Signal began to go
down, and it never again attained the figure it reached in 1891, al-
though the W.C.T.U. membership has more than doubled since then. The
Woman's Temple fiasco led Mrs. Carse to resign as President of the W.T.P.A.
in 1898. Left without a capable head the W.T.P.A. soon got into diffi-
culties, and was compelled to lease its entire business to a private
printing company. In 1903 the W.T.P.A. was dissolved and The Union Signal
and The Young Crusader sold to the W.C.T.U.

For a time the W.C.T.U. had to depend on other publishing houses
to print its literature. But Mrs. Stevens was not satisfied with this
arrangement, and in 1910 the condition of the treasury had so improved that
she determined to risk a new undertaking. This was the national W.C.T.U.
Publishing House. A two-story brick building was built back of Rest Cott-
tage in Evanston, Illinois, to house the literature business, the editor-
ial and circulation departments of The Union Signal and The Young Crusader
and the Publicity Bureau.

The Bureau of Publicity was an outgrowth of the Press Department which
had been active for more than thirty years. In 1909 with the third great
prohibition wave well under way, the Press Department was regularly fill-
ing nearly two thousand columns weekly in the newspapers of the country.
A total of eighty thousand columns was filled during the year. In 1911
a Press Bureau was established to send out articles and news directly to

14 Union Signal, Dec. 8, 1898
15 Ibid., Dec. 3, 1903; Dec. 15, 1904.
16 Report 1911, 114.
17 Report 1909, 264.
the general press. The results did not justify the time and expense involved, so an arrangement was made to supply temperance material to the Western Newspaper Union, which was to sell it in the form of plates or patent insides. The Press Bureau and Press Department were then merged to form the Bureau of Publicity.\textsuperscript{18}

It was found that few newspapers were willing to pay for plates. The liquor interests were giving away free plate matter, and the papers apparently felt that the temperance people ought to do likewise. The Western Newspaper Union was only selling about fifty columns of temperance material a year, and suggestions began to be made that the local unions pay for plates, and present them to newspapers willing to use them.\textsuperscript{19} This was not generally followed, but a different plan was finally worked out. In those states in which a prohibition campaign was in progress a free plate service was established, with the national and state Unions each paying half the cost. Half a column was supplied to one newspaper in each county.\textsuperscript{20}

During the final drive for national prohibition the Bureau of Publicity started a monthly clip sheet of press paragraphs, and sent it to twelve thousand papers. On its own initiative the Western Newspaper Union began syndicating a temperance serial story called "Little Sir Galahad," and the Publicity Bureau was glad to cooperate in this enterprise.\textsuperscript{21}

The publicity of the liquor interests was extensive and well financed. Not only was free plate matter furnished to newspapers, but books were published and given to all libraries which would accept them. The W.C.T.U. discovered that such false and nefarious publications as Percy Andree's,\textsuperscript{18} Report 1912, 258. \textsuperscript{19} Report 1913, 261 \textsuperscript{20} Un--Signal, Jan. 18, 1917. \textsuperscript{21} Report 1916, 153.
The Prohibition Movement were being introduced into public libraries. Members were urged to investigate their local libraries, and urge the library board to remove these books, and put in their places the best scientific authorities on alcohol, such as Mrs. Martha M. Allen, Alcohol A Dangerous and Unnecessary Medicine, and Dr. W. A. Chapple The Evils of Alcohol. Later a list of "Dangerous Literature" was printed and it was ordered that the White-ribboners tactfully bring pressure to bear to secure the removal of these books. Many college libraries were getting these books, but on the other side of the ledger nearly seventy colleges and universities were offering courses in the study of the liquor problem, and more than a hundred had volunteer temperance study classes. The Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, founded in 1887, furnished the initiative which led to the adoption of these classes, as well as the material which was studied. It also conducted an elaborate system of oratorical contests. It is estimated that between 1900 and 1917 at least ten thousand original orations upon Prohibition were delivered.

During this period the press of the country was much more favorable to temperance than it became after prohibition went into effect. The methods of the liquor interests were so objectionable that in 1916 more than a third of the daily papers refused to accept liquor advertisements. Included in this list were such metropolitan papers as the New York Tribune, the Chicago Herald, the Boston Record, the Minneapolis Journal, the Kansas City Star, the Philadelphia Ledger, and the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times. More than forty of the leading magazines also refused to take

22 Union Signal, Dec. 9, 1915.
23 Ibid., May 11, 1916.
24 Report 1916, 115; Colvin, Prohibition in the U.S., 325.
25 Union Signal, March 16, 1915.
liquor advertising, including The Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, Harpers, The Literary Digest, McClures, World's Work, and The American.26

William Randolph Hearst started out as an ardent temperance advocate. As early as 1902 the Hearst Syndicate was printing temperance lessons, and was planning to carry on a pledge signing crusade the next year.27 In 1916 Hearst directed that all his publications reject liquor advertisements. The following year he instructed his two California papers, The San Francisco Examiner, and the Los Angeles Examiner to fight for state prohibition.28

As soon as the prohibition amendment was ratified temperance material lost its news value, so the Western Newspaper Union stopped putting out the W.C.T.U. material.29 The Publicity Bureau began to send monthly bulletins to five or more press women in every state, who distributed it among the newspapers. These press women were offered a free course in journalistic writing.30 At present there are over 1800 press women, and they receive news articles and releases from the Publicity Bureau weekly. The bureau also sends material to the women who conduct the 250 columns which the W.C.T.U. is allowed to fill.

According to a circular recently issued by the Bureau of Publicity,-

"The press of America, in a large measure, is closed to constructive dry education; closed to temperance education; and many of the newspapers are notoriously and brutally unfair to the work of the W.C.T.U. But the radio is open to all."

The White-ribboners have not neglected this increasingly important avenue of publicity, and there are about three hundred W.C.T.U. women who broadcast, some of them regularly, and some as occasional guests of the great

27 Report 1902, 143.
28 Union Signal, Jan. 20, 1916; May 17, 1917.
29 Report 1919, 118.
30 Report 1923, 179.
national chains. 31 The motion picture is also used to create sentiment for prohibition. The W.C.T.U. has a five-reel film, "Safeguarding the Nation", which it rents out. It is a presentation of scientific laboratory experiments showing the effects of alcohol on the body. 32

In 1916 it was recommended that a professional press agent be employed. Nothing further was done till 1926, when Mr. Earl Godwin was hired to conduct the publicity campaign against the attempts to repeal or weaken the dry laws in seven states. Mr. Godwin had had a varied career as a newspaper man and press agent. He was chairman of the publicity committees for both inaugurals of President Wilson, and had also done publicity work for the Republican National Committee. The W.C.T.U. liked his efforts so well that it appointed him Director of Publicity, a position which he still holds. He is the only man to hold an important post in the organization.

The Bureau of Publicity has drawn up a Plan of Work for the campaign to stem the wet tide which is now flowing. Every county is to have a director of publicity working under directions from national headquarters. It is urged that letters to editors be increased a hundred-fold. Churches, clubs, and other local groups are to be organized into letter writers. A stream of dry letters are to reach the editor of every local paper every day. The radio is to be used as much as possible. The strategy called for is one of attack, not defense. Instead of stressing the advantages of prohibition, a strong attack is to be made on liquor, with the idea of making the wets defend the liquor traffic. John Barleycorn is trying to get his head above the trenches, and he must be driven back to cover. 33

31 Letter from Earl Godwin, Director of Publicity, May 29, 1933.
32 Union Signal, Feb. 9, 1922.
33 Circular from Bureau of Publicity.
Temperance and Labor.

Frances Willard appreciated the importance of converting the laboring classes to the support of temperance. The year after she became President a department for Inducing Corporations and Employers To Require Total Abstinence In Their Employees was established. This clumsy name was soon changed to the Relation of Temperance To Capital and Labor, and then shortened to the department of Temperance and Labor, which it retained till 1919. Some of the activities of the department were the study of the correlation between labor and temperance questions, discrimination in favor of abstinent habits in all branches of insurance, and persuading employers to require total abstinence in their men.

The Knights of Labor had already shown its interest in temperance questions, due to the influence of its leader, Terence V. Powderly. In 1878 the Knights excluded from membership all those who had capital invested in the liquor traffic. Miss Willard was generous enough to say that by outlawing the saloon the Knights had done more for temperance than the W.C.T.U. The Knights had also shown themselves liberal in their treatment of women. The first woman's local was organized in 1881, and Powderly admitted the delegate it sent to the General Assembly, although the constitution made no provision for the admission of women. The next year the General Assembly regularized these proceedings by permitting the initiation of women over fifteen years of age.

Encouraged by these developments, the W.C.T.U. made overtures of cooperation. During the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, held at Cleveland in 1886, Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, President of the Ohio W.C.T.U.,

34 Report 1880, 104
35 Union Signal, June 30, 1892
36 Willard, Glimpses, 525
37 N.J. Ware, Labor Movement in U.S. 1860-1895, 346-348.
delivered an address. Never before had such a courtesy been accorded to any other organization. Mrs. Woodbridge applauded the hostile attitude which the Knights had adopted toward the saloon. She suggested that they request the employers to shift payday from Saturday to Monday, so that the men should not be tempted to go on a spree over the week-end, and spend most of their pay in the saloon. The W.C.T.U. offered its support in the fight for a Saturday half-holiday if the Knights would in turn give their support in the fight for the American Sabbath. In conclusion the Knights were asked to work for prohibition and woman's suffrage. Powderly had been circulating a five-year total abstinence pledge, which secured one-hundred thousand signatures among the Knights. He also put through a rule that no intoxicating liquor be permitted at any picnic, ball, or social event of the order. If they had not been displaced by the American Federation of Labor as the dominant labor organization, it is probable that the Knights would have become an important factor in the fight for prohibition.

On the question of the Saturday half-holiday, the motives of the W.C.T.U. in supporting it were quite different from those of the laboring classes. It was thought that if Saturday afternoon could be used for recreation, Sunday would not be desired for this purpose, and would be devoted to rest and worship. The White-ribboners also entered the fight against Sunday labor for religious reasons. The Knights of Labor, the Railroad-Brotherhoods, and the A.F. of L. joined the W.C.T.U. in petitioning Congress to prohibit dispensable Sunday labor, but the bill which Senator Blair introduced

38 T.V. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, 601.
39 Willard, Glimpses, 413-415
40 Powderly, op. cit., 605.
42 Union Signal, Nov. 11, 1888
The W.C.T.U. objected to Sunday work as a desecration of the Sabbath, but the laboring classes objected because it deprived them of a day of rest and recreation.

The department of Temperance and Labor made slow progress. The superintendent complained that she was in a dilemma,—

"If we approach the working man in a manner that shows that Prohibition lies nearer our hearts than any other purpose, they immediately judge that our object is to win votes for the Prohibition Party, and our real intent is ineffective. If we approach them in a manner which shows that the purpose nearest our hearts is that labor shall be dignified, and shall receive an equitable proportion of the wealth it annually creates, then our own membership are loath to cooperate with us, lest the Labor Party gain voters from such a method."

Miss Willard did not show much sympathy with the aims of labor when she declared that the important question was not to get higher wages, but to turn present wages to better account. Her point was, that if the laboring man would stop drinking he would have more money for other things. She declared herself opposed to strikes, as well as lockouts, but she was in favor of restricting immigration because of her goodwill towards Labor, as well as because the immigrants opposed her pet reforms.

Miss Willard at once became interested in the Society of Christian Socialists, which was founded in 1889 on the principle that the teachings of Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of socialism. At the W.C.T.U. convention she presented the program of the Christian Socialists, although she was careful to state that she was opposed to anarchism and socialism. The convention took no action, but Miss Willard

43 Schlesinger, op. cit., 335.
44 Report 1887, XXI
45 Report 1886, 85.
46 Report 1887, 91, 97.
47 Schlesinger, op. cit., 341.
48 Report 1889, 94.
indicated her sympathy by declaring that the New Testament was the best
treatise on political economy.\footnote{49 Willard, Glimpses, 525.} A few months before her death Miss Wil-
lard definitely declared herself a Christian Socialist. Her program was
as follows,-

"I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of law-
ful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of
a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant
of civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent
in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither,
and make it the common property of all the people, requiring
all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest
physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case,
and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education
and refinement."

She added that this "will not come in our time".\footnote{50 Report 1897, 119}

For a time, at least, the W.C.T.U. took on a radical tinge. A plan
was approved whereby unemployed men were to be employed on public works,
and paid by the issue of full legal tender greenbacks to the extent of
fifty dollars per capita of total population.\footnote{51 Union Signal, Jan. 5, 1893.} With her new social out-
look Miss Willard made a statement which stirred up a great deal of con-
troversy, when she said that the temperance people were in error in not
recognizing the relation of poverty to intemperance. She had always main-
tained that intemperance caused poverty, and she was now ready to add that
poverty caused intemperance, although not to the same degree. It was
high time that the temperance forces admitted this.\footnote{52 Report 1894, 105.}

The department of Temperance and Labor seemed to have more success
with the employers than with their workers. Business men had begun to rea-
lize the advantage of sober workers, especially in the dangerous trades.
Many railroads, such as the Philadelphia and Reading, the Lake Erie and Western, the Northern Pacific, and the Missouri Pacific began to forbid the use of liquor by men on duty. The Federal Commissioner of Labor sent out a questionnaire to employers asking what their attitude was towards liquor-drinking by their men. Out of seven thousand replies only sixteen hundred stated that they did not inquire into drinking habits when hiring men. Nearly two thousand required total abstinence of their employees at all times, while fifteen hundred others required this only when on duty. Within a few years the W.C.T.U. alleged that 90 per cent of the railroads, 72 per cent of the manufacturers, 88 per cent of the merchants, and 72 per cent of the farmers prohibited the use of alcohol by their employees, either entirely or while on duty. The White-ribboners claimed a great share of the credit in creating this situation. The argument about the necessity for temperance in the handling of modern machinery began to assume a prominent place.

The American Federation of Labor was not sympathetic to many of the aims of the W.C.T.U., as the Knights of Labor had been. Unlike Powderly, Samuel Gompers was not a temperance advocate, and would have nothing to do with temperance work. But there was one subject on which Gompers and the W.C.T.U. were agreed, and that was the regulation of woman and child labor. As early as 1885 Gompers had introduced a resolution for the international regulation of woman and child labor. He advocated equal pay for equal work, and the organization of working women into trade unions. When

53 Schlesinger, op. cit., 356
54 Report of U.S. Commissioner of Labor, 1897, p. 70
55 Report 1903, 132
56 Report 1905, 116
the Women's Trade Union League was organized he gave his hearty support. 57

The W.C.T.U. became more and more interested in activities against child labor. A department of Juvenile Courts, Industrial Education, and Anti-Child Labor was established as a result. 58 After much agitation, in which the W.C.T.U. had a share, the bill for the establishment of the Children's Bureau passed Congress in 1912. There was much rejoicing, especially when Miss Julia C. Lathrop was selected to head the new bureau. Miss Lathrop was a well known social worker connected with Hull House in Chicago, and was active in juvenile education. Mrs. Stevens declared that it was high time for the government to undertake the conservation of child life. 59 The W.C.T.U. supported the unsuccessful efforts to tax child-labor out of existence, and when the child labor amendment was passed, it exerted itself to secure ratification. 60 Unexpected obstacles developed, and only a few states have ratified.

During the last stages of the prohibition struggle, the department of Temperance and Labor strove to get bulletin boards into factories to stress the economic arguments for prohibition. Noon day meetings were held and house to house canvasses made. 61 After prohibition was won the department name was changed to Women In Industry. Its aims were an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, no night work, and sanitary working conditions for women. Cooperation was maintained with the Division of Women's Work in the United States Department of Labor. It was reported that twelve thousand White-ribboners, or four per cent of the total membership, were employed. 62

57 Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labor, I 238, 489, 492.
58 Union Signal, Jan. 23, 1908
59 Report 1912, 109
60 Union Signal, Nov. 27, 1924
61 Ibid., Jan. 15, 1916
62 Report 1921, 160-162.
The department does not seem to have been very successful, and has been discontinued. There is a child welfare department which still carries on agitation against child labor.

Work Among Foreigners-

Even during the Crusade the women felt that the greatest obstacle to their activities was the foreign population, especially the Germans and Irish. During Mrs. Wittenmyer's regime, however, the W.C.T.U. seems to have made no special provision for spreading temperance propaganda among this element. Miss Willard soon remedied this omission by establishing a Department For Work Among Our Foreign Population, Indians, and Colored People. In her first report, given in 1881, Superintendent Sarah P. Morrison had some uncomplimentary things to say about the Irish. She declared that,

"absence of cleanliness, absence of thrift, and consequently of comfort, are the characteristics of the Irish, . . . .
Ignorance, idleness, and swagger generally gravitate to the sediment of things when they are at ease. Although it is a heavy load to lift and not sweet scented, compulsory education and prohibition of the grog shop will prove the strong hands to lift Patrick from the gutter and help steady his legs for all time . . . ."

She characterized the Germans as, "the Goliath defying and striking with consternation the temperance hosts." 63

It was decided that the department was too large for one person to handle. Accordingly, it was divided into five parts, viz., Work Among Germans; Scandinavians; Chinese; Indians; and Colored People. 64 Mrs. Henrietta Skelton, the German superintendent, was born in Gissen, Germany, the daughter of a college professor. She became one of the founders of Der Bahnbrecher in 1881, probably the first German temperance paper in the United States.

63 Report 1881, lxii
64 Brief History of W.C.T.U. 35
The editor was Professor Adolph Schmitz, of Chicago. 65

In August, 1882, a German convention was held in Chicago on the initiative of the W.C.T.U. and the German-American National Total Abstinence Society was organized. 66 At the W.C.T.U. national convention a resolution of rejoicing was passed, welcoming the new society. Miss Willard declared that it was headed by a bishop, but she did not name him. 67

Another resolution provided that each state was to raise one dollar for each five hundred Germans within its borders, or secure one subscriber to Der Bahnbrecher. The money was to go to the treasury of the German-American Total Abstinence Society provided they raised a like sum. 68 The German work was regarded as of the deepest importance, and the convention created a new Department of Evangelistic Work Among Germans, with Mrs. Emma Obenauer as superintendent. Much encouragement was derived from the reports of the Iowa prohibition campaign. Mr. A. F. Hofer, of McGregor, Iowa, had written some German leaflets which proved very effective, and it was estimated that five thousand Germans had voted for the prohibition amendment. 69

When he heard of the assistance the White-ribboners had pledged to Der Bahnbrecher, Professor Schmitz gave up his teaching position to devote himself wholly to the paper, which he changed to a weekly. He soon found himself in difficulties for the expected assistance did not materialize. 70

After struggling along for a year or so, Der Bahnbrecher gave up the ghost.

65 Willard, Woman and Temperance, 588
66 Report 1882, X. The German name was "Deutscher National Verein," and possibly the W.C.T.U. was not justified in adding "Total Abstinence" to the English title.
67 Ibid., lxxvi
68 Ibid., 26
69 Ibid. X; lxxvi
70 Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883
The German-American National Total Abstinence Society also seems to have expired, for we hear no more of it.

The organization of the foreign activities still did not work smoothly, necessitating another change in 1883. A Department of Work Among Foreigners was created with Mrs. Sophie F. Grubb as superintendent. Assistants were appointed to take charge of the work among the different nationalities. Mrs. Laura G. Fixen, a Danish woman living in Minnesota, was put in charge of the Scandinavian work. She was soon publishing temperance tracts in Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, with good results. Mrs. S.M. Van Olinda, of Holland, Michigan, was in charge of the Dutch division. Since 1879 she had been conducting a temperance column in some of the Dutch papers, such as De Gron Wet, De Hollander, and De Hope. She reported that the Dutch were a moral and temperate people, but not total abstainers. It was very difficult to convince them that the temperance movement was necessary. Miss E. Edith Morris carried on the work among the Chinese, and she became even more discouraged than Mrs. Van Olinda. When approached, the Chinese would reply that when they did drink, it was quietly, and in their own quarters. They did not fight and riot in the streets like some people they knew, and they advised the women to turn their attention to their own countrymen. Other assistants were Mrs. L.G. Sobieski, in charge of the Polish; Mrs. B. C. Forsythe, in charge of the Spanish; and Mrs. Ada H. Keply, in charge of the Germans.

The demise of Der Bahnbrecher had left a gap in the German work, and efforts were made to start a new paper. The W.C.T.U. raised some money,

---

71 Brief History of W.C.T.U., 35.
72 Report 1885, xcix
73 Report 1884, xli
74 Report 1885, civ
and an eight page monthly, Der Deutsche Amerikaner, made its appearance at the beginning of 1886. Two German pastors in Chicago, Messrs. Lambert and Funk, were the editors. Mrs. Fixen also began to publish personally a Scandinavian quarterly paper, its English name being Gospel Echoes. It soon had a circulation of fourteen thousand.\(^75\) Der Deutsche Amerikaner was not so fortunate. After almost two years it had a circulation of about fifteen hundred, and Mrs. Grubb admitted that the German work was progressing more slowly than among any other nationality.\(^76\) The paper was never self-sustaining, and it had to be suspended in 1890.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the preparation of temperance literature for distribution among immigrant groups. By 1889 the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association was printing almost a hundred different tracts in fourteen languages. Mrs. Grubb reported that Catholics were the hardest to reach with temperance and gospel teachings because they were "so long under the dominion of false teachings". Special tracts were printed containing the utterances of Archbishop Ireland, and Bishops Spaulding and Feehan, and were circulated in Bohemian, Polish, French, Italian, and German. Count Leo Tolstoi had also sent Mrs. Grubb two Russian temperance tracts which she was having published.\(^77\)

Mrs. Grubb had been putting a great deal of effort into the German work, and was able to report that a new prohibition weekly had been founded in Illinois, the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. In July 1889, the German National Prohibition League had been established in Chicago.\(^78\) This organization seems to have been as ephemeral as the German-American National

\(^75\) Report 1886, lxxxvii \\
\(^76\) Ibid., lxxxvi \\
\(^77\) Report 1889, cclxxvii \\
\(^78\) Ibid., cclxxix
Total Abstinence Society.

Its lack of success seemed to sour the W.C.T.U. Miss Willard was of the opinion that the quality of the immigrants was steadily deteriorating as the quantity grew. America had become the dumping ground of European cities. There were over eight hundred foreign language papers in the United States, and a majority of them contained ideas on home, temperance and the Sabbath which were European and revolutionary, rather than American and Christian. The effects of the Chicago Haymarket riot can be traced in the charge that the foreigners congregated in the cities where they formed socialistic and anarchistic groups which resisted assimilation. They were easily manipulated by demagogues, and the alien ruled cities were one of the most serious menaces to American civilization.

Mrs. Grubb recommended that Congress be memorialized to withhold the ballot from all unnaturalized persons in the territories, and that a like request be sent to all state legislatures. At this time many states allowed aliens to vote after a short period of residence, provided they had taken out their first papers.

Mrs. Grubb became greatly concerned over the reports of the systematic swindling of immigrants at the ports of entry. She recommended that a missionary be employed to protect and warn them, as well as to distribute temperance literature. In 1891 Miss Anna Lindahl, a Swedish woman, became, the W.C.T.U. Ellis Island missionary. Barrels of clothing were collected and sent to her, to be distributed among needy immigrants. She wrote letters and telegrams, and performed a host of other services for the new

79 Report 1889, 94.
80 Union Signal, March 13, 1890
81 Report 1890, 5
82 Report 1894, 249
arrivals. This was probably the most beneficial thing the W.C.T.U. ever did for the foreigner. So successful did it prove that missionaries were later established at Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Tampa, Galveston, and San Francisco. Miss Lindahl was soon succeeded by Miss Mary L. Orr, who was Ellis Island missionary till 1913. She was followed by Mrs. Athenia Marmaroff, a Bulgarian woman who spoke nine languages. She thoroughly understood the needs of the immigrants, and was of great service to them. In 1903 the W.C.T.U. was active in the passage of a bill prohibiting the sale of liquor at ports of entry and immigrant stations.

The printing of literature had been expanded till there were more than two hundred leaflets in twenty languages. It was found, however, that temperance material inserted in the foreign language papers were much more effective. The Scandinavians had always offered the most favorable field for temperance work of any of the foreign groups. Many places in which they formed a majority of the population were going dry in local option elections. The W.C.T.U. decided that the best way to encourage the growth of prohibition sentiment was to establish a paper. Accordingly, the Hvita Bandet, a Swedish monthly, was started in June, 1907. Soon afterward an announcement was made of a new German magazine to be called Nationale Prosperitat, whose aim was to be to dissolve the unholy alliance between the liquor element and the Germans. The next year Mrs. U.F. Bruun of Chicago started a Norwegian paper Det Hvide Baand. A Japanese W.C.T.U. in Oakland, California, began to publish a paper called The White Ribbon Woman. L'Araldo, the only evangelical Italian paper in America, devoted

83 Report 1913, 200  
84 Boole, Give Prohibition A Chance, 51  
85 Report 1911, 192  
86 Report 1901, 205  
87 Union Signal, June 13, 1907
two columns a month to temperance material furnished by the W.C.T.U.

Other foreign language papers following the same policy were Krestanske Listy (Bohemian); Reformatusok Lapja (Hungarian); and Sojuz (Ruthenian).88

The results of all this activity were discouragingly small. Five years after the founding of the Swedish paper, Hvita Bandet, the circulation was only a little over eight hundred. Mrs. Mary B. Wilson, superintendent of the Department of Work Among Foreigners, adopted a pessimistic tone in her reports,-

"You say to me, 'Watchman, What of the night?,' and I reply: Signs of unrest everywhere. . . . Americans abandoning farms, foreigners eagerly taking them and making them pay. American children loafing or frequenting picture shows; foreign children taking the scholarships. Foreigners going into politics, defeating Americans, and making regulations and laws to suit their own ideas."

She declared that more than ninety per cent of all the people engaged in the liquor business were foreigners.89

A change of policy was indicated in 1917 when the Department For Work Among Foreigners was changed to the Americanization Department.90 Previously the aim had been almost exclusively the fostering of prohibition sentiment, but now it was to make the immigrant a good American in every activity of life. The war, with its demand for loyalty and cooperation from everybody, was probably the chief cause of this change of policy.

As soon as they were released from their manifold war activities, the White-ribboners conducted a six-weeks school for Americanization workers at Lake Chautauqua in the summer of 1919.91 The superintendent of the department recommended that thoroughly trained regional directors be appointed.

88 Ibid., Aug. 1, 1912
89 Report 1910, 203; Report 1913, 200.
90 Report 1917, 33
91 Report 1919, 156
to enlist and direct volunteer workers. Native born illiterates, as well as immigrants, should be taught to read and write English, with the slogan, "A Literate Womanhood for America in 1921."^2

The Americanization Training School was soon transferred to Chicago. A six-weeks course was offered, with lecturers from Chicago and Taylor Universities, the Y.M.C.A, The Red Cross, and the W.C.T.U. For those who could not come to Chicago, a correspondence course was being prepared.

W.C.T.U. Americanization Centers were already in operation in twelve cities, including San Francisco, Seattle, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, St. Louis, Chicago, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Flint, Michigan., Passaic, New Jersey., and Bridgeport, Connecticut. They were giving classes in English, Civics, American history, sewing, cooking, handicrafts for children, music, and the Bible. To increase the effectiveness of its work, the W.C.T.U. became a member of the national American Council, composed of many organizations doing Americanization work. 94

The White-ribboners did not forget their interest in Prohibition. They strove to enroll the foreign woman and her children in the W.C.T.U., and taught them that the prohibition laws were for their good, and they should help to enforce them. 95 Certain newspapers even charged that the W.C.T.U. was conducting Americanization work as a means of gaining entry into the homes of foreigners for the purpose of learning whether home-brewing was going on. 96 When a bill was introduced in Congress for the deportation of aliens convicted of the violation of the liquor laws, the W.C.T.U.

92 Ibid., 157
93 Report 1921, 103
94 Report 1923, 137
95 Report 1922, 114
96 Union Signal, April 7, 1921.
ardently supported it. 97

The Americanization work expanded very rapidly. In 1927 the W.C.T.U. had forty-six Americanization centers and was giving help to sixty-two others. Two years later it was supporting or aiding about two hundred centers. 98 The depression has cut this down to twenty-four W.C.T.U. Centers, with help being given to thirty-seven others. In 1932 the departments of Americanization and Christian Citizenship were combined under the name, Christian Citizenship. 99 The latest expression of hostility to foreigners is contained in a resolution passed by the 1933 convention calling on Congress to exclude aliens when the count is made for congressional reapportionments. The purpose behind this move is to cut down the representation of the wet cities, where aliens principally reside.

Work Among Soldiers and Sailors.

The department for Work Among Soldiers and Sailors was established in 1882. Among its activities were the circulation of the total abstinence pledge, evangelistic meetings, and the distribution of temperance books and literature. 101 Largely due to the petitions which the department circulated, the Sunday dress parades were abolished, and Sunday work was reduced as much as possible. The National Temperance Parlor was established in New York City for soldiers and Sailors, and a Temperance Home was opened in Washington for military men visiting the national capitol. Lodging, meals, and a reading room were provided at moderate cost. 102

97 Ibid., Feb. 1, 1923.
98 Report 1929, 135.
99 Report 1932, 47, 142.
100 Milwaukee Sentinel, July 5, 1933
101 Report 1882, 7
102 Report 1887, XXVI, xliii
The department began to agitate for the abolition of saloons in the vicinity of army posts, but was soon confronted by a condition in which intoxicating liquor was sold within the army posts themselves. About 1884 Colonel Henry A. Morrow opened a place of recreation for the soldiers at Sidney, Nebraska, which he called a "canteen". The idea proved very popular, and spread widely. No liquor was sold in these places till the War Department formally recognized the canteens in 1889, and permitted them to sell light wines and beer. The following year Congress passed an act providing that the canteens could not sell alcoholic liquor in states and territories which had prohibition. This law was generally disregarded. In 1895 the old trading posts were abolished, and the canteens took over their function. They became government stores, with a non-commissioned officer in charge, and privates detailed to act as bartenders. The temperance people became much wrought up, and charged that soldiers were compelled to act as bartenders whether they wanted to or not. They could do little, however, till the Spanish-American War centered public attention on conditions in the army and navy. It was alleged that the canteen was causing much drunkenness, and that it had degenerated into nothing more than a saloon. The agitation against it became more intense, and results soon followed. Secretary of the Navy John D. Long issued an order on February 3, 1899, forbidding the sale or issue of liquor on board ship or in naval stations. The following month Congress passed an act which seemed to put an end to the sale of alcoholic liquor in the canteens.

The W.C.T.U. had taken an active part in putting through this bill.

103 Woolley & Johnson, Temperance Progress In The Century, 416.
104 Ibid., 418; E.A. Boole, Give Prohibition Its Chance, 50.
105 Report 1899, 95.
106 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 95.
but its rejoicing was soon turned to dismay. The exact wording of the
 provision was as follows,—

"No officer or private soldier shall be detailed to sell
intoxicating drinks as a bartender or otherwise, in any
post exchange or canteen, nor shall any other person be
required or allowed to sell such liquors. . . ."107

Attorney-General Griggs ruled that civilians could be hired to sell in-
toxicating drinks in the canteens. This rather strained interpretation
was denounced as an attempt to defeat the plain intent of the law. An
appeal was made to President McKinley, but he allowed the ruling to stand.

The temperance people refused to accept this defeat as final. The
W.C.T.U., the Anti-Saloon League, and other organizations combined to
force through a new bill which could not be nullified by such interpreta-
tion. After an intensive campaign the bill became a law in February, 1901.

It provided in unmistakable terms that,—

"The sale of, or dealing in, beer, wine, or any intoxicating
liquors by any person in any post exchange or canteen . . .
is hereby prohibited."109

In order to provide wholesome recreation for the soldiers who had been
spending their spare time in the canteen, the temperance people secured
an appropriation of half a million dollars from Congress for this purpose.
Later, an additional appropriation of $3,500,000, was passed for the
erection of gymnasiums, bowling alleys, and reading rooms.110

The canteens in the Old Soldier Homes were not affected by the legis-
lation that Congress had passed, and continued to sell liquor. It was
charged that they were taking all the money that the old soldiers could

107 U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. 30, 981
108 Union Signal, Jan. 4, 1900
109 U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. 31, 758
110 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 95
obtain, and causing much drunkenness. When the McCumber bill was intro-
duced to exclude liquor from these places, the White-ribboners gave it
their hearty support. 111 This bill failed to pass, but an amendment was
finally inserted in the Sundry Civil Bill abolishing the canteen in the
Old-Soldier Homes. 112 During these years a powerful army group was trying
to restore the sale of beer and wine in the canteens. They argued that
if the soldiers could not obtain them there they would go to saloons out-
side the army posts, and drink whiskey, instead. All their efforts were
in vain. The dry lobby was too strong for them. The W.C.T.U. was well a-
ware that the soldiers were patronizing the saloons outside the army posts,
and passed a resolution calling for a three to five mile prohibition zone
around all government reservations. 113 There was much rejoicing when Sec-
retary of the Navy Daniels ordered that no more alcoholic liquor was to be
allowed on any ship or shore station of the Navy. This abolished the offi-
cers' "wine mess." 114

When the United States entered the World War the work among soldiers
and sailors assumed new importance. The W.C.T.U. became a member of the
United Committee on War Temperance Activities in the Army and Navy, which
included eighteen organizations. Appeals were sent to Congress, and in
May, 1917, the sale of liquor to soldiers and sailors was prohibited. The
department of Work Among Soldiers and Sailors was well adapted to Red Cross
Activities. It furnished fruit and delicacies for the hospitals, served
coffee and doughnuts to soldiers as they entrained, and gave each a copy

111 Union Signal, Dec. 3, 1903.
112 Ibid., May 21, 1908
113 Report 1913, 87
114 Union Signal, April 9, 1914.
of the Soldiers Temperance Songster, and a total abstinence pledge-card.\textsuperscript{115}

The white-ribboners made great efforts to protect the morals of the soldiers. The war department had drawn zones around every cantonment, in which alcohol, gambling, and vice were barred. A serious problem was presented by the soldiers' hero-worshipping girl friends, who often failed to observe the proprieties. Policewomen were appointed to protect the girls from themselves, and this plan received the hearty support of the W.C.T.U. It also provided properly chaperoned entertainments, with music and refreshments.\textsuperscript{116} A patriotic white ribbon mother wrote a clean life pledge, which was signed by four thousand men of the First Reserve Officers Training Camp at Fort Sheridan, Illinois. It ran as follows,-

1. We undertake to maintain our part of the war free from hatred, wanton brutality or graft, true to the American purpose and ideals.

2. Aware of the temptation incident to camp life and the moral and social wreckage involved, we covenant together to live the clean life and to seek to establish the American Uniform as a symbol and guarantee of real manhood.\textsuperscript{117}

Secretary of the Navy Daniels declared there was but one remedy for venereal disease in the navy, and that was continence. He denounced the double standard of morals much to the joy of the W.C.T.U., which had always advocated "a white life for two".\textsuperscript{118}

After the war a number of French women organizations appealed to the women of the world to unite with them in denouncing the indignities they had suffered at the hands of the Germans. The W.C.T.U. responded with

\textsuperscript{115} Gordon, op. cit., 116
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 118
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 119
\textsuperscript{118} Union Signal, Nov. 1, 1917; Report 1917, 44
enthusiasm, and circulated a petition to the Peace Conference for the protection of women under international law. Mrs. Boole, the vice-president-at-large, was in special charge of this work, and set forth the purpose of the petition in these words,

"...it remained for the German military authorities to authorize the treatment of innocent women and girls as chattels, and to permit them to be carried away from their homes and made the property of officers and men. That every officer so guilty should be punished, and that innocent women so carried away should be treated as wounded in war is simple justice in this twentieth century".119

The petition was signed by individuals and organizations representing 4,500,000 women, and sent to the Peace Conference in charge of Sergeant Ruth Farnum. President Wilson sent Sergeant Farnum a letter assuring her he would assist in securing the presentation of the petition to the proper authorities.120 The petition was duly presented, but no action was ever taken.121

The department of Work Among Soldiers and Sailors continued its activities among wounded soldiers after the war ended. It "adopted" the Fort Sheridan Reconstruction Hospital and did much to cheer up those who had come home with broken bodies. A "hospital mother" was introduced to do welfare work, and disseminate temperance principles.122

119 Union Signal, Jan. 9, 1919
120 Ibid., March 27, 1919.
121 Stanley Walker, "With Ella In The Desert" The Outlook 154:555, April 9, 1930
122 Gordon, op. cit., 130
CHAPTER IX
Social Morality

The W.C.T.U. has done a tremendous amount of work in the interests of social purity. Soon after the society was organized a committee on Fallen Women was appointed, and began work. The Michigan legislature was persuaded to appropriate thirty thousand dollars for a girl's reform school at Adrian, and the Iowa union founded a home for erring women.\(^1\)

In 1883 the Department for the Suppression of the Social Evil was created. The special aim of the department was to trace the relation between the drink habit and the nameless outrages and crimes which disgraced modern civilization; especially the brutalizing influence of malt liquors upon the lower nature.\(^2\)

In the mid-eighties the Bishop of Durham started the White Cross Society in England to work for the ideal of a single standard of purity for both sexes.\(^3\) The W.C.T.U. was among the first in the United States to become interested in the society, and passed a resolution calling for a single standard of morals.\(^4\) Miss Willard was enthusiastic, and declared that

"it is not by the vain attempt to re-introduce the exploded harem method of secluding women that they are to be saved. It is rather by holding men to the same standard of morality, which, happily for us, they long ago prescribed for the physically weaker [sex], that society shall rise to higher levels..."\(^5\)

The White Cross was a men's organization, so the W.C.T.U. decided to start a complementary White Shield Society for women. The pledge adopted was as follows,-

"I promise by the help of God-

1. To uphold the law of purity as equally binding on men and women.

1F.E. Willard, Women & Temperance, 211; Glimpses of Fifty Years, 418.
2Report 1885, 73
4Union Signal, Nov. 8, 1883.
5Willard, Glimpses, 420
2. To be modest in language, behavior, and dress.

3. To avoid all conversation, reading, pictures, and amusements which may put impure thoughts into my mind.

4. To guard the purity of others, especially of the young.

5. To strive after the special blessing promised to The Pure In Heart.

Not yet satisfied, the White-ribboners also started two juvenile societies with similar aims - "The Silver Crown" for boys, and "The Daughters of The Temple" for girls. The name of the social purity work was changed to the Department of White Cross and White Shield. Miss Willard deemed this activity so important that she herself served as superintendent till 1892.

Miss Willard devoted much attention to attempts to reform erring women. In 1886 she induced the Chicago W.C.T.U. to open the Rehoboth Mission. This had no living quarters, and was open only during the day. Two years later the Anchorage Mission was opened, with lodging facilities. Here the women of the streets could be cared for, nursed back to health, and induced to pursue a better way of life. During the first year forty-five hundred prodigal daughters were cared for.

Mr. Charles N. Crittenton, a wealthy drug supply merchant, had entered the same line of work in 1883. He established a mission in New York City, and later helped to start many more in the United States and Europe. When he heard of the work the W.C.T.U. was doing, Mr. Crittenton was much encouraged, and prepared to cooperate. When the White-ribboners of New Brunswick, New Jersey, asked that a Florence Crittenton Mission be estab-

---

6 Union Signal, Jan. 3, 1887
7 Report 1887, 9
8 Charlton Edholm, Traffic In Girls, 279
9 Report 1889, 126.
lished in their town, their request was granted at once. In 1890 Mr.
Crittenton became an honorary member of the San Jose, California, W.C.T.U.,
and four years later Miss Willard made him a life member of the World's
W.C.T.U. 10 At the Denver Convention in 1892, Mr. Crittenton gave the
National W.C.T.U. five thousand dollars to be used in opening five Florence
Crittenton Homes. Miss Willard selected Portland, Oregon, Denver, Colo-
rado, Fargo, North Dakota, Norfolk, Virginia, and Chicago, Illinois,
as the location for these homes. In the last named place the W.C.T.U.
already had the Anchorage Mission, so the money was given to it, and the
name was changed to the Florence Crittenton Anchorage Mission. 11

The White-ribboners had obligated themselves to support these miss-
ions, but they soon began to feel the burdens on their time and money.
They began to withdraw, and by 1910 only the mission in Norfolk, Virginia,
was under the exclusive control of the W.C.T.U. Many women remained inter-
ested in the work, and all the Florence Crittenton Missions had White-ribbon-
erers on the board of managers. One of the features which the mission-
workers stressed was the circulation of the temperance pledge. Many local
unions brought inebriated women to the missions, and took care of them
there. They often gave suppers and musical entertainments for the inmates. 12

The Pall Mall Gazette began to print a series of articles in July,
1885, which attracted international attention. For the third time the
Criminal Law Amendment to raise the age of consent was being threatened
with extinction. To force action on this measure the Pall Mall Gazette
sent out William T. Stead to investigate the London underworld. He un-

10 Edholm, op. cit., 215; C.N. Crittenton, The Brother of Girls, 197
11 Edholm, op. cit., 282
12 Crittenton, op. cit., 202-204.
covered conditions which horrified everyone. Young girls were being sold into prostitution, and children violated, but under the law very little could be done to the people who committed these outrages. Stead also showed that there was an organized international traffic in girls, which was the first definite proof of the existence of what later became known as the "white-slave traffic".

The W.C.T.U. was greatly shocked by these disclosures, and began to look up the laws on sexual offenses in this country. What they found almost paralyzed them. In twenty states the age of consent was ten years, while in Delaware it was seven. With one voice, the White-ribboners demanded that this be raised to at least eighteen years. The women were so wrought up that they circulated a petition in Indiana demanding that the penalty for rape be emasculation. In West Virginia they wanted fornication made a felony instead of a misdemeanor. The previous year a resolution had been passed demanding that prostitution be made a penal offense, and that its penalties be visited alike on both sexes. The Iowa legislature was persuaded to pass a law with these provisions.

The main effort was directed towards raising the age of consent. It was found, however, that the term, "age of consent," was too shocking to the delicate ears of the White-ribboners, so the term "age of protection" was substituted. A great petition was circulated asking Congress to fix severer penalties for assaults on women and children, and to raise the age

15 Report 1886, 77.
16 Ibid., XXXIX; xlii
17 Report 1886, 43; 1886, XXXIX
18 Union Signal, Jan. 13, 1887
of protection to eighteen. Terence V. Powderly, the moral leader of
the Knights of Labor, was asked to circulate this petition among his
organization and he consented.\textsuperscript{19} Senator Blair presented the petition,
and in 1889, Congress raised the age of consent in the District of
Columbia from ten to sixteen years.\textsuperscript{20} During the next twenty years the
W.C.T.U. kept after the state legislatures till laws were passed, in
most of them, raising the age of consent to sixteen or eighteen. In
Tennessee they succeeded in raising it to twenty-one.\textsuperscript{21}

Miss Willard adopted another idea that had originated in England
when she recommended that "The Traveler's Aid", to protect women traveling alone, be made a part of the purity work. This suggestion was adopted.\textsuperscript{22} Another of Miss Willard's ideas was to enlist men in Citizen's Leagues to act as Vigilance Committees for the protection of women, but nothing seems to have been attempted along this line.

The notorious Raines law was passed in New York in 1896 as a liquor
control measure, but its main result was to give a great impetus to commercialized vice. The law provided that only hotels having at least ten bedrooms and facilities for serving meals could serve liquor on Sunday. Within a few months two thousand of these Raines law hotels sprang into existence. The competition was intense, and the bedrooms soon began to be used for prostitution in order to pay the overhead.\textsuperscript{23} Mrs. Mary T. Burt,

\textsuperscript{19} Willard, Glimpses, 422.
\textsuperscript{20} Report 1889, 127
\textsuperscript{21} Report 1911, 345
\textsuperscript{22} Report 1888, 68. Three years earlier two Quakers, William Collins and Edward Prior, impressed by newspaper accounts of snares set for inexperienced girls, began to pay a worker to meet the trains in New York. The present Traveler's Aid Society developed from this, and was organized in 1905. See New York Times, Dec. 4, 1932.
\textsuperscript{23} Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt, 148.
president of the New York W.C.T.U., was greatly distressed, and began to
attack the Raines law. Conditions became so bad that a Committee of
Fifteen was organized, which inaugurated the first serious attack upon
the evil. In 1905 a permanent Committee of Fourteen was appointed by the
civic societies of New York, which did excellent work in cleaning up New
York.

With her keen eye for new reforms, Miss Willard became interested in
a measure for the protection of children. This was the curfew bell ordin-
ance, which had originated in Waterloo, Ontario, in the late eighties, and
was beginning to be adopted in the United States. Children below a cer-
tain age were required to keep off the streets after the curfew bell was
rung at night. The W.C.T.U. favored this idea, and worked for its general
adoption. Within a decade there were over four thousand towns with curfew
ordinances, in the United States. The White-ribboners advocated raising
the curfew age to at least eighteen, and, where possible, to twenty-one.

In 1911 a Curfew department was created, but it was merged with the Purity
Department the following year.

Sex instruction for children was another topic in which the White-
ribboners became interested. In 1907 a Department of Moral Education was
created to work for sex teaching in the schools, so that the children
might be saved from the evils of impurity. It was agreed that the first
lessons should be given by the parents. Purity workers were to enlighten

25 H.U. Faulkner, Quest for Social Justice, 159; W.C. Waterman, Prosti-
26 Report 1897, 154.
27 Report 1906, 310
28 Gordon, Women Torchbearers, 250
29 Union Signal, Jan. 2, 1908.
and instruct the parents, and they were to pass the information on to their children. It was urged that specially prepared lessons be included in the physiology and hygiene courses in the high schools, to be given separately to boys and girls. Mrs. Rose Wood-Allen Chapman, superintendent of the Purity department, started a feature in The Ladies Home Journal called "How Shall I Tell My Child", in which she answered mothers' questions as to how they might best teach their children concerning the origin of life. Her position was that no matter how young a child was when he began asking questions, they should be answered truthfully, but not too explicitly. Even if a child asked no questions, he should receive some enlightenment from his mother before he entered school to protect him from the versions he might hear from his school-mates. If he heard the story first from his mother, he would always think of it as something pure and exalted. Details of the marriage relation should not be given to a girl till she was at least eighteen.

During the fighting in the Philippines which followed the Spanish-American War, the White-ribboners were much disturbed by reports that army surgeons were examining prostitutes to protect the health of the troops. Mrs. Ellis, the Washington representative of the W.C.T.U., was shown a copy of the certificates they issued when they found a girl was free from venereal disease. She sent out circulars exposing this situation to White-ribboners, cabinet officers, and other influential people, with the request that they send letters and telegrams to the President protesting against such un-American practices. The response was gratifying, and in 1902 President

30 Report 1908, 351; Report 1910, 339
Roosevelt ordered that registered prostitution should cease. 32

The W.C.T.U. was violently opposed to any legal recognition and regulation of prostitution. Mrs. Stevens declared that—

"We painfully recognize that there are some evils that cannot be annihilated in this day and generation, but we evermore declare that these evils, if they exist, shall do so in opposition to law, rather than by sanction of law". 33

To the argument that medical examinations would protect the health of the people, the answer was given that venereal disease was a just penalty sent from Heaven for the sin of unchastity. 34 Many cities had segregated red-light districts, and the W.C.T.U. carried on a continuous campaign against them. In Washington, the "Division", as the red-light district was called, had been in existence since the Civil War. The Kenyon Red Light Bill was introduced, declaring bawdy houses to be nuisances, and providing for their abatement by permanent injunctions. Mrs. Ellis gave the bill her whole-hearted support, and instructed the White-ribboners to make sure that their Senators and Representatives voted favorably. It became a law in 1914. During this year it was reported that only three states had legal brothels. Seventy-nine large cities had officially abandoned the segregation of vice. 35 By 1925 Reno, Nevada, was the only city in the country with an officially sanctioned red-light district. 36

One phase which received increasing attention was the so-called "white-slave traffic". A special department of Rescue Work was created to devote itself to this problem. 37 It aided in creating sentiment for the Mann

32 Union Signal, April 10, 1902; Gordon, op. cit., 93
33 Union Signal, Dec. 10, 1903
34 Edholm, Traffic In Girls, 78
35 Report 1914, 263
36 Report 1925, 209
37 Union Signal, Jan. 17, 1907
Act, which became a law in 1910. This Act prohibited the transportation, both interstate and foreign, of any female for immoral purposes. However, dissatisfaction soon developed over the workings of this law. Albert Jay Nock, a well-known publicist, made the statement that it was "the most efficient agent of blackmail, probably, that any Government ever devised." But the W.C.T.U. was well satisfied with it, and turned its attention to the state legislatures, putting through several White-slave acts.

Some wild and improbable stories were circulated about the nefarious methods of the white-slavers. For example, it was gravely reported that these fiends in human form would select a victim in a crowd and stab her with a hypodermic needle containing an opiate. They would then follow her till she was overcome, rush up and claim to be her husband, and take her away to a life of shame. The W.C.T.U. appointed a committee to urge congressional action against this practice. The Department of Justice appointed Stanley W. Finch as Special Commissioner for the White-Slave Traffic. He started a school to instruct the people in the conditions which lead to prostitution, and the legal steps to overcome them.

The W.C.T.U. was not satisfied with the fashions in women's dress. In the eighties Miss Willard thundered against -

"women who parade what ought to be the mysteries of the dressing room before the public gaze of men; who, bewilderingly attired, emulate in the waltz the fascinations that in haunts of infamy

38 U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 36, pt. 1. p. 825
40 Union Signal, March 27, 1913.
41 Union Signal, Oct. 9, 1913; Dec. 18, 1913. The public became so alarmed over these stories that many newspapers were led to print medical testimony as to the practical impossibility of drugging an unwilling person by hypodermic injection. See Sullivan, Our Times, Vol. IV. 134
42 Ibid., May 8, 1913.
beguile these same men to dishonor and whose effrontery in defending their outrageous conduct with the time-worn phrase: 'Evil to him who evil thinks', proves them to be as bare-faced mentally and barefooted morally as they are bare-necked and shouldered in the dance-delirium'.

She related how the theatre men in Minnesota had killed a bill to prohibit the ballet by introducing a bill to prohibit the wearing of decollete dresses, with short sleeves. Some day just such laws might become necessary to prevent exposures harmful to public morals, if the results of moral education did not suffice.

The revolution in women's fashions which took place during and after the World War left the White-ribboners gasping with indignation. Skirts suddenly ascended from the ankle to the knee, petticoats were abandoned, corsets discarded, and sleeves shortened. This was all in the direction of health and common-sense, but the suddenness with which the change took place was the factor which shocked conservative people, and caused them to protest. In 1917 a Maryland grand jury felt called upon to criticize the prevailing style of women's dresses, and the White-ribboners felt ashamed that it should be necessary for men to call attention to the lack of womanly modesty. The director of the Social Morality department deeply deplored the fact that so many young women were dressing in such a way as to make the general public believe that they were utterly devoid of modesty, and desired to call attention to their sexual attractions.

43 Report 1889, 130.
44 Report 1891, 134
45 P. W. Slosson, The Great Crusade and After 1914-1928, 151
46 Union Signal, Oct. 4, 1917
There was a time when it was easy for the police to recognize a prostitute. They dressed more flashily than other women, and had more paint on their faces. Nowadays it was almost impossible to distinguish them. The condition of a woman's face, the length of her skirt, or the cut of her blouse were not reliable indications of her character. At the end of the war a very dark picture of moral conditions was reported. There was appalling neglect and ignorance on the part of most parents, increased activity of white slavers, shameless exposure of the female form through modern fashions of dress, increase of clandestine prostitution and juvenile delinquency, and a prevalence of venereal disease.

Frances Willard and Anthony Comstock saw eye to eye on many things, and the relations between the W.C.T.U. and the New York Society For The Suppression of Vice became quite close. In her presidential address of 1882 Miss Willard deplored the sensational literature that many boys read, such as the Jesse James books, and The Police Gazette. She suggested that the White-ribboners cooperate with Anthony Comstock to protect the young from a literature that fostered every evil appetite and passion. The convention instructed the corresponding secretary to get in touch with Comstock, and the following year a Department For the Suppression of Impure Literature was set up. A resolution was passed tendering "heartfelt thanks to Anthony Comstock for his noble efforts to preserve the purity of our boys and girls, and we pledge him our hearty cooperation."

Comstock welcomed these advances. He attended the 1885 convention, and told how he had helped the superintendent of the Department For the

47 Ibid., June 2, 1921
48 Report 1919, 150
49 Report 1882, lxxxix, 37; Report 1883, 43, 37.
Suppression of Impure Literature to secure a law in New Hampshire prohibiting the sale of trashy story papers to minors. No more were small boys to be allowed to purchase the corrupting dime novels. Within a few years Comstock was given the title of Counselor of the Department of Purity in Literature and Art. The department used the New York Society For the Suppression of Vice to prosecute its cases, because the White-ribboners desired to avoid the publicity of court proceedings.

When the Rev. T. DeWitt Talmadge published a book which contained a picture of Cleopatra and a nude Eve, a protest was made, and the pictures were suppressed. During the World's Fair in Chicago petitions were circulated against the exhibition of nude subjects in marble, plaster, and paintings. Artists were appealed to not to make nude portraits. Dr. Selma H. Peabody, Chief of one of the departments of liberal arts, issued orders excluding all nudes from her department. When the famous Bacchante statue was given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art a telegram was sent to the directors asking them to reject the gift. The new county building in Detroit had two female figures representing "Light", and "Knowledge". The local union demanded that these figures be clothed. The display of intimate articles of woman's apparel in store windows was condemned. The mayor of Richmond, Virginia, was commended because he had ordered merchants to remove from their windows all corset forms and dummy limbs.

Although there were regulations excluding indecent matter from the mails, the W.C.T.U. worked for Amendments to make them stricter. It also

50 Union Signal, Nov. 28, 1885
51 Report 1892, 53; Report 1896, 354
52 Report 1889, civii
53 Union Signal, March 16 - May 11, 1893; Report 1893, 396
54 Report 1897, 27
55 Union Signal, Feb. 24, 1898
56 Ibid., March 15, 1905; Report 1905, 341
took an active part in the passage of the Vilas Act prohibiting the inter-
state shipment of indecent matter by express or any other common carrier.
Comstock was a postal inspector, and the White-ribboners appealed to him
to proceed against The Chicago Daily Dispatch. Joseph R. Dunlop, the edi-
tor, was convicted for sending indecent matter through the mails.

The behavior of many of the characters in novels called forth protests
from the W.C.T.U. It was charged that insidious liquor and tobacco adver-
tising permeated many books, in the shape of characters who smoked, and
drank without being condemned for it. A resolution was passed repudia-
ting "the wine drinking, cigaret smoking, semi-profane heroine who is to-
day caricaturing womanhood." Hall Caine's famous novel, The Woman Thou
Gavest Me, was denounced as obscene.

The purity work was reorganized in 1920 under the name of the Social
Morality Department. Its activities are many and varied. It favors com-
pulsory physical examinations before marriage, free clinics for venereal
disease, sex education in junior high schools, more trained policewomen,
support of juvenile courts, and suppression of undesirable literature and
dance halls. The department still uses the services of the New York So-
ciety for the Suppression of Vice, for the prosecution of immoral litera-
ture.

Polygamy-

It was only to be expected that the W.C.T.U. should decide to do some-

---

57 Report 1897, 444
58 Ibid.
59 Union Signal, May 2, 1907
60 Report 1911, 56
61 Report 1913, 339
62 Report 1927, 185. The W.C.T.U. is apparently opposed to birth control.
It protested against the Birth Control bill introduced in New York in
thing about the Mormons and their peculiar customs. Miss Willard was
greatly wrought up over "Utah's monstrous lust", and denounced Congress
for its easy-going attitude. Even if they had had no other grievance,
the White-ribboners would have found sufficient cause for action in the
charge that the Mormon Church was actively engaged in the liquor business,
having a monopoly of whiskey distilling in Utah for a time. But it was
polygamy which excited their greatest indignation.

The first federal action against polygamy was embodied in the Morrill
Bill of 1862. It was limited to bigamy, and was not enforced. An attempt
was made to strengthen it by the Poland Bill of 1874, but conditions re-
mained about the same. In 1878 national interest was revived by a mass
meeting in Salt Lake City of women opposed to polygamy. They adopted an
address to Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes and the women of the United States,
and sent a petition to Congress declaring there had been more polygamous
marriages in the past year than ever before and praying that the further
progress of this evil be arrested. The next year the W.C.T.U. appointed
a committee to make a formal protest against polygamy.

President Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur urged Congress to take action,
and the result was the Edmunds Act of 1882. This law added the loss of
the right to vote and to hold office to the penalties for polygamy. Children
born of polygamous marriages before January 1, 1883, were declared legiti-
mate. A vigorous effort was made to enforce the act, and in five years

63 J.A. Froiseth, ed. The Women of Mormonism. Introduction by Frances
Willard, XVI
65 J.H. Snowden, The Truth About Mormonism, 302
66 Report 1879, 73
there were over a thousand convictions. The defiant attitude of the Mormons towards what they considered religious persecution served to embitter the public against them. The Gentiles in Utah were not much concerned about polygamy, which was only practiced by a small minority of the Mormons. They merely used it as a good war cry to enlist sympathy for their cause. What they most objected to was the political and commercial solidarity of the Mormons, and the obedience they rendered to their spiritual leaders in temporal affairs. In other words they wanted to divorce Church and State. Their immediate objective was the abolition of the territorial legislature, which was controlled by the Mormons, and the substitution of a legislative commission appointed by the President.68

In 1886 the W.C.T.U. established a Department for Work Among Mormon Women. An evangelist was appointed to work on such lines as might be possible under the anamalous social conditions in Utah. The department joined other organizations in bringing pressure to bear on Congress. The result was the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, which directed the U.S. Marshall to seize all Mormon church property in excess of fifty thousand dollars. The corporation known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was dissolved and all acts of the territorial legislature were annulled.70 The Mormons continued their defiance for a time, but they were suffering such cruel persecution that their leaders were forced to take some step. In 1890,

67 Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 46
69 Report 1886, 47
70 Snowden, op. cit., 304
President Woodruff issued his famous manifesto. In rather equivocal language it denied that the Church was solemnizing any plural marriages, and advised the members to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land. This action was ratified by the General Conference of the Church.\textsuperscript{71}

The nation accepted this act of surrender as sincere, and the previous persecution was replaced by a more generous attitude. President Harrison issued a proclamation of amnesty, and in 1893 the personal property of the Church was restored. For a decade or more Utah had been applying for statehood, but the polygamy issue had stood in the way. Now this difficulty was thought to be removed, and besides, the number of Gentiles in Utah was now about equal to the number of Mormons. In 1894 an Enabling Act was passed, with the provision that polygamous or plural marriage was forever prohibited. When the state constitution was drawn up this provision was incorporated, and it was also provided that there should be no union of church and state.\textsuperscript{72} The constitution was accepted, and Utah became a state in 1896.

The country thought that the Mormon question was now settled. To clear up all remaining difficulties Congress passed an act legitimizing all children born of plural marriages before January, 1896.\textsuperscript{73} It was not long, however, before it became apparent that there had been no real change of heart on the part of the Mormon leaders, and that they still practiced polygamy.

The first overt act showing the Mormon attitude was the election to

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 309.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 324.
\textsuperscript{73} Cannon & O'Higgins, \textit{op. cit.}, 136.
Congress of Brigham H. Roberts, a polygamist with three wives. His candidacy was authorized by the Church. The moral forces of the country demanded that Roberts be denied his seat, and the W.C.T.U. circulated petitions for this purpose. The House conducted hearings, and by a vote of 268 to 80 Roberts' seat was declared vacant. Utah has never tried to send another polygamist to Washington.

The evidence of Mormon trickery led the W.C.T.U. to adopt a resolution in 1901 in favor of an amendment to the federal constitution forever prohibiting polygamy. It was thought that the necessary votes could not be obtained in Congress, so the untried alternative method of calling a constitutional convention to submit the amendment was proposed. If such a convention met, it was the purpose of the W.C.T.U. to persuade it to submit another amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor.

While these plans were being prepared, the Mormons again outraged public sentiment by sending Reed Smoot to the Senate in 1903. Smoot was not a polygamist, but he was one of the Twelve Apostles, and as such was part of the ruling hierarchy of the Mormon Church. Before he became a candidate, he had to obtain permission from the President of the Church, as he later admitted to the Senate. A great protest, in which the W.C.T.U. joined, at once arose in all parts of the country. Even if Smoot was not a polygamist, he connived at the practice, and his election was a violation of the principle of the separation of church and state. Petitions aggregating more than a million names were sent to the Senate, asking that Smoot

74 Ibid., 220
75 Union Signal, March 2, 1899
76 Snowden, Truth About Mormonism, 327
77 Report 1901, 80
78 Report 1902, 154
be denied his seat. 79

Smoot was allowed to take the oath of office, but the committee on Privileges and Elections was directed to inquire into his case. The Mormon leaders were summoned to Washington, and they made some sensational disclosures on the witness stand. President Joseph F. Smith admitted that his five wives had borne him eleven children since he had pledged himself to obey the manifesto of 1890. Worse than this, it was shown that new polygamous marriages were being secretly performed. The Church still adhered to the doctrine of polygamy, and taught it as a law of God. Confronted by such evidence, a majority of the committee concluded that Smoot was not entitled to his seat, and their report recommended that he be expelled. A minority report signed by five Senators declared that Smoot possessed all the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution, the regularity of his election was unquestioned, his private character was irreproachable, and he was entitled to his seat. 80 On February 20, 1907, the matter finally came up for a vote. Disregarding the majority report, the Senate decided that Smoot was entitled to his seat. It voted fifteen thousand dollars to Smoot to pay his attorneys, thus adding insult to injury, in the opinion of the White-ribboners. 81

To explain why Smoot won his case in the face of such wide-spread opposition, we must look to the alliance that had grown up between the Mormons and the Republican Party. In the election of 1896 Utah, and the surrounding states in which the Mormons were numerous, went Democratic.

79 Cannon & O'Higgins, op. cit., 328
80 Ibid., 267-268
81 Report 1907, 350
It is alleged that in the summer of 1900 Perry S. Heath, one of Hanna's lieutenants, came to Salt Lake City, and arranged a deal. The Mormon Church was to support the Republican Party, and in return, the proposed anti-polygamy amendment to the federal constitution was to be killed. Church messengers were secretly sent to all the faithful, and told that it was the will of the Lord that they become Republicans. In the election Utah went Republican, and the amendment was sidetracked.82

President Roosevelt was at first opposed to Smoot's seating, and at his request Senator Hanna sent a letter of remonstrance to the party Chiefs in Utah. The Church authorities sent Colonel C.E. Loose to Washington. There was talk that the Republican Old Guard was preparing to nominate Hanna at the next national convention, and it is alleged that Colonel Loose promised Roosevelt the vote of the Utah delegation if he would drop his opposition to Smoot. Whatever the reason, it is certain that Roosevelt changed his attitude completely. He is alleged to have brought heavy pressure to bear on the Senate, and his progressive supporters voted in favor of Smoot.83 The regular Republicans were also lined up behind him for fear of losing the Mormon-controlled states of Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming.

The W.C.T.U. had never given up its work for an anti-polygamy amendment. At the 1906 convention Mrs. Stevens recommended that state legislatures be induced to pass resolutions calling on Congress to submit such an amendment. The New York legislature had already done this.84 When the news arrived that Smoot was victorious, the White-ribboners declared they

82 Cannon & O'Higgins, Under The Prophet In Utah, 236
83 Ibid., 292-294
84 Union Signal, Jan. 31, 1907
had just begun to fight, and would not rest till the amendment was won. During the next ten years legislature after legislature acceded to the pleas of the women, and passed the anti-polygamy resolution. In June, 1916, Louisiana became the thirty-sixth state to do so, making it certain that if the amendment was submitted it would be adopted. Congress refused to act, and the whole campaign came to nothing. This discouraging result, and the absorption in the final phase of the prohibition campaign led the W.C.T.U. to drop its anti-polygamy work, and it does not seem to have been taken up again.

Anti-Gambling.

This was one of the few activities for which a separate department was not established. At first the work was carried on by the department of Legislation and Law Enforcement, but it was later transferred to the department of Christian Citizenship.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the greatest gambling institution in the country was the Louisiana State Lottery, which was a product of Reconstruction days. Its license was due to expire in 1890, and the voters were to decide whether it was to receive a new lease of life. The W.C.T.U. had already defeated a proposal to create a lottery in Nevada, and it now prepared to work against the Louisiana Lottery. The voters approved a new license, but the days of the lottery were numbered. Its most profitable branch was in New York City, and here Anthony Comstock suppressed it, after unsuccessful efforts were made to bribe him. The

85 Ibid., July 13, 1916.
86 Report 1903, 88
87 Report 1889, 154
Louisiana Lottery went out of existence after the passage of a stringent federal law in 1893, forbidding lotteries the use of the mails. During the nineties the tobacco companies were giving away pictures of actresses and prize fighters with their cigarettes. Many boys saved these pictures, and played various games for them. The W.C.T.U. objected to these pictures because they were indecent, and encouraged gambling among boys. A bill was introduced in Congress to prohibit the giving away of pictures and cards as prizes accompanying tobacco and cigarettes. It passed the House, but died in the Senate.

Many sports were not approved by the W.C.T.U. In 1894 it passed a resolution opposing intercollegiate athletics as demoralizing to the legitimate work of college life, and calculated to encourage the gambling spirit. Horse-racing was violently opposed as the greatest gambling sport in the country. When Governor Hughes of New York began a crusade against race-track gambling, he received the enthusiastic support of the White-ribboners. They also got behind the Burkett Anti-Gambling Bill in Congress. The measure prohibited the transmission of racing odds or bets from one state to another by telegraph or telephone. During recent years efforts have been made in many states to legalize horse-race betting. The W.C.T.U. has succeeded in defeating several of these bills.

Prize fighting was another sport which was condemned, although the principal objection was its brutality rather than its gambling features.

88 Heywood Broun & Margaret Leech, Anthony Comstock, 197.
89 Cong. Recor, 52 Cong. 2nd Session p. 2937, 2958
90 Report 1894, 48
91 Signal, March 5, 1908
92 Ibid., Feb. 17, 1910
93 Report 1925, 183
Before the Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight in 1897, the W.C.T.U. and other organizations tried to get a bill through Congress prohibiting newspapers from publishing accounts of prize fights, or printing illustrations of them. It was rumored that pictures of the fight were to be taken by the kinetoscope, as the early motion picture cameras were called. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts at once introduced a bill prohibiting the carrying of these kinetoscope pictures through the mail, or by express. This bill did not pass and the pictures were shown all over the country, except in Los Angeles, where the W.C.T.U. persuaded the City Council to prohibit them. 94 After the Johnson-Jeffries fight in 1910 many people were afraid that much racial hatred would be aroused if pictures of the fight were exhibited. This led Congress to pass a bill prohibiting the interstate transportation of fight films. 95 This law is generally violated, and the fines that are imposed only act as a sort of license fee.

At present, the department of Exhibits and Fairs is the only one carrying on anti-gambling work. The principal work of the department is to prepare W.C.T.U. exhibits at fairs and conventions, and hold open meetings. Many of these fairs have horse-racing, and the department tries its best to stop betting. The travelling carnival, with its many gambling devices, is another evil which receives its attention. It has succeeded in obtaining legislation in three states prohibiting all travelling carnivals. 96

The Theater And Motion Pictures-

The W.C.T.U. cherished the old-time prejudice against the theater as the devil's plaything. Miss Willard reported a talk she had with Mr. B. F.

94 Union Signal, Aug. 5, 1897
95 Ibid., July 25, 1912; Sullivan, Our Times, IV, 14 note
96 Report 1921, 115
Keith, who was one of those devoted heart and soul to the elevation of the stage, about which so much was heard and so little seen. He pleaded that good people must encourage and patronize him or he could not succeed in his reforms. Miss Willard declared he would have to use other terms for "theater", "play", and "actress", before he could hope for this, because they had become too odious. Mr. Keith replied that he used "sketch" instead of "play". The White-ribboners were not to be won over so easily. They still thought it was "safer for us, as it was the practice in this regard of the primitive Christians, not to encourage any attendance at the playhouse."  

Many efforts were made to suppress objectionable plays. In 1896, the W.C.T.U. Superintendent of Purity in Art and Literature attacked "Orange Blossoms" which was running in New York. The play was suppressed and the manager fined two hundred and fifty dollars. Other famous plays against which the White-ribboners protested were "Sapho", with Olga Nethersole as the star, "The Degenerates", with Lillian Langtry, and "Zaza". Without ever having read or seen the play, Anthony Comstock started the agitation against George Bernard Shaw's play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession". The W.C.T.U. joined in the hue-and-cry, and the play was haled into court, where it was eventually cleared. A White-ribbon protest against "Salome" led the acting mayor of New York to order the actresses to don respectable garments.

A new menace to morality arose in the form of the motion pictures.

97 Union Signal, June 11, 1896
98 Ibid., April 14, 1904
99 Ibid., June 4, 1896
100 Heywood Broun & Margaret Leech, Anthony Comstock, 229-233.
101 Report 1908, 215
The W.C.T.U. was soon calling them, "Five Cent Schools of Crime", and charging that their representations of train robberies, murders, and lynchings were utterly demoralizing. Resolutions were passed urging local authorities to appoint censorship committees for movies.

It was apparent that these local efforts were ineffective, and the W.C.T.U. became one of the most ardent supporters of the Smith-Hughes Film Censorship Bill. This provided for a new division in the U.S. Bureau of Education to be called the Federal Motion Picture Commission, to censor movies before they were copyrighted. Mrs. Margaret D. Ellis issued her customary call for "an avalanche of letters and telegrams", but the bill was somehow sidetracked, and never passed.

After the war the following plan of action was drawn up -

1. Appoint in every local union a Better Films committee.
2. Do not advertise it. When a good film comes along have a number of influential persons speak to the manager commending it. If it has one or two vulgar or suggestive bits, have them point them out to the manager. See that criticisms are offered by a large number, and a great variety of people.
3. Make a report to the Social Morality Department monthly or semi-monthly on the films shown, dividing them into- a. A White List - entirely unobjectionable.
   b. Those that are good except for some bit that could be eliminating by cutting.
   c. A Black List - entirely objectionable.

With these reports the national department could show the producers which films needed change or suppression.

102 Union Signal, Oct. 18, 1906
103 Report 1910, 61
104 Union Signal, April 9, 1914
105 Union Signal, March 25, 1920
The appointment of Will Hays, the Presbyterian elder, as Czar of the movies, and his promise to clean them up, greatly delighted the White-ribboners. They confidently looked forward to an era when the motion picture industry would not only be a medium of amusement, but of the highest educational and moral value as well. One of the abuses which they hoped would be at once corrected was the representation of liquor drinking in the films. This was denounced as tending to encourage violation of the prohibition laws. A victory was scored in 1926, when the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America announced that no film would encourage disrespect for any law, especially the prohibition law.

So important had the work become that in 1924 a separate Department of Motion Pictures was created. The W.C.T.U. also became a member of the Federal Motion Picture Councils in America, which was working for better films. The promised film cleanup had not materialized, and the demand for federal supervision began to be heard once more. The White-ribboners became more and more disillusioned about Mr. Hays. They charged that he was not hired to clean up the morals of the movies but only to make the public think so. His plan was to boost the best films, and ignore the rest. It seemed as if the only solution was federal regulation. The promise to omit drinking scenes, had not been kept and the movies were becoming an increasing menace to Prohibition. Senator Brookhart introduced another film censorship bill, and the W.C.T.U. threw all its influence behind it.

106 Ibid., July 13, 1922
107 Report 1926, 88
108 Report 1924, 11; Report 1925, 192
109 Union Signal, Jan. 25, 1930
110 Report 1930, 173
without result. The Patman Censorship bill is the latest to be introduced, and the W.C.T.U. has recently initiated a "write your Congressman" campaign in its support.\footnote{111}

In her report to the 1933 convention, Miss Maud Aldrich, director of the Motion Picture Department, said that a distinct change had been wrought in American thought in the past ten years due to the screen's power of suggestion, which has tended to break down the modesty of women, and bring the manners and morals of the underworld to the top.\footnote{112} As proof of her contentions Miss Aldrich could point to the four year survey of the movies which has just been completed by the Educational Research Committee of the Payne Fund. A summary of the findings appeared in the Survey Graphic, indicating that the movies have definite harmful effects on health and morals, especially among boys and girls. Many girls testified that the influence of the movies was responsible for their first sex adventures.

A group of 110 young men in prison were questioned and 49 per cent stated that the movies had first created in them the desire to carry a gun; 28 per cent said that their first desire to stage a hold-up was due to the movies; while 12 per cent said that the depiction of a successful crime had caused them to go out and imitate it at once.\footnote{113}

Mr. Joseph F. Fishman, for many years a Federal Inspector of Prisons, has recently published an article which flatly contradicts some of these conclusions. He cites the study that Dr. Nathan Peyser made of the inmates\footnote{111 Milwaukee Sentinel, July 4 & 5, 1933
\footnote{112 Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 2, 1933
\footnote{113 Arthur Kellogg, "Minds Made By The Movies", Survey Graphic XXII:245. May, 1933.}
of the Boys' Reformatory at New Hampton, New York. Dr. Peyser went thoroughly into the life histories of 714 boys, and found not a single instance where the delinquency could be traced in any manner whatsoever to the movies. Frederick C. Helbing, for thirty-three years superintendent of the House of Refuge for Boys at Randall's Island, New York, also stated that he had never found an inmate whose offense was due to the movies. Mr. Fishman is of the opinion that the underworld films have been the most beneficial that Hollywood ever produced. They depict a situation that is essentially true, and to them belongs the principal credit for the public understanding of, and revulsion against, the gang rule that is threatening the country.114

CHAPTER X

Summary and Conclusions

The woman's rights movement was a most significant development of nineteenth century history. Women were assuming an important part in the economic life of the United States, and the tremendous industrial expansion which followed the Civil War greatly increased their field of activity. The introduction of the typewriter and telephone was a great boon to middle class women, white collar jobs having been mainly confined to teaching and nursing. With the possibility of earning an independent livelihood women began to demand equality of treatment, and abolition of laws which classed them as nonentities completely at the mercy of the male members of the family.

Unfortunately, the early woman's rights leaders attempted too many radical social reforms, instead of devoting their attention to first removing legal disabilities. When Amelia Bloomer appeared about 1850 in the garment which was named after her, the cry at once arose that women were being unsexed, and the whole woman's rights movement was condemned. Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and other leaders adopted the new costume, but were met with jeers and abuse. Small boys followed them around, chanting-

"Gibbery, gibbery gab, the women had a confab
And demanded the rights to wear the tights
Gibbery, gibbery gab". ¹

By 1870 feminists were stressing the inequity of the double standard of morality. A writer in The Woman's Advocate anticipated Judge Lindsey by arguing for marriages contracted for limited periods of two or three years, with renewal to depend on the pleasure of the parties.² Elizabeth

¹ Arthur Train, Puritan's Progress, 194
² Anonymous, "The Feud In The Woman's Rights Camp" The Nation XI, 346 Nov. 24, 1870
Cady Stanton came out for unlimited freedom of divorce, and this was denounced as leading to free love, or in other words, free lust. This gave many the opportunity of identifying the woman's suffrage movement with the spirit of revolt against the home. Suffrage was assailed as subversive of the family and society.

A development which occurred in 1871 strengthened this feeling. Victoria Woodhull, probably the most prominent free love advocate in the country, and regarded by all respectable women as outside the pale, appeared before a Congressional committee and presented a brief supporting the right of women to vote under the 14th Amendment. Her modest demeanor, and very able argument (it was whispered that the brief was prepared for her by Benjamin F. Butler) quite won the hearts of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and they invited her to join in their suffrage activities. They were soon to regret this, for Victoria tried to seize control of the National Woman Suffrage Association and steer it into a new third party, with herself as the candidate for President. Miss Anthony had to use strenuous methods to prevent this. All this did not prove very helpful in attracting people to the suffrage cause.

The W.C.T.U. appeared in 1874, and operated to give the feminist movement the degree of respectability it needed to attract the great mass of conservative, religious people. The W.C.T.U. deplored the double standard of morals, but the solution it proposed was the direct opposite of free love. Men were to be raised to the same standard of purity as women.

3 Ibid.
4 Arthur W. Calhoun, Social History of American Family, III, 108
5 R. C. Dorr, Susan B. Anthony, 233.
"A White Life for two" was the W.C.T.U. watchword. This would be ridiculed today, but it was cordially received in the mid-Victorian period. The extremes to which prudery could go during this time was illustrated by a book of etiquette published in 1863 which decreed that the works of male and female authors should be separated on bookshelves, unless the authors were married. The W.C.T.U. never advocated anything quite so silly, but it had a similar spirit.

Stuart P. Sherman, the American literary critic, once set forth the essential characteristics of the Puritan. They were - dissatisfaction with the past, courage to break sharply from it, a vision of a better life, readiness to accept a discipline to attain that better life, and a serious desire to make it prevail. Under this definition the W.C.T.U. can qualify as a Puritan organization. Its vision of a better life includes a world in which there is no liquor, no tobacco, no gambling, no vice, no impure art or literature, no Sunday amusements. In order to attain these objects it works for the most drastic laws and ordinances. The protests of people who resent interference with their private lives, and raise the cry of "Personal liberty", are brushed aside. If these people are too stupid to grasp that what is being done is for their own good, then they deserve no consideration. There can be no difference of opinion as to what constitutes the good life, and all must be made to accept it.

Since the World War there has been a shift away from this Puritan philosophy. The United States has become a predominantly urban country, and urban life has never been very favorable to Puritanism. In the rural

6 Train, op. cit., 217.
7 Stuart P. Sherman, The Genius of America, 55.
districts, people had little to occupy their minds, so they were very much interested in what their neighbors were doing. They were willing to act as their brother's keeper for want of anything else to do, and also to make sure that no one was having a better time than they.

In the cities, where great masses of people live literally on top of one another, such a procedure would be intolerable. The only practical course is to interfere as little as possible with each other, except where a person's behavior infringes on the rights of others. City people are much too busy with their own lives to care what other people are doing. Recreational facilities are numerous, and no one need spy on the neighbors for entertainment. In the last two decades the automobile and radio have also tended to urbanize the country districts. The farmer drives into town often to make his purchases, and share in the amusements, while the radio subjects him to the same influences as the city-man.

Since 1929 the economic plight of the farmer has been so sad as to force him to adopt any measure that promised relief, even if contrary to his moral convictions. In order to provide new sources of tax revenue many rural legislators have voted for the legalization of beer and various gambling sports and Sunday amusements. Some expect these measures to be repealed as soon as the emergency is past, but this expectation may not be fulfilled. The lesson may have sunk in that, whether illegal or not, there will always be facilities for gambling and drinking as long as there is a demand for them. It is best to have government regulation and control because if we insist on outlawing these things we simply hand them over to the underworld. The career of Al Capone gives us plain warning of the results of such a policy. Capone dominated the drinking, gambling, and vice
facilities of Chicago, later branching out into racketeering. He grew so enormously rich and powerful that for several years he was the real ruler of Chicago. The politicians had found him very useful, but in the end he became their master.

The W.C.T.U. carries on a great many educational activities, but its main reliance has always been on legal compulsion. Its present legislative technique is similar to that of other pressure groups. When Congress is in session the legislative headquarters in the Driscoll Hotel is a very busy place. Dr. Izora Scott is in charge of a corps of women who work early and late. The course of every bill in which the W.C.T.U. is interested is diligently followed. At committee hearings representatives appear to present the White-ribbon viewpoint. Individual Congressmen are interviewed, and every effort is made to persuade or force them to do as desired. In the legislative headquarters a file is kept, with the voting record of every Congressman, and Senator. In another file the name and addresses of all W.C.T.U. members are arranged by Congressional districts. If it is necessary to bring pressure to bear on a certain Congressman, the White-ribbon women of his district are notified, and he receives thousands of appeals urging him to change his course, and threatening dire consequences if he refuses. Dr. Scott also issues general appeals in The Union Signal when an important measure is up, and letters and telegrams in large numbers flow into Congress as a result. This method is very effective, for a Congressman will usually think twice before offending an organized and vocal group of constituents. He knows the mischief they can do when he comes up for reelection.

The same procedure is followed in the state legislatures. Here the W.C.T.U. has had an advantage because in most states the rural districts
are over-represented, compared to the cities. Most of the W.C.T.U. strength is in those rural districts, so it is not hard to influence the vote of rural legislators. Up to a year or two ago the "church lobby", of which the W.C.T.U. formed a part, had things pretty much its own way in some states. On all moral questions its control was almost absolute, due to its power over the rural members. The depression has greatly changed this situation. Legislatures are now willing to vote for almost anything that will yield some revenue to the state.

Up to the time when women were enfranchised, the circulation of petitions was one of the favorite W.C.T.U. methods of influencing legislation. It is still used, although not to such a large extent as formerly. During the first session of the 72nd Congress, which met in December, 1931, the power of the wets greatly increased. One hundred and ninety-six bills and resolutions seeking to undermine and destroy Prohibition were introduced. To parry this attack word went out to the local unions to collect signatures to petitions praying Congress to maintain Prohibition without modification. Before the session ended 2518 of these petitions were read into the Congressional Record, besides other thousands that were received but not entered in the Record. How many votes were changed by this procedure is another question. Petitions are at best only an indirect method of bringing pressure to bear, and can be disregarded without serious results.

The W.C.T.U. has long been known as "the most perfectly organized body of women in the world." State, county, and local Unions are organized as exact counterparts of the national society. Each local union elects a
President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, and appoints superintendents for the various departments. It may select from the national departments those for which it considers the best work can be done, and neglect the others. It may also pursue activities not included in the national departments. Once a year the local unions send delegates to the county W.C.T.U. Convention, where county officers and department directors are named. Delegates are also sent to the state convention, where state officers and directors are selected. Finally, one delegate for every 500 dues paying members, besides ex-officio delegates, are sent to the national convention where all important questions of policy are settled.

In the intervals between national conventions the official board, consisting of the general officers, former national national presidents, and the state presidents, controls the general interests of the organization. It nominates the general secretaries of the Young People's Branch and Loyal Temperance Legion, department directors, field workers, organizers, lecturers, and evangelists. It confirms the nominations made by the general officers of the editors of The Union Signal and The Young Crusader, and acts upon the budget submitted by the budget committee.

The executive committee consists of the official board, the general secretaries of the Young People's Branch and Loyal Temperance Legion, the department directors, organizers, lecturers, evangelists, special representatives, and the editors of The Union Signal and The Young Crusader. Its duties consist of passing upon the president's recommendations, and the reports of standing committees, special funds, and the publishing house business. There have been several occasions when the national convention
met biennially instead of annually. In the off years the executive com-
mittee was empowered to transact necessary business for the promotion of
the work.

The annual dues for the W.C.T.U. and The Young People's Branch are
one dollar. Of this the national organization gets ten cents, and in turn
pays a penny of this to the World's W.C.T.U. While receipts have been
declining in recent years the financial position of the national W.C.T.U.
seems to be sound. According to the 1932 Report it has assets of two-
thirds of a million dollars.9

Using the Treasurer's report of dues received as the basis for compu-
tation, the paid-up membership in 1932 was 318,675. A high point of
396,309 was reached in 1928, and since then there has been a steady de-
cline, no doubt due to the depression. The number of girl members in the
Young People's Branch was 5608 in 1932. Young men are received intomember-
ship on the same terms as young women, and pay the same dues, but there is
no way of estimating their number because the national organization receives
no share of their dues. The same holds true of the honorary men members
of the W.C.T.U. The leading W.C.T.U. states are New York, with 41,302 wo-
men, Pennsylvania with 37,448, Ohio with 28,116, and California with 24,024.
The dues of the Loyal Temperance Legion are ten cents a year, of which
the national W.C.T.U. gets five. There are 29,570 children in the organ-
ization. There is no record of the number of White-Ribbon Recruits, which
includes babies up to the age of six, for no dues are collected.

The momentum which the campaign to repeal the 18th Amendment has

9 Report 1932, 121
gained since the Roosevelt administration took office has been a great surprise to the drys. At the national W.C.T.U. convention, held in July, a legislative program for the coming year was adopted which showed undue optimism, or ignorance of the true situation. It included repeal of the new beer law, vigorous enforcement of the 18th Amendment, and re-enactment of enforcement laws in states that have repealed them. The national treasurer declared that at present money seemed to be the all-conquering consideration. The promise of lessened taxes if Prohibition were repealed was blinding the eyes of the people to the fact that they would be selling their souls for a mess of pottage.

In her last presidential address Mrs. Ella A. Boole said that Prohibition stood at the crossroads. Every state was being contested, and there was a fighting chance that twenty states would fail to ratify the repeal amendment. Both major parties were now hopelessly wet, and there was need for a new party of moral ideals to stand for Prohibition and clean government. She warned that social conditions had greatly changed since the World War, and if repeal came, many women would feel free to drink as freely as men. But whether the 18th Amendment stood or fell, the W.C.T.U. must prepare to do its work all over again. Homemakers must be warned of the dangers in the use of alcoholic liquors; business men must be shown that money spent for drink cannot be spent for other commodities. Even welfare workers must be reminded of their responsibility to warn those with whom they work that drink is responsible for most of the conditions.

10 Milwaukee Sentinel, July 4, 1933
11 Ibid., July 1, 1933
which they are organized to alleviate. 12

Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, the newly elected President, showed a pugnacious attitude. She declared her leadership could be of the "Carry Nation" type, if the situation seemed to demand it. She would not con-
ceede a single state in the fight to keep Prohibition. 13

12 New York Times, July 1, 1933
13 Milwaukee Sentinel, July 5, 1933
I, Samuel Unger, was born in New York City, March 15, 1905. I received my Secondary school education in the public and high schools of the City of Cleveland, Ohio. I received my undergraduate education at The Ohio State University, from which I took the degree of B.A. in 1928, and the degree of M.A. in 1931. While in residence, and working toward the Ph. D. degree, I was elected University Scholar for the year 1931-1932, and University Fellow for the year 1932-1933.
Plan of Work drawn up by Frances E. Willard, and adopted at the 1874 Convention.

I Of Organization


II Of Making Public Sentiment

1. Frequent temperance mass meetings.
2. Circulation of temperance literature in homes and saloons.
3. Teaching the children in Sabbath Schools and public schools the ethics, chemistry, physiology, and hygiene of Total Abstinence.
4. Offering prizes in these schools for essays on different aspects of the subject.
5. Placing a copy of the engraving known as "The Railroad to Ruin", and similar pictures on the walls of every school room.
6. Organizing Temperance Glee Clubs of young people to sing temperance doctrines into the peoples' hearts as well as heads.
7. Seeking permission to edit a column in the interests of temperance in every newspaper in the land, and in all possible ways enlisting the press in this reform.
8. Endeavoring to secure from pastors everywhere frequent temperance sermons and special services in connection with the weekly prayer-meeting and the Sabbath School at stated intervals, if they be only quarterly.
9. Preserving facts connected with the general subject and with our work, in temperance scrap books, to be placed in the hands of a special officer appointed for this purpose.

III Of Juvenile Temperance Societies

IV Of The Pledge

1. Total abstinence pledge to be circulated as fast and as far as possible.
2. Special pledge for women involving banishing of alcohol in all its forms from the side-board and kitchen, and enjoining quiet, persistent work for temperance in their own social circles.
3. Pledge books to be placed in every church and Sabbath School room.

V Of Sacramental Wine

Work for unfermented wine at communion table.

VI Of The Anti-Treat League

For those who are not willing to sign the pledge, but one saying they would neither treat or be treated.

VII Of Temperance Coffee Rooms with Reading Rooms attached.

VIII Homes For Inebriate Women
IX The Reformed Men's Clubs

X A Bureau of Information to establish medium of communication between parents and their absent sons to keep them from temptation.

XI Counter Attractions of Home

XII Home Missionary Work.

Private visitation of those who drink and sell.

XIII Gospel Temperance Meetings

XIV Water Fountains

XV Of Money. A cent a week from each member.

XVI Trysting Time With God.

Dedicate the evening twilight hour, wherever we are, to prayerful thoughts about this greatest of reforms.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Government Publications
   (a) Federal

   Alcohol, Hygiene, and the Public Schools. Department of Justice Bulletin.

   Brewing And Liquor Interests And German And Bolshevik Propaganda. 3 Vols.

   43 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 2
   44 Cong. 2 Sess. Vol. 5
   49 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 17; 2 Sess. Vol. 18
   52 Cong. 2 Sess. Vol. 2


   House Reports. 43 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 1 No.250. Government Printing
   Office, Washington, 1874.

   National German-American Alliance Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the
   Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate. 55 Cong. 2 Sess.

   Printing Office, Washington, 1886-1906

   Senate Mis. Documents. 50 Cong. 2 Sess. No.43. Government Printing
   Office, Washington, 1889

   Senate Reports. 49 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 1 No.85. Government Printing Of-
   fice, Washington, 1888

   Statutes At Large of the United States. Vols. 24, 30, 31, 34, 36. Govern-
   ment Printing Office, Washington, 1887-1911

   1890-1898.

   (b) state

   Laws of Ohio. Vols. 52, 67, 94, 109. State Printer. 1803-

   Report of the State Commissioner of Common Schools to the General Assembly
   of the State of Ohio. 1887, 1889, 1901. State Printer, 1837-
2. Newspapers

Cincinnati Daily Enquirer. 1873-1874

Cleveland Daily Herald. 1873-1874

Cleveland Plain Dealer. 1933

Daily Dispatch and Daily Ohio Statesman (Columbus, Ohio) 1874

Fayette County Herald (Washington, C.H., Ohio) 1873-1874

Highland Weekly News (Hillsboro, Ohio) 1873-1874

Milwaukee Sentinel. 1933

New York Daily Tribune, 1874-1901

New York Times. 1913-1933

Ohio State Journal. (Columbus, Ohio) 1874

Ohio State Register (Washington, C.H., Ohio) 1873-1874.

Union Signal (Evanston, Illinois) 1883-1933

Der Westbote (Columbus, Ohio) 1874


Carpenter, Mrs. Matilda G. - The Crusade; Its Origin and Development at Washington Court House and Its Results. W. C. Hubbard & Co. Columbus, Ohio, 1893.

Crittenton, Charles N. - The Brother of Girls. World's Events Co. Chicago, 1910

Dorr, Rheta Childe, - Susan B. Anthony. Frederick A. Stokes & Co. New York 1928


Hills, Rev. A. M. - *Life and Labors of Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge*. 2nd ed. F.W. Woodbridge, Ravenna, Ohio. 1895


Powderly, Terence V. - *Thirty Years of Labor. 1859 to 1889*. Excelsior Publishing House, Columbus, Ohio. 1890.


Stewart, Eliza D. - *Memories of the Crusade*. 2nd ed. Wm. G. Hubbard, Columbus, Ohio. 1899

Thompson, Mrs. Eliza Jane Trimble, Her Two Daughters and Frances E. Willard, Hillsboro Crusade Sketches and Family Records. Cranston & Curtis, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1898.


Washburn, Robert Collyer - *The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham*. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1931

My Happy Half Century. Ward, Lock & Bowden, Ltd.
London, 1894.
Hartford, Conn. 1883.

Williams, Charles Edward, ed., Diary and Letters of Rutherford Burchard Hayes, 5 Vols. The Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society [Columbus, Ohio]. 1922-1926.

4. Other Primary Sources.

Anti-Saloon League Year Book 1913-1914. The American Issue Press, Westerville, Ohio, 1913-1914

Cincinnati, 1874.


1844.


Guernsey, Alice M. - Child's Health Primer. Pathfinder Series No. 1 A.S. Barnes & Co., New York. 1885
Young People's Physiology. Pathfinder Series No. 2 A.S. Barnes & Co., New York. 1885

Hunt, Mary H. - An Epoch of the Nineteenth Century. Mary H. Hunt, Boston, 1897
The March of Progress. Mary H. Hunt, Boston, 1904.

Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of The National Educational Association. 1880; 1884; 1894; 1900; 1901. Published by the Association [a.k.a. 1880-1901


Reports of the Annual Conventions of the National W.C.T.U. 1874-1932.


Youmans, Mrs. Letitia - Campaign Echoes 2nd ed. Wm. Briggs, Toronto, Canada. [c.1893].

5. General Histories


Allen, Devere - The Fight For Peace. The Macmillan Co. New York. 1930

Anonymous, Temperance Education In American Public Schools. Scientific Temperance Federation, Boston, n.d.


Catt, Carrie Chapman, and nett Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics. Charles Scribners' Sons. New York. 1923


Colvin, D. Leigh - Prohibition In the United States. George H. Doran Co., New York. [c. 1928].


Fehlandt, August F. - A Century of Drink Reform In the United States. Jennings and Graham, Cincinnati, [c. 1904].


Ingham, Mrs. W.A., Women of Cleveland and Their Work. W.A. Ingham, Cleveland, Ohio. 1893.


Stebbins, J.E. - Fifty Years History of the Temperance Cause. J.P. Fitch Hartford, Conn. 1876.

Stevenson, Katharine Lent. - A Brief History of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 3rd ed. The Union Signal, Evanston, Illinois. [c.1907].

Brown, Marianna C. - Sunday School Movements In America. Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago, 1901


Edholm, Charlton - Traffic in Girls and Florence Crittenton Missions. Women's Temperance Publishing Ass., Chicago. [c.1893?].

Froiseth, Jennie Anderson - The Women of Mormonism. C.G.G. Paine, Detroit, 1882

Froiseth, Jennie Anderson - The Women of Mormonism, C.G.G. Paine, Detroit, 1882

Pierce, Bessie Louise - Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. [c.1933?].


7. Articles and Essays In Periodicals, Annuals, and Publications of Learned Societies.


Barney, Mrs. J. K. - "National W.C.T.U. Department of Prisons, Jail, Police and Almhouse Work." Lend A Hand. 2:413 (July, 1887)

Bok, Edward - "A Few Words To The W.C.T.U." Ladies Home Journal. 21:18 (Sept. 1904)


Clark, John Holley, Jr. - "The Prohibition Cycle" North American Review 235:413 (May, 1933)

Letter to The Survey 32:309 (June, 13, 1914)

Editorial, "An Appeal to Truth" Outlook 64:390 (Feb. 17, 1900)
"The Feud in the Woman's Rights Camp" Nation XI.346 (Nov. 24, 1870)
"The Remoter Bearings of the 'Whisky War'" Nation XVIII,199 (March 26,1899)
"Saloons" Nation XLIII,247 (Sept. 23, 1886)
"The Temperance Revival in Ohio" Harper's Weekly, XVIII:210 (March 7,1874)
"Those Temperance Text Books" Outlook 63:483 (Oct. 28, 1899)
"Total Abstinence Teaching in the Schools" Science 7:115 (Feb. 5, 1886)
Untitled Editorial, Science 10:49 (July 29, 1887)
"The Week" Nation XVIII,99 (Feb. 12, 1874)
"The Women and the Temperance Question" Nation. XVIII.135 (Feb. 26, 1874)

Ferguson, W.B. - "Temperance Teaching and Recent Legislation in Connecticut" Educational Review 23:233 (March, 1901)


Gilfond, Duff - "The White Ribboners" American Mercury 13;266 (March, 1928)

Hunt, Mary H. - "The Temperance Text-Books" Outlook 63:498 (Oct. 28, 1899)
"The Will of the People, Not of Oligarchy" Science n.s. XV:749 (May 9, 1902)


McLean, Robert Craik - "The Passing of the Woman's Temple", The Western Architect 31:12 (Jan. 1922)


Sabin, Henry - "Scientific Temperance Instruction" Education 20:531 (May, 1900)

Spencer, Dorcas J. - "Woman's Christian Temperance Union" Californian Illustrated Magazine. 3:167 (Jan. 1893)


Stead, W.T. - "The Uncrowned Queen of American Democracy" Review of Reviews 6:427 (Nov. 1892)

Waddle, Charles Carey - "A Modern Crusade" Cosmopolitan 2:274 (July, 1891)
Walker, Stanley - "With Ella In the Desert" Outlook. 154:365 (April 9, 1930)

White, Wm. C. "Bye, Bye, Blue Laws" Scribner's XCIV.107 (Aug. 1933)

"Power of Organization As Shown In the Work of the W.C.T.U." Lend A Hand. 1:170 (March, 1886)
"Scientific Temperance Instruction In the Public Schools" The Arena 12:10 (March, 1895)

"Woman and the Temperance Question" Forum 4:432 (Dec. 1887)

Williams, Edward H. "Temperance Instruction In Public Schools and Its Results" The Survey 32:74 (April 18, 1914)

8. Miscellaneous.


