

Frances Willard

1839-1898

Frances Willard was born in Churchville, New York, as one of three children of Josiah and Mary Willard. She had an older brother, Oliver, and a younger sister, Mary. Her father, a successful businessman and farmer and also a devout Methodist, sold his assets in Churchville in 1841 and moved the family to Oberlin, Ohio, so that he could prepare for the ministry at Oberlin College. His wife, who had been a schoolteacher before her marriage, also attended classes (Oberlin was the only co-educational college in the United States at that time). But in 1846 Josiah Willard contracted tuberculosis, and on doctor's orders the family moved to an isolated farm near Janesville, Wisconsin, where it was hoped the fresh air would help him.

Frances and her siblings were home-schooled by their mother and occasional tutors until 1854, when Oliver went to Beloit College to prepare for the ministry and the girls attended a school in Janesville organized by their father. In 1857 Frances and Mary enrolled in the Milwaukee Female College, a teacher-training institute established by Catharine Beecher. Their father found the school insufficiently religious, however, and transferred them in 1858 to Northwestern Female College in Evanston, Illinois, a town near Chicago. The whole family moved to Evanston, and Frances and her sister lived at home while attending school.

Willard graduated from college in 1859, and in 1860 she took a teaching position in a rural school. For the next eight years she taught at various schools around the Midwest. A Methodist minister who was a friend of her brother's, the Reverend Charles Fowler, proposed to her in 1861 and she accepted, but she broke the engagement a year later. Her letters suggest that although she esteemed Fowler highly, she did not love him, and she could not bring herself to marry just because it was the expected thing to do. At any rate, she was preoccupied in 1862 with the illness and death of her beloved sister Mary. Willard left her teaching position to nurse Mary, and then to write a memoir of Mary's life.

In 1868 Kate Jackson, a fellow teacher from a wealthy family, invited Willard to accompany her as her guest on a tour of Europe and the Middle East. Josiah Willard was reluctant to consent to the trip, but he died in this year, and Willard decided to go. She and her friend were abroad for two years. While they were traveling, Willard came to some decisions about her future. She felt that marriage was not for her and that she wanted to dedicate herself to work that would improve the position of women in the world. It seemed logical for the work to be that of education, a field for which she was already trained and in which she had some experience. Willard resolved to make a career for herself as a women's educator when she returned to the United States.

Almost immediately, the ideal opportunity presented itself. In 1871, although she was only thirty-two years old, Willard was invited to become the first woman president of a U.S. women's college. The new institution, the Evanston College for Ladies, would replace the financially ailing Northwestern Female College from which she had graduated and would be affiliated with nearby Northwestern Univer-

that's a
bummer!

You wonder
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sity, at that time an all-male institution. Willard lived in the family home in Evanston with her mother and took up her new work with enthusiasm, teaching classes on rhetoric and composition in addition to her administrative duties. Financial problems forced the school to merge with Northwestern University in 1872, a step to which Willard assented on condition that she and the female faculty remain in charge of the women students, many of whom were young teenagers.

Unfortunately, just at this time, the Northwestern University president who had supported Willard's efforts, and with whom she had negotiated the merger agreement, resigned and was replaced by the Reverend Charles Fowler, her former fiancé. Although the two had parted on friendly terms, as far as Willard was aware, Fowler immediately opposed her plans for women's education. He reduced her authority through administrative changes, acquiesced in her harassment by some of the male Northwestern students she was now teaching, and generally made her position at the school untenable, finally forcing her resignation in 1874.

Willard now found herself in an awkward situation. Other academic posts were offered to her, but they would have required leaving Evanston. She did not want to move her elderly mother, for whom she was responsible, nor to leave the neighborhood of her many friends and her brother Oliver, his wife, and their four children. Money was a consideration, for upon his death her father had left a very small estate, having loaned large sums to Oliver, first to launch him in the ministry and then to help him find other work when his pastoral career faltered because of a drinking problem.

Willard decided that her main commitment was to improving the position of women. If she could not do so through education in a school setting, there were other ways of affecting public opinion. Public lectures and evangelical meetings were very popular, and speakers could earn money both from collections taken at the event and from salaries, should they win positions as paid agents of the era's various reform societies. At this time, the reform issue of temperance was flourishing in the Midwest. The winter of 1873-74 brought a crusade by women seeking to curb the liquor trade, the largest public demonstration by women the United States had ever seen. Willard, who had already done some public speaking for Methodist causes, was attracted to temperance. She was elected president of the Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the fall of 1874 and was sent as a delegate later that year to the first national meeting of women's temperance groups, which resulted in the formation of the national Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of which she was elected corresponding secretary.

When temperance activism in America began in the eighteenth century, it was not primarily a women's issue, but it was an important reform cause. Willard's own church, the Methodist, formally endorsed temperance in 1832. By 1833, a national union of temperance groups, led by men but with women's participation, numbered more than a million members. They were successful in curbing alcohol consumption in the United States by the time of the Civil War. After the war, however, some of the legal restrictions these groups had won were repealed, and liquor consumption skyrocketed. Alcohol became big business. There was one saloon for every fifty adult men in some urban areas, and an 1895 survey in Chicago showed that the number of daily saloon patrons equaled one half of the city's total population. By the turn

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of the century Americans were spending over one billion dollars on alcohol, much more than they spent on public education (\$200 million). Moreover, the liquor trade protected itself politically; political meetings were often held in saloons, and brewers, saloon keepers, and others in the liquor business were elected to local offices.

Alcohol constituted the great "drug problem" of the nineteenth century. Then as now, the use of intoxicants was deplored in part because it was felt to be morally debilitating, and in part because it was known to have grave social costs. Women increasingly spoke up about how they and their children bore the brunt of these costs. The alcohol problem was becoming a women's problem. Drinking was a more exclusively masculine activity than it is today, and alcohol abuse by men contributed to the physical abuse and financial deprivation of women and children, and to many other social ills. Furthermore, women who suffered from their husbands' abuse of alcohol had little legal recourse, given that married women's property laws often still gave everything, even a wife's wages, to the husband, and divorce laws awarded custody of children to the husband. Women could not vote and so could not work directly for legislative remedies.

Instead, they adapted techniques developed in antebellum reform movements, notably abolition—by using petitions, public demonstrations, lectures, and printed appeals. Twentieth-century perceptions of temperance activism are clouded, perhaps, by the movement's narrow focus on prohibition alone in the early twentieth century. But during Willard's leadership the movement engaged a broad spectrum of social issues. When prohibition eventually became the law of the land, it was a dismal failure, so much so that temperance workers are now often remembered with ridicule, when they are remembered at all. In the late nineteenth century, however, the temperance movement constituted the largest mass movement of women ever in the United States. Willard's biographer Ruth Bordin notes that although Willard believed in the goals of the temperance movement, at first it had not appeared to be very high on her list of social reform priorities. As a young woman, at least, Willard did not require total abstinence of herself, and she enjoyed the occasional glass of wine when she was in Europe. Bordin believes that the temperance movement attracted Willard in 1874 primarily because she saw it as a movement that empowered women.

As corresponding secretary of the fledgling WCTU, Willard was so successful at increasing membership that the national convention grew from 80 delegates in 1874 to 200 in 1875, representing 21 states and 7,500 members. Willard was a dynamic platform speaker, not flamboyant but utterly sincere and able to convince her hearers that she cared deeply about them even when the audience was large. She projected powerful moral authority, a reflection, perhaps, of her desire to be a pulpit minister. She confessed to this desire in *Woman in the Pulpit* (excerpted here), but she suppressed it because of the prejudices of the time. To improve her performance and strengthen her voice, she took elocution lessons from the director of the School of Oratory at Northwestern. Willard also showed great talent at organizing new WCTU chapters and helping other women find their own public voices, as shown in the excerpt here from *Woman and Temperance* on how to organize a temperance meeting and how to conduct oneself as the lead speaker.

"to create a network": this is a "new" focus, an advancement of rhetorical theory

→ and we see a lot more of w/

Thus Willard helped to create a network of women's organizations in which women helped each other come to public voice, as chronicled by historian of rhetoric Carol Mattingly. At first, women needed all-female audiences in order to find the courage to speak. Within several years, however, women's speaking abilities had progressed to the point that one delegate to the annual WCTU meeting, Mrs. S. A. McClees, could testify as follows:

Women who had but lately found no wider sphere than the domestic or social circle for their *special pleadings* in favor of all things good and true . . . suddenly found themselves facing vast audiences, standing in sacred places, altars and pulpits, side by side with fathers and brethren of the ministry, to give the same solemn admonitions to which they had lent reverent ears since childhood days.¹

Willard's growing popularity must be attributed at least in part to the grateful excitement women felt as they found their voices under the guidance of the organization she directed. Mattingly argues that the WCTU was "the largest and most effective organization for teaching women rhetorical skills in the nineteenth century."²

Contrary to the wishes of other WCTU leaders, Willard, the organization's most powerful speaker, began to push for a broader agenda for the organization. On women's suffrage, she was advised and encouraged by her friend Susan B. Anthony, who was also pro-temperance (as were many other women's suffrage leaders), and who had founded the first women's temperance organization in 1852 after being refused the right to speak at a temperance conference run by men. After some struggle within the organization, Willard's views finally prevailed, and she was elected president of the national WCTU in 1879, at the age of forty. She would hold this position until her death in 1898.

Willard placed the WCTU on a firmer financial footing and reorganized its various concerns, such as promoting temperance to children, into "departments," each of which was headed by a "superintendent" who had considerable autonomy. Having thus delegated many administrative aspects of the organization, Willard was free to travel and proselytize for temperance and other social reform causes. In the first ten years of her presidency, she spoke at an average of one meeting per day—at political party conventions, conferences of many religious denominations, and temperance meetings in every U.S. state and territory.

Willard advocated what she called "Do-Everything Reform." She attached temperance work to a range of social issues, including stronger laws against rape, laws raising the legal age of consent (which was age ten in twenty states), improved conditions for women factory workers and women prison inmates, improved enforcement of anti-child-labor laws, free kindergartens and what we would call day-care programs for working mothers, and more. The two issues that were closest to Willard's heart, and that she was most influential in promoting, were women's suffrage and labor unionism. To promote women's suffrage, Willard took the phrase "Home Protection," which had referred to tariffs protecting American industry, and

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¹Quoted in Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), p. 50, emphasis in original.

²Mattingly, p. 58.

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adapted it to refer to the vote for women, arguing that if women could vote, they would vote for measures that would protect women, children, and the American home, including, among other things, regulation of the alcohol trade.

Willard was also convinced that the American economic system was unjust and un-Christian. From the late 1880s she referred to her own political beliefs as "Christian Socialism." She advocated a social order in which everyone took responsibility for everyone else, as required by proper respect for God's laws, and she saw the organization of labor as a necessary step toward more equitable arrangements. On behalf of the WCTU, she made overtures to Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor, an early union organization. The Knights already supported temperance and admitted women as equal members, working for equal pay for equal work and other women's issues. Willard persuaded them to adopt women's suffrage as well, and she added the eight-hour day and other labor issues to the WCTU agenda.

Historians have argued that the temperance movement as a whole was tinged with ethnic and racial prejudice, that it was primarily a rural, Protestant, native-born movement that tried to fend off perceived threats from urban Catholic immigrants. Willard attempted to guide the WCTU away from such prejudices, although she was not entirely free from them herself. People of color were admitted to the WCTU on an equal footing with whites—indeed, noted African American activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was a WCTU leader throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. Also, Willard made it national policy that Catholics and Jews were welcome as members of the WCTU, and she extended overtures to Catholic temperance groups. Yet Willard allowed most Southern chapters of the organization to remain segregated. Although she urged the WCTU to oppose lynching and other violent features of southern resistance to Reconstruction, she also suggested that the charges for which black men were lynched were sometimes true. African American reformer Ida B. Wells attacked Willard repeatedly, even from the podium at the national WCTU convention, for not taking a stronger stand against lynching, and although Willard tried to respond to these criticisms and finally persuaded the WCTU to pass an antilynching resolution in 1895, over southern members' protests, her public statements never repudiated the false charges against lynch victims.

Willard obviously believed that women should take stands on public issues, in spite of complaints from WCTU conservatives that she was inappropriately politicizing the organization. Further, Willard saw that the various social reforms she espoused, which were linked theoretically in the concept of Christian Socialism, needed to be linked politically into a single reform party if they were to influence the American government. A Prohibition party had been active in the United States since the Civil War, and Willard was one of its leaders. After its defeat in the 1888 elections, Willard thought that the time was right to promote fusion with other reform efforts, notably the farmers' groups seeking national fiscal reform, which became the Populist party. She urged the Populists to adopt platform planks supporting temperance and women's suffrage and promised the support of the Prohibition party and her very large women's organization—about 200,000 members by 1890—if they would do so. But after several years of maneuvering, in 1892 this fusion effort was finally defeated.

1892 was also the year in which Willard's mother died, and it became a watershed year in her temperance work. No longer tied to Evanston by care for her mother, she became more active on the international scene and less active on the national. In 1891 Willard had been instrumental in organizing the first international women's temperance conference, where she became the president of the World WCTU formed at the conference, and there she had met Lady Henry Somerset, president of the British Women's Christian Temperance Union. Isabel Somerset became Willard's close friend, and upon Willard's mother's death, Willard accepted her invitation to visit her in England. From 1892 until Willard's death in 1898, Lady Henry made it possible for Willard to spend more than half her time in England. She thus became less politically active in the United States and less of a presence on the national reform scene, although she retained her presidency of the U.S. national WCTU and continued to appear as a speaker for temperance and other reforms.

During this period, too, Willard's effectiveness at home and abroad was diminished by her rapidly failing health. Worn down by a whirlwind speaking schedule, she died in New York City early in 1898, at the age of fifty-eight, while waiting to sail for England. Her death occasioned a tremendous outpouring of national grief. As her body was transported back to Evanston for burial, it was greeted by crowds of mourners at stops along the way. Obituaries compared her status to that of Queen Victoria. She was undoubtedly the most famous woman in America at the time of her death, and her eminent position was later cemented by the passage of Constitutional amendments prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages (1918) and granting the vote to women (1920), reforms that she was instrumental in bringing about.

Frances Willard was the best-known female public speaker that the United States had ever seen, and arguably no American woman to date has surpassed her in national and international renown. The roots of her success lie in her approach to public rhetoric. On the one hand, the keynote of Willard's oratory was always conciliation. She presented herself as a "womanly" woman, with the special spirituality, purity, and love of home and children that nineteenth-century ideologies of "woman's sphere" deemed appropriate for the sex (ironically enough, since she never married and had no children of her own). Thus women who feared to depart from accepted norms of female behavior did not feel threatened as they entertained her ideas. As Mattingly has shown, Willard and the temperance women who followed her lead also made heavy use of traditional cultural references, especially to the Bible and American history, to identify their reforms with accepted values. Willard also approached audiences gently, emphasizing that they could choose whether or not to embrace her positions, just as the WCTU allowed local chapters to decide which aspects of the national agenda, in addition to temperance, they wished to support.

On the other hand, Willard had a breadth of social vision equaled by very few American reformers. She connected temperance to a broad range of issues, in marked contrast, for example, to supporters of women's suffrage, who became more and more focused on a single issue over time. If temperance was a socially safe issue, bearing religious endorsement and an obvious connection with "home protection," Willard also passionately supported more radical causes, such as better treatment of prostitutes and women criminals, whose very existence "respectable"

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women were supposed to ignore, and also women's suffrage and labor unionism, which had politically revolutionary implications. Thus listeners drawn in by Willard's conventionally feminine self-presentation might find themselves confronting surprisingly sweeping vistas of radical social change. Sociologist Janet Zollinger Giele states: "Particularly in the smaller towns, the WCTU was the thinking woman's organization, allied with a number of progressive causes."³

After Willard's death, the WCTU retreated to a position of supporting prohibition only, and younger women seeking reform outlets tended to look elsewhere. Speech communication scholar Karlyn Kohrs Campbell has speculated that the WCTU did not sustain Willard's reform agenda after her death because her rhetoric was too conciliatory and did not make strong converts of women once they were removed from her charismatic personal influence. But one social change that Willard advocated did endure. Above all, she not only spoke out herself on reform issues, but encouraged other women to do so. Willard continually defended women's right to speak in public, most coherently in her defense of women's preaching, *Woman in the Pulpit*. On the personal level, she promoted the speaking careers of her associates and gave them sincere encouragement and support. On the organizational level, she may have done more than any other nineteenth-century reformer to empower large groups of women to conduct political business and to make their voices heard.

maternal support
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Practical advice on how women can become effective speakers is given in a chapter in *Woman and Temperance* titled "How to Organize a WCTU" (excerpted here). Willard focuses on how to conduct the initial meeting of a group of women who will form a new WCTU chapter. She offers specific hints on how to structure a successful meeting and even provides an outline of a model opening speech (possibly echoing her earlier work as a rhetoric and composition teacher). She gives much attention to gauging the audience and avoiding any appearance of superior knowledge, along with canny advice on how to deal with obtuse or hostile questioners. Following this section in the chapter is one that gives similar advice on how to conduct a public rally for temperance at which both men and women will be present.

Willard's book *Woman in the Pulpit*, also excerpted here, is her most complete statement on women and rhetoric. Her argument centers on a defense of ministerial careers for women, still a radical idea opposed by most Christian denominations at the time, even though some ordained women were already serving. Perhaps she was influenced by her experience with well-known Methodist preacher Phoebe Palmer (p. 1085). Willard first attacks bans on female ministry based on Pauline injunctions concerning women's silence in church, as had many defenders of women's speaking before her, such as Margaret Fell and Sarah Grimké (pp. 748, 1045), although Willard appears to be unaware of their work. Willard then argues for the benefits women will bring to the ministry, and finally disposes of the objection that women ministers will not be fit mothers.

Typical of her conciliatory approach, Willard cushions this radical argument, presented in Chapters I–III, with an introduction comprising three letters from male

³Janet Zollinger Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage, and the Origins of Modern Feminism* (New York: Twayne, 1995), p. 89.

ministers praising the project and four concluding chapters that present, respectively, many lengthy excerpts from the writings of male ministers supporting women's ministry, many lengthy excerpts from the writings of women ministers describing and defending their vocation, a critique of her argument by a male doctor of divinity, and a rebuttal of this critique by another male professor of religion. She thus surrounds herself with testimony on her behalf, implying that she would not be so arrogant as to defend a radical position alone, and also that she does not wish to diminish the authority of male ministers (since she calls on them for support, and even for criticism). Of the book's seven chapters, then, only three are entirely her words. What follows is a synopsis of Willard's three main chapters.

even in the way
this book was
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female

SUMMARY OF WOMAN IN THE PULPIT, CHAPTERS I-III

Our first excerpt begins with Chapter I: "The Letter Killeth." A literal reading of biblical texts enjoining women's silence in church might mean that they could not even sing in the choir. Willard implies that this view is as absurd as supposing that revolutionaries Martin Luther and George Washington violated texts against resisting earthly powers, or that slavery is defended by certain texts. Moreover, traditional male biblical exegesis is contradictory in that, whereas it insists on reading some texts very literally, it interprets others quite loosely. Willard gives examples, one of which has special value to her as a temperance leader: Literal exegesis ignores the text indicating that unleavened bread was served at the Last Supper, while attending rigorously to the text indicating that wine was served. Such contradictions can be corrected by encouraging women, too, to write interpretations of the Bible.

Male interpreters read texts literally where the texts appear to argue for female silence and subjection only because such a view of women is culturally current and also profitable to men. Readings informed by the various prejudices of the male exegeses have produced all kinds of harmful discords in the Christian Church. Willard sees a trend, however, toward more liberal readings. This is to be expected, since we see that literal readings made by the early Church leaders, even the most respected, are now exploded.

rhetoric, too, as a
practice of reading

Willard next discusses various correctives to biblical interpretations that appear to contravene common sense. One is to compare texts from different biblical passages. Willard provides a table comparing texts on women, placing those that appear to limit women's participation in a context that makes them read more liberally. Another corrective is to read texts in light of the social customs that prevailed at the time they were written. Another remedy is to look carefully at the exact meanings of words used to describe women's activities in the early Christian Church. Willard gives further examples of readings in which literal and loose interpretations are irrationally mixed.

Women's rational and spiritual powers are clearly equal to those of men. Clerical opposition to women's ordination, then, may be due to fear of competition. (Our first excerpt ends here.)

Chapter II is titled "The Spirit Giveth Life." Although Christ called no woman to be an apostle, he owed his earthly existence only to God and a woman; he associated

with women throughout his ministry (Willard gives examples), and he gave to a woman the honor of announcing his resurrection. Also, women were present among the earliest Christian gatherings and received the Pentecostal fire of prophecy along with men. Clearly, then, Christ intended women, as well as men, to be his ministers on earth. To oppose women's ministry risks opposing the divine will.

Men have controlled the earth since ancient times (our second excerpt begins here), and when we see how white men behave toward all the other peoples of the earth, we see that they desperately need the corrective of a loving woman's vision. Even if no women were apostles, Protestants do not believe that today's ministers are the heirs of the apostles, so women's early absence from that role should be no bar to their ministry now. Male prejudice has deformed the Christian Church with celibacy, hierarchy, and oppression. Women's influence is needed to restore compassion. Men have warped the Church with empty ritual; women are needed to show how to live the faith. They are especially needed now that so many people have turned away from religion and dedicated themselves only to making money. People come more readily to hear a woman speaker.

Since both sexes must be saved, both sexes must preach. Male preachers have had much more success converting women than men; women preachers are needed to draw in the men. Most Christian denominations recognize this need, if not by ordaining women ministers, at least by increasing their scope of service in almost every other church office. (Our second excerpt ends here.) The women of today are more intelligent and pious than the Corinthians against whom Paul opined, and thus do not deserve similar silencing. Churches will be full again and both church and home prayer revitalized if women take an equal part in worship with men.

The oppression of women throughout society, which Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others are fighting, derives from mistaken clerical oppression of women within Christianity, which clearly violates the spirit of Christ's gospel. (Our third excerpt begins here.) Women's capacity for the ministry is suggested by their present success in other professions, by their effectiveness in speaking before large audiences on a variety of social issues, and by their academic triumphs (Willard gives examples). At the same time, women never have and never will neglect their beloved home duties. The Church loses a tremendous force for good by driving pious women into other areas of ministerial work, such as proselytizing for the WCTU. (Our third excerpt ends here.)

If male Church authorities continue to refuse to ordain women, women will ordain themselves (Willard wanted women to be formally ordained by established churches, and she was aware that some women threatened to form their own church if this did not happen, a move she resisted). WCTU evangelists now serve all over the world, expounding God's word to all walks of life, including downtrodden people whom the Church largely ignores. The Church should officially recognize such women, give them the benefit of its supervision, and enjoy the benefit of their spiritual power.

The women who can do this work are not exceptions. Many have such talents, and those who are not talented can easily be kept out, as the incompetent are

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weeded out of all professions. Modern transportation makes ministry all over the world well within the physical capabilities of women.

Indeed, a change is coming, and men who oppose it are increasingly in the minority. Willard notes that she has no wish to offend the many men who support her position. She thanks men for educating women for the many learned professions they now practice, and she specifically praises coeducational Oberlin College, Northwestern University, and Garrett Biblical Institute (Northwestern's school of theology). She confesses that had it been possible when she was young, she would have liked to train for the ministry herself, and she urges young women who feel such a call to answer it now.

Chapter III is titled "The Earth-Born Argument." But can a woman minister be a good mother? Willard cites many examples of good mothers who have excelled in other professions. Moreover, the ministry is a particularly easy profession for a woman to reconcile with motherhood. She can easily find a substitute in the pulpit for the brief periods when she is incapacitated by pregnancy and childbirth. Women are healthier and stronger than people think, even when incommoded by today's absurd female fashions—which, it is to be hoped, will be sensibly modified now that more women are entering professions.

A wife and mother who is also a minister will be ideally suited to nurture her household. Her children will be poets and philosophers. At the same time, the trials and sacrifices of motherhood will open the mysteries of Christian love to her in ways few male ministers can ever experience. Hardened, materialistic male congregants will listen to the mother-minister because of their memories of their own loving mothers. Willard here inserts a lengthy quote from a woman minister confirming her points about the positive mutual influence between the roles of mother and minister but also pointing out that the mother-minister will need help with domestic chores if she is to give of her best to both family and congregation. Willard follows with another long quote from a temperance book by Senator Henry Blair, in which he argues for giving women the vote precisely because their role as mothers helps them see what the state needs. Willard suggests applying Blair's argument by making an analogy between voting and preaching.

(Our fourth excerpt begins here.) Male ministers appear to talk only to men. For the entire human family to be included in the pulpit address, women must preach. (Our fourth excerpt ends here.)

Selected Bibliography

Willard's autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years, 1839–1889* (1889), provides interesting information on her development as a speaker and writer. *Woman and Temperance* was first published in Hartford in 1888; our excerpt is taken from this edition. No modern reprints of these works exist. *Woman in the Pulpit* was first published in Boston in 1888; our excerpt is taken from this edition. There is also a modern reprint (ed. Zenger, 1978). Many of Willard's speeches and other writings are available in the microfilm collection *Temperance and Prohibition Papers*, compiled by the WCTU, the Michigan Historical Society, and the

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Ohio Historical Society; see *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Temperance and Prohibition Papers*, ed. Randall C. Jimerson, Francis X. Blouin, and Charles A. Isetts (1977). Six of Willard's speeches are collected in Richard W. Leeman's *"Do Everything" Reform: The Oratory of Frances E. Willard* (1992), which also contains a helpful biographical introduction and analysis and notes on the speeches. Willard's speech "A White Life for Two" can be found in Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's collection, *Man Cannot Speak for Her, Volume II: Key Texts of the Early Feminists* (1989).

The standard biography of Frances Willard is Ruth Bordin's *Frances Willard: A Biography* (1986). Also helpful is Bordin's history of women's temperance efforts, which focuses on Willard and the WCTU, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (1981, 1990). In *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage, and the Origins of Modern Feminism* (1995), Janet Zollinger Giele helpfully compares the temperance and suffrage movements and their different, though effective, versions of feminism. Lori Ginzberg places the temperance movement in the larger context of women's benevolent activities before and after the Civil War in *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (1990). On the evangelical Christian religious background of the women's temperance movement, see Barbara Epstein's *The Politics of Domesticity* (1981) and Nancy Hardesty's *Women Called to Witness* (1984). For a history of the entire temperance movement from 1784 to 1980, see Jack Blocker, *American Temperance Movements* (1989).

Carol Mattingly's *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (1998) analyzes the rhetorical strategies of Willard and other temperance speakers, provides a detailed account of the controversy with Ida B. Wells, and includes chapters on temperance fiction and on press coverage of the temperance movement; her bibliography on women and social reform is also helpful. For further analysis of Willard's rhetorical strategies, see also Bonnie Dow, "Frances E. Willard" (in *Women Public Speakers in the United States 1800-1925: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, 1993), and the chapter on Willard in Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's *Man Cannot Speak for Her, Volume I: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric* (1989).

From *Woman in the Pulpit*

I. THE LETTER KILLETH

The First Congregational Church organized in New Jersey ordered its chorister "not to allow any females to sing in the choir, because Paul had commanded women to keep silence in the churches." This is the most illustrious instance, so far as I know, of absolute fidelity to a literal exegesis concerning woman's relation to public worship. By the same rule of interpretation, Luther and Washington must have treasured up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath when, in church and state, they severally proceeded to "resist the power," for it is declared

(Rom. xiii.) that "whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." This anathema is based upon the statement that "there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God," and hence follows the command, marvellously sweeping and conclusive, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." A similar degree of reverence for the letter furnished the argument upon which excellent ecclesiastical authority claimed the divine origin of African slavery, for does not Paul say, in Ephesians vi. 5, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear

and trembling, in singleness of your heart as unto Christ;" (and "bond-servants" is clearly the meaning as stated in the eighth verse).

Side by side with the method of exegesis which would enforce this literal view, and promulgated by the same class of exegetes, is another, which may be called the method of playing fast and loose, and which is thus illustrated:—

In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.) there is a specific command not to strike back when one is struck; not to go to law; to give to him that asketh; not to turn away from him that would borrow; and to suffer people to be divorced for one cause only; yet every one of these precepts coming from Christ himself is specifically and constantly violated by pastors and people, and without penalty. In the Gospel of John (xiii.) Christ explicitly states one of the duties of his disciples in the following language: "Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well: for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." But I know of only one small sect that is loyal to this command.

In 1 Cor. vii., Paul sets forth a doctrine that, literally interpreted, certainly elevates celibacy above marriage and widowhood above remarriage, but exegetical opinion does not coincide with the great Apostle, neither does the practice of the church, else not one of its adherents would be alive to state the fact; nor have Protestant clergymen been known to manifest the least reluctance of conscience in performing the marriage ceremony in general, or in taking marriage vows upon themselves, nor has such reluctance become apparent when a widow was thereby involved in taking a second marriage vow.

In establishing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we know, beyond a peradventure, that Christ used unleavened bread. But while hundreds of disquisitions have been written to prove that he did *not* use unfermented wine, I have yet to learn of a Protestant exegete who prescribes it as our duty to furnish unleavened bread, or a pastor who provides it, and yet none dispute its presence at the table where the ordinance was instituted. Nevertheless, many of the same clergymen insist on fermented wine, "lest we should disre-

gard our Saviour's plain example and command, and put him to an open shame."

In 1 Tim. ii. 9, Paul says: "I desire . . . that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefastness and sobriety; not with braided hair, and gold or pearls or costly raiment;" and adds, "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness. For Adam was first formed, then Eve." But our exegetes and pulpit expounders, while laying the most solemn emphasis upon the last part of this command as an unchangeable rule of faith and practice for womankind in all ages and in all places, pass over the specific commands relative to braided hair, gold, pearls, and expensive attire, and have a thousand times preached to women who were violating every one of them, without uttering the slightest warning or reproof.

In Genesis, the Lord says to Cain, the elder brother, speaking to him of Abel, "Unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him," but our exegetes do not find here divine authorization of an elder brother's supremacy, and yet they construe the same expression when the Lord speaks to Eve, as the assertion, for all time, of a woman's subjection to her husband; moreover, they do this in face of the explicit declaration that God said, "Let *us* make man in *our* image, after our likeness: and let *them* have dominion . . . so God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; *male* and *female* created he *them*."

Take the sixth chapter of 1 Cor. and note its explicit and reiterated commands to Christians never to go to law, beginning with Pauline vigor: "*Dare* any of you?" Where is the "sweet reasonableness" of gliding softly over these inspired mandates, and urging those of the eleventh chapter in the same epistle as though they formed part of a creed for the subjection of women? My brethren, these things ought not so to be.

In presence of these multiplied instances, and many others that might be named, what must a plain Bible-reading member of the laity conclude? For my own part, I long ago found in these two conflicting methods of exegesis, one of which strenuously insisted on a literal view, and the other played fast and loose with God's word

zing!

this move is common today in
support of gay and lesbian rights

a lovely sonic/aural analogy
here: "stereoscopic"

—*
and the
stereo-
scopic
view of
truth in
general"
— according to personal predilection, a pointed illustration of the divine declaration that "it is not good for man to be alone." We need women commentators to bring out the women's side of the book; we need the stereoscopic view of truth in general, which can only be had when woman's eye and man's together shall discern the perspective of the Bible's full-orbed revelation.

I do not at all impugn the good intention of the good men who have been our exegetes, and I bow humbly in presence of their scholarship; but, while they turn their linguistic telescopes on truth, I may be allowed to make a correction for the "personal equation" in the results which they espy.

Study the foregoing illustrations, and find in them one more proof of that "humanness of the saints," which is a factor in all human results. Given, in heredity and environment, an established theory of the subjection of woman, and how easily one finds the same in Paul's epistles; given an appreciation of the pleasantness of wine, and how naturally one dwells upon the duty of its use at the communion, to the exclusion of special thought about the duty of retaining anything so tasteless as unleavened bread; given the charm that men find in "stylish" dress, carefully arranged hair, and beautiful jewelry, as shown in the attire of women, and it becomes perfectly natural that they should not censure these manifestations, but expatiate, instead, upon the more pleasing theory of woman's silence and subjection. Given the custom of being waited on, and slavery is readily seen to be of divine authority; given the unpleasantness of washing people's feet, and that hallowed ordinance speedily passes into innocuous desuetude; given the fathomless quantity of unconscious selfishness still regnant in good men, and the heavenly precepts of the Sermon on the Mount become "largely tinged with oriental imagery, and not to be taken in their severely literal sense;" given in the dominant sex the quenchless love of individual liberty, and Luther finds a way of interpreting in harmony with his purpose texts which he cannot ignore, and Washington, in face of these same texts, is conscious that he does God's service; given the resistless force of attraction between man and woman, and Paul's special precepts about

celibacy are powerless as the proverbial straw in presence of the imperious Niagara.

From all of which considerations the plain wayfaring woman cannot help concluding that exegesis, thus conducted, is one of the most time-serving and man-made of all sciences, and one of the most misleading of all arts. It has broken Christendom into sects that confuse and astound the heathen world, and to-day imposes the heaviest yoke now worn by woman upon that most faithful follower of Him who is her emancipator no less than humanity's Saviour. But as the world becomes more deeply permeated by the principles of Christ's Gospel, methods of exegesis are revised. The old texts stand there, just as before, but we interpret them less narrowly. Universal liberty of person and of opinion are now conceded to be Bible-precept principles; Onesimus and Canaan are no longer quoted as the slave-holder's main-stay; the theory of unfermented wine as well as bread is accepted by our temperance people generally; the great Russian writer, Count Tolstoi, stands as the representative of a school that accepts the precepts of Christ's Sermon on the Mount with perfect literalness, and theologians, not a few, find in the Bible no warrant whatever for the subjection of woman in anything.

Exegesis is defined as being "especially the scientific interpretation of the Holy Scriptures." It is in no sense an inspired work, but grows in breadth and accuracy with the general growth of humanity. For instance, it seems to us almost incredible that St. Augustine "thought it his duty to guard especially the whole theory of the waters above the heavens," or that St. Ambrose declared that "the firmament is a solid vault, and the thunder is caused by the winds breaking through it," and taught that if the vault revolved this "water is just what is needed to lubricate and cool its axis." In like manner Tertullian and his disciples contended that lightning is identical with hell-fire, and adduced, in proof thereof, the sulphurous smell attending it. Scripture texts were made the basis of all this, and St. Augustine declared that "nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of Scripture, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind."

Even in our own enlightened days, so great a

scholar as Dean Alford, in his commentary on the New Testament, has the following addition to the "Curiosities of Literature" (1 Cor. xi. 5), which is here given to show the straits to which a learned exegete is reduced when prejudice and literalism meet in his mind to produce a cyclone of absurdities:—

Woman, if she uncovers herself (that is, unveils) in such an assembly, dishonors her head, that is, *the man*, . . . by apparently casting off his headship, and if this be so, the Apostle proceeds, why not go farther and cut off her hair, which of itself is a token of this subjection? But if this be acknowledged to be shameful (it was a punishment of adulteresses), let the further decency of the additional covering be conceded likewise. Man is God's glory; He has put in him His Majesty, and he represents God on earth; woman is *man's* glory; taken from the *man*, shining not with light direct from God, but with light derived from man. . . . "For this cause," on account of what has just been said (in preceding verses), by which the subordination of woman has been proved, the woman ought to have power on her head (that is, *the sign of power or subjection*; shown by the context to mean a veil). . . . The token of power indicates being *under* power, and such token is the covering. Because of the angels, that is, because in Christian assemblies the holy angels of God are present and delighting in the due order and subordination of the ranks of God's servants, and by a violation of that order we should be giving offence to them.

Now, let any reasonable human being read this exegesis, and remember that two-thirds of the graduates from our great system of public education are women; that two-thirds of the teachers in these schools are women; that nearly three-fourths of our church members are women; that

through the modern Sunday-school women have already become the theological teachers of the future church; and that, *per contra*, out of about sixty thousand persons in our penitentiaries fifty-five thousand are men; that whiskey, beer, and tobacco to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars worth per year are consumed almost wholly by men; and then see if the said reasonable human being will find much mental or spiritual pabulum in the said learned exegesis. A pinch of common-sense forms an excellent ingredient in that complicated dish called Biblical interpretation, wherever it is set forth at the feast of reason, especially if it is expected at all to stimulate the flow of soul!

A reasonable exegesis could never so have stumbled. The modern impulse toward "real facts," which has already reconstructed the science of medicine, is already doing the same for the science of theology. In olden time the "quintessence of toads" was prescribed for the cure of cancer, a serpent's skin steeped in vinegar for toothache, and wrapping the patient in scarlet was the professional remedy for small-pox. Analogies not less grotesque prove that in the realm of exegesis the wildest fancies have in many instances usurped the throne of reason.

The devil's first argument with the Lord was based on a Scripture quotation, and in the meshes of a quotation he entangled Eve. But when a greater than Solomon was here, he answered Satan's "it is written" by his divine "Again it is written," thus teaching us to compare Scripture with Scripture.

Perhaps the difficulties in the way of literalism may be best set forth in tabulated form, showing the Bible's "it is written again":—

PAUL	OTHER SCRIPTURES	PAUL
1 Tim. ii. 11. "But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness."	Judg. iv. 4, 5. "Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, she judged Israel at that time. . . . And the children of Israel came up to her for judgment."	Gal. iii. 28. "There can be no male and female; for ye are all one <i>man</i> in Christ Jesus."

"I permit not a woman to teach" is a plain declaration. But women constitute more than half the Sunday-school workers of our day. The literalist proves too much by his argument. Perhaps he solaces himself by keeping all the offices in his own hands,

PAUL

1 Cor. xiv. 34.

"Let the women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak."

1 Cor. xiv. 35.

"It is shameful for a woman to speak in the church."

1 Tim. ii. 11.

"Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection."

1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.

Let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything let them ask their own husbands at home."

OTHER SCRIPTURES

Joel ii. 28, 29.

"And it shall come to pass afterward . . . that your . . . daughters shall prophesy, . . . and upon the handmaids will I pour out my spirit."

Luke ii. 36-38.

"And there was one Anna, a prophetess, . . . which departed not from the temple, worshipping with fastings and supplications night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem."

Acts xviii. 26.

"Apollos . . . began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully." [This seems to have been the first theological school.]

Acts xxi. 9, 10.

"Now this man [Philip the Evangelist] had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. And as we tarried there many days" [*i.e.*, Paul and his company].

PAUL

1 Cor. xi. 5.

"But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoreth her head."

Phil. iv. 3.

"I beseech thee also . . . help these women, for they labored with me also in the Gospel."

Rom. xvi. 3, 4.

"Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, . . . unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles."

1 Cor. xi. 11.

"Howbeit neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, so is the man also by the woman; but all things are of God."

for eye-witnesses can testify that not in Sunday-school conventions only, but in the great national conventions of public school teachers, where nine thousand women assemble, and less than one thousand men, the latter, under the subjection theory, into which they were drilled from the beginning, proceed to distribute the positions of "honor and profit" almost wholly among themselves. These things would be grotesque to look upon if they were not so sad, and laughable if they did not, in the minds of thoughtful women, fatigue indignation and exhaust pity. [Au.]

PAUL

OTHER SCRIPTURES

PAUL

1 Cor. xi. 3.

"The head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God."

Eph. v. 23.

"For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is head of the church."

John i. 1, 3.

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made."

John xiv. 9.

"He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

Col. ii. 9.

"In Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

John x. 30.

"I and the Father are one."

Rom. xvi. 1.

"I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a servant² of the church that is at Cenchrea." [The Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth, and sent by Phœbe. The greatest of Epistles was carried from Corinth to Rome by a woman, a journey involving a sea-voyage, and a visit to a foreign country.]

²The word "servant" is more justly translated deaconess, or *ministra*. We find that Pliny writes (A.D. 104) that he selected two females, "who were called ministræ, ministrresses," for torture, to extract information against Christians. Prophetesses is equivalent to preacheresses. [Au.]

And yet, be it noted, the same theologians who would outlaw as unorthodox any one who did not believe Christ an equal member of that Trinity of which the Supreme Creator of the world is one (declaring Him to be "very God of very God," etc.) do not only preach but practise the heresy that woman is in subjection to man,³ when Paul distinctly declares that her relation to man is the same as that of Christ to God.

Take the description of men's babbling, tumult, and confusion, as given in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Cor., and imagine that a woman's meeting had been therein described; would not the ages have rung with an exegesis harrowing to the soul of woman? But whoever heard this unseemly behavior of men referred to as the basis of the doctrine for man's subjection to woman, or

as the basis of a binding rule of church discipline in reference to the conduct of the men in public worship?

How great a difference here we see,
"Twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee!

Reasoning from the present customs of oriental countries, we must conclude that places of worship, in the age of the Apostles, were not built as they are with us, but that the women had a corner of their own, railed off by a close fence reaching above their heads. It was thus made difficult for them to hear, and in their eager, untutored state, wholly unaccustomed to public audiences, they "chattered" and asked questions. Upon this light foundation behold a doctrine built that would subject and silence two-thirds of Christ's disciples in the free and intelligent English-speaking world!

As woman's prophesying (literally, "speaking forth") is plainly authorized, let us inquire what this word means. Alford, who certainly does not lean to our side of the question, says: "The foretelling of future events was not the usual form which their inspiration took, but that of an exalted and superhuman teaching . . . the utterance of their own conscious intelligence informed by the

³Mosheim, in his *History of Christianity*, makes this statement: "Every church was composed of three constituent parts: First, teachers, who were also intrusted with the government of the community, according to the laws; second, ministers of each sex; and third, the multitude of the people." He also says: "The church had ever belonging to it, even from its very first rise, a class of ministers composed of persons of either sex, and who were termed deacons and deaconesses." The eminent commentator Lange says: "It is clear that the early church was formed quite as much upon the household model as upon that of the synagogue." [Au.]

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Holy Spirit." "The prophets give utterance in glowing and exalted but intelligible language to those things which the Holy Spirit teaches them, and which have the power to *instruct, comfort, encourage, rebuke, correct, stimulate their hearers*."⁴ But more convincing still are Paul's own definitions of the word, 1 Cor. xiv. 3: "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification and exhortation and comfort;" verse 4: "He that prophesieth edifieth the church." And in view of the foregoing statements, and the careful directions of the Apostle as to the manner of dress of women when they prophesied, or preached, 1 Cor. xi. 5, there can be no doubt that they *did* preach in the early church. But these points will hardly be emphasized as we could wish until women share equally in translating the sacred text. That they should do this is most desirable, and young women of linguistic talent ought to make a specialty of Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the interest of their sex.⁵ A returned missionary from China assures me that of four separate translations of the New Testament into Chinese, all change Paul's words, Phil. iv. 3, "I intreat thee, also, true yoke-fellow, help those women which labored with me in the Gospel," into "help those true yoke-fellows," etc., leaving out the idea of women altogether. A leading (male) missionary was asked the reason of this, and he naively replied, "Oh, it would not do, with the ideas of the Chinese, to mention women in this connection."

Who can tell what weight a similar motive may have had with transcribers of the New Testament in the uncultivated ages of the early church? Indeed, in translating the word elsewhere called "deaconess," and indicating a high office in the church, as "*servant*," when it applies to Phebe, evidence of this tendency is given.

⁴Grimm's *Lexicon*. [Au.]

⁵Instruction is now given to women in the theological seminaries named below: Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; Boston University, Boston, Mass.; Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.; the Chautauqua School of Theology, Dean Wright, 38 Bromfield Street, Boston. Most Unitarian and Universalist schools of theology admit them also. The Society of Friends has no such institutions, but reports three hundred and fifty women ministers, who have all the privileges enjoyed by Quaker preachers who are men. [Au.]

Why not insist upon the deliverance "which seemed good unto the *Holy Ghost* and to us to lay upon you (the Gentiles) no greater burden than these necessary things—to abstain from meats offered to idols and from things strangled and from blood?" We are Gentiles, but surely our consciences would not be wounded by eating meat set before an East India idol, partaking of a chicken that had had its neck twisted, or of a steak so "rare" that blood was palpably present therein. Indeed, ministers are famous for doing some of these very things!

The same writers who exhaust the resources of language to deride the dogma of apostolic succession rigidly enforce that of the male priesthood, for which the Bible gives them just as little warrant. Their hierarchy is man-made from first to last. When Luther disavowed it, the deed was done forever; but the tendency of man's mind, unchecked by woman's, to run riot in the realm of force, is seen in the rank ecclesiasticism of the very church which to-day bears Luther's name. The call of the Apostles (whose supreme authorization, "whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained," no Protestant minister claims to have received) was no clearer than that which came to the one hundred and twenty in the Pentecostal chamber, and in that number women were clearly and indisputably included.

The man who argues that, "Adam being first formed," woman should be in perpetual subjection to the one who, before she was created, was warned against eating of the tree of knowledge, who sinned by her side, and was dismissed with her from Eden, should remember that this literalness of rendering makes it his personal duty, day by day, actually to "eat his bread in the sweat of his face." The argument is a two-edged sword, and cuts both ways.

Time would fail me to tell of Miriam, the first prophetess, and Deborah, the first judge; of Hannah, whose answered prayer brought Samuel to be the hope and stay of a dejected nation; of Esther, the deliverer of her people; of Judith, their avenger; of the gracious group of Marys that clustered around her who was blessed among women; of Elizabeth, and Anna; of Martha, and those "daughters of Jerusalem" who lamented

while men crucified the world's Redeemer; of Lois and Eunice, who trained Timothy for the ministerial office; of "Tryphena and Tryphosa and the beloved Persis." Suffice it to say that these all stand forth the equal stewards with their brethren of God's manifold grace.

There are thirty or forty passages in favor of woman's public work for Christ, and only two against it, and these not really so when rightly understood. But, in the face of all these embodied arguments, it is objected that Paul specifies (in 2 Tim. ii. 2) men only as his successors: "And the things that thou hast heard of me, the same commit thou to faithful *men*, who shall be able to teach others also." But the word translated "men" is the same as that in the text, "God now commandeth *men* everywhere to repent," and even the literalists will admit that women are, of all people, "commanded to repent"! But here comes in again the "fast and loose" method of interpretation; for preachers almost never refer to the women of their audiences, but tell about "men," and what "a man" was and is and is to be. A most amusing instance of this one-eyed way of looking at an audience occurred in Georgia, where I once attended a meeting in the "week of prayer," and the good (young) Presbyterian pastor, in an audience of perhaps half a dozen men and seventy or more women, kept saying "brethren." When rallied upon this afterward, by a white-ribbon lady of his parish, he very seriously answered, "Certainly, I said 'brethren;' and if there had been no one present but women, I should have said 'brethren' still. I was so instructed in the theological seminary, and so I do." But it never occurred to this excellent young man, nor to his theological professors, that by parity of reasoning women should be included in every prerogative accorded to the "brethren" by the New Testament! Christ called no Gentile and no colored man, but this lack of a precedent has never been urged against either. In woman's case alone is it made to do duty, and we shall find later on that if he called anybody whatever, he called those belonging to the same class represented by his only earthly parent.

Much is made of the word "subjection" (in 1 Tim. ii. 11 and 1 Pet. iii. 1). But it occurs in another place where all members of the church are

meant, "Yea, all of you be subject one to another." That is, strive all to serve each other. The same word is in Eph. v. 21, and is applied to *men*: "Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God."

The New Testament has no record of a woman's meeting. That dreary institution is a witty invention of modern hierarchs. "They were *all* with one accord in one place" when Christ sent the promised Pentecost. A "female prayer-meeting" in those days was a species as unknown as "female religion" itself. Regenerate hearts are of the common gender, and, under the original dispensation of the Master, so are the ministers of the regeneration. It is left for Fulton Street prayer-meeting, with its modern Sanhedrin, to quench the spirit and to despise prophesyings unless uttered in a bass voice. A learned pastor wrote as follows in a scholarly exegetical treatise, "We do sometimes find a man's head on a woman's shoulders, but it is a great misfortune to her." Such an utterance from a man of intelligence and kindness would be a distinct form of blasphemy were he not too much the victim of denaturalizing theories to intend it otherwise than as a friendly warning to women of intellectual power. For such a view reverses nature's order. Life sleeps in minerals, dreams in vegetables, wakes in animals, and speaks in man. If it be a misfortune to a woman to have unusual reasoning powers, then it is better to dream than wake; then a tadpole is better off than a thinker, and a trilobite outranks both in the scale of being and of blessedness. All such utterances are boulders in the rushing stream of thought; relics of that reign of force which hastens to be gone; fossils that will be pointed at with incredulity by the manhood of the Gospel Age now at our doors.

If they would be consistent, all ministers who accept the evolution theory—and a majority of them seem to have done so—must admit that not only was woman made out of better material than man (which they doubtless will cheerfully grant!), but that, coming last in the order of creation, she stands highest of all.

In life's prime and pride men like to quote "Adam was first formed, then Eve," but at the grave they are ready to declare that "man, born of woman, is of few days and full of trouble."

The whole subjection theory grows out of the one-sided interpretation of the Bible by men. God declares a fact that man in his lapsed estate will rule over woman; but God does not speak with approbation of this act, and the whole tenor of the Scriptures is to show that in Christ the world is to be restored to the original intent of its creation when "there shall be no more curse." Pushed to its logical conclusion, this literal theory of subjection proves too much, as it is illustrated by the passage, 1 Pet. v. 5: "Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." Eph. v. 21: "Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God."

A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and it is rank disloyalty to the race when any man asserts that the possession of unusual reasoning powers is a misfortune to a woman. As late as 1874, in the Sarah Smiley case, the Brooklyn Presbytery reaffirmed in the following language a decision of the General Assembly dating back to 1837: "This Presbytery having been informed that a woman has preached in one of our churches,⁶ on Sabbath, at a regular service, therefore, resolved: that the Presbytery feel constrained to enjoin upon our churches strict regard to the following deliverance of the General Assembly: 'meeting of pious women by themselves, for conversation and prayer,' we entirely approve. But let not the inspired prohibition of the great Apostle, as found in his Epistles to the Corinthians and to Timothy, be violated. To teach and to exhort, or to lead in prayer in public and promiscuous assemblies is clearly forbidden to women in the holy oracles."

A general and deep-seated peculiarity of human nature is illustrated in the foregoing "deliverance." The position, in fact (never formulated, of course, by any ministerial association, and probably not realized by our honored brethren), is just this: Christian women are at liberty to work in any way that does not interfere with ecclesiastical prerogative, and does help to build up the interests of the church, financially or spiritually. It is a whimsical fact that men seem comparatively willing that women should enter any profession except their own. The lawyer is

willing that they should be doctors, and the doctor thinks they may plead at the bar if they desire to do so, but each prefers to keep them out of his own professional garden-plot. This is true of ministers with added emphasis, for here we have the pride of sex plus the pride of sacerdotalism. "Does a woman think to rank with *me*?" That is the first question, and the second is like unto it as to its animus: "Does a woman think she has a right to stand with *me* in the most sacred of all callings?" But if the purest should be called to purest ministries, then women, by men's own showing, outrank them in actual fitness for the pulpit, and the fact is that woman's holiness and wholesomeness of life, her clean hands and pure heart, specially authorize her to be a minister of God. So much for the negative side. Now for the positive. . . .

II. THE SPIRIT GIVETH LIFE

. . . "We want the earth," is the world-old motto of men. They have had their desire, and we behold the white male dynasty reigning undisputed until our own day; lording it over every heritage, and constituting the only unquestioned "apostolic succession." Only one thing can end the dire enchantment we are under, and that is to know the truth, for truth alone makes free. And the truth of God, a thousand times repeated by the voice of history, science, and every-day experience, resounds louder to-day than in all preceding ages: "It is not good for man to be alone!" Suppose it be admitted that the dual-natured founder of Christianity, in whose character the force that smote the money-changers of the temple was commingled with the love that yearned to gather Jerusalem as a hen gathers "her chickens under her wings," chose as his apostles the only ones who in that barbarous age would be tolerated in preaching it. Be it remembered that Protestantism recognizes the apostles as having had no successors. Hence, any argument built on man's primacy as related to them and the manner of their choosing falls to the ground. It is curious, considering certain exegetical literalism, that their method of choosing by lot should not have been insisted upon as a part of the divine order!

In the revolt from Roman license, the clergy

⁶Rev. Dr. T. L. Cuyler'. [Au.]

sacerdotalism: "the belief that propitiatory sacrifices
or sin require the intervention of a priest"

this nothing these binaries

early declared woman a delusion and a snare, banished her from the company of men who aspired to holiness, and, by introducing the denaturalizing heresy of a celibate clergy, made it impossible for the doctrine of God's eternal fatherhood to be so understood by the preacher that it should become vital in the hearer's heart. It is *men* who have defrauded manhood and womanhood, in the persons of priest and monk and nun, of the right to the sanctities of home; men who have invented hierarchies, enthroned a fisherman as God's vice-regent, lighted inquisitorial fires, and made the Prince of peace a mighty man of war. It is men who have taken the simple, loving, tender Gospel of the New Testament, so suited to be the proclamation of a woman's lips, and translated it in terms of sacerdotalism, dogma, and martyrdom. It is men who have given us the dead letter rather than the living Gospel. The mother-heart of God will never be known to the world until translated into terms of speech by mother-hearted women. Law and love will never balance in the realm of grace until a woman's hand shall hold the scales.

Men preach a creed; women will declare a life. Men deal in formulas, women in facts. Men have always tithed mint and rue and cummin in their exegesis and their ecclesiasticism, while the world's heart has cried out for compassion, forgiveness, and sympathy. Men's preaching has left heads committed to a catechism, and left hearts hard as nether millstones. The Greek bishop who said, "My creed is faultless, with my life you have nothing to do," condensed into a sentence two thousand years of priestly dogma. Men reason in the abstract, women in the concrete. A syllogism symbolizes one, a rule of life the other. In saying this I wish distinctly to disclaim any attack upon the clergy, any slighting allusion to the highest and holiest of callings; I am speaking only of the intolerant sacerdotal element that has handicapped the church from the earliest ages even until now, and which has been more severely criticised by the best element in the church than by any words that I have penned.

Religion is an affair of the heart. The world is hungry for the comfort of Christ's Gospel, and thirsty for its every-day beatitudes of that holiness which alone constitutes happiness. Men

have lost faith in themselves and each other. Boodlerism and "corners" on the market, greed of gain, passion for power, desire for drink, impurity of life, the complicity of the church, Protestant as well as Papal, with the liquor traffic, the preference of a partisan to a conscientious ballot, have combined to make the men of this generation faithless toward one another. The masses of the people have forsaken God's house, and solace themselves in the saloons or with the Sunday newspaper. But the masses will go to hear women when they speak, and every woman who leads a life of week-day holiness, and has the Gospel in her looks, however plain her face and dress may be, has round her head the sweet Madonna's halo, in the eyes of every man who sees her, and she speaks to him with the sacred cadence of his own mother's voice. The devil knew what he was doing when he exhausted sophistry to keep woman down and silent. He knew that "the only consecrated place on earth is where God's Spirit is," and that a Christian woman's heart enshrines that holy Guest more surely than many a "consecrated" pulpit.

Men have been preaching well-nigh two thousand years, and the large majority of the converts have been women. Suppose now that women should share the preaching power, might it not be reasonably expected that a majority of the converts under their administration would be men? Indeed, how else are the latter to have a fair chance at the Gospel? The question is asked in all seriousness, and if its practical answer shall be the equipping of women for the pulpit, it may be reasonably claimed that men's hopes of heaven will be immeasurably increased. Hence, one who urges the taking-off of the arbitrary ruling which now excludes woman from a choice portion of her kingdom may well claim to have manifested especial considerateness toward the interests of men.

The entrance of woman upon the ministerial vocation will give to humanity just twice the probability of strengthening and comforting speech, for women have at least as much sympathy, reverence, and spirituality as men, and they have at least equal felicity of manner and of utterance. Why, then, should the pulpit be shorn of half its power?

To the exegesis of the cloister we oppose that

* what Grassi might call the
"barbarism of ratio"

of common life. To the Orientalism that is passing off the stage, we oppose modern Christianity. In our day, the ministers of a great church⁷ have struck the word "obey" out of the marriage service, have made women eligible to nearly every rank except the ecclesiastic, and are withheld from raising her to the ministerial office only by the influence of a few leaders, who are insecurely seated on the safety-valve of that mighty engine, Progress. In our day, all churches, except the hierarchical Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic, have made women eligible as members of their councils, leaders in their Sunday-school systems, in several cases have set them apart to the ministry, and in almost all have opened their pulpits to them; even the slow-moving Presbyterian having done this quite generally in later years, and the Episcopal, in several instances, granting women "where to stand" in its chapels, outside the charmed arc of its chancel-rail. . . .

"Behold, I make all things new;" "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." These are his words, who spake not as man speaketh; and how the letter killeth to-day, let the sectarianism, the sacerdotalism, and the woman-silencing of the church bear witness. The time has come when those men in high places, "dressed in a little brief authority" within the church of Christ, who seek to shut women out of the pastorate, cannot do so with impunity. To-day they are taking on themselves a responsibility in the presence of which they ought to tremble. To an earnest, intelligent, and devout element among their brethren they seem to be absolutely frustrating the grace of God. They cannot fail to see how many ministers neither draw men to the Gospel feast, nor go out into the highways and hedges seeking them. They cannot fail to see that, although the novelty of women's speaking has worn off, the people rally to hear them as to hear no others, save the most celebrated men of the pulpit and platform; and that especially is it true that "the common people hear them gladly." The plea, urged by some theologians with all the cogency of physiological illustration, that woman is born to one vocation, and one alone, is negated by her mag-

nificent success as a teacher, a philanthropist, and a physician, by which means she takes the part of foster-mother to myriads of children orphaned or worse than motherless. Their fear that incompetent women may become pastors and preachers should be put to flight by the survival of the church, in spite of centuries of the grossest incompetency in mind and profligacy in life, of men set apart by the laying-on of hands. Their anxiety lest too many women should crowd in is met by the method of choosing a pastor, in which both clergy and people must unite to attest the fitness and acceptability of every candidate.

Formerly the voices of women were held to render them incapable of public speech, but it has been discovered that what these voices lack in sonorosity they supply in clearness, and when women singers outrank all others, and women lecturers are speaking daily to assemblies numbering from one to ten thousand, this objection vanishes.⁸ Lack of special preparation is but a temporary barrier. When we see Agnata Ramsay, an English lady but twenty years old, carrying off the Greek prize from the students of Cambridge University, Pundita Ramabai mastering Sanskrit and four other languages, and Toru Dutt, another high-caste Hindu, writing choice verses in French and English before she was twenty-one; when we study the consensus of opinion from presidents of universities as to the equality and even the precedence of the girls in scholarship, we see how flimsy is this argument.

But some men say it will disrupt the home. As well might they talk of driving back the tides of the sea. The mother-heart will never change. Woman enters the arena of literature, art, business, what you will, becomes a teacher, a physi-

⁸It is probably no more "natural" to women to have feeble voices than it is for them to have long hair. The Greek priests of the East, not being allowed to cut their hair, wear it braided in long cues, even as our forefathers wore theirs. "Nature" has been saddled with the disabilities of women to an extent that must make the thoughtful ones among them smile. The truth is clearly enough proved from the analogies of Creation's lower orders that this gracious and impartial dame has given woman but a single disability, viz: she can never be a father; and this she has offset by man's single disability, he can never be a mother. Ignorance, prejudice, and tyranny have put upon her all the rest, and these are wearing off with encouraging rapidity. [Au.]

⁷The Methodist Episcopal, with two millions of members. [Au.]

cian, a philanthropist, but she is a woman first of all, and cannot deny herself. In all these great vocations she has still been "true to the kindred points of heaven and home;" and everybody knows that, beyond almost any other, the minister is one who lives at home. The firesides of the people are his week-day sanctuary, the pulpit is near his own door, and its publicity is so guarded by the people's reverence and sympathy as to make it of all others the place least inharmonious with woman's character and work.

When will blind eyes be opened to see the immeasurable losses that the church sustains by not claiming for her altars these loyal, earnest-hearted daughters, who, rather than stand in an equivocal relation to her polity, are going into other lines of work or taking their commission from the evangelistic department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union? Or are they willing that woman should go to the lowly and forgotten, but not to the affluent and powerful? Are they willing that women should baptize and administer the sacrament in the zenanas of India, but not at the elegant altars of Christendom? Are they aware that thousands of services are held each Sabbath by white-ribbon women, to whom reformed men and their wives have said: "We will come if you will speak. We don't go to

church, because they have rented pews, and because we cannot dress well enough; but we'll come to hear you"? Have they observed that W.C.T.U. halls, reading-rooms, and tabernacles for the people are being daily multiplied, in which the poor have the Gospel preached to them? Do they know that the World's W.C.T.U., with Margaret Bright Lucas, of England, at its head, is steadily wending its way around the globe, and helping women to their rightful recognition as participants in public worship and as heralds of the Gospel? . . .

III. THE EARTH-BORN ARGUMENT

. . . The average preacher almost never mentions women. "A man must do so and so;" "when a young man starts out in life his aim must be thus and thus;" "a youth should trust his father's God"—this method of discourse is familiar to women's ears as the Doxology or Benediction. But when women themselves speak, they represent not world-force so much as home-force; the home includes both man and woman, youth and maiden, boy and girl; hence it is natural to women to make all feel themselves included in the motherly utterance that not only remembers but recognizes all.

the natural

From *Woman and Temperance*

a public history handbook

Chapter XXXV

How to Organize a W.C.T.U. How Ought a Local W.C.T.U. to Conduct a Public Meeting?

I. THE PRELIMINARIES

These are of two kinds: First, Notices to the public. Second, Opening exercises.

Your notices should be printed in all the local papers at least one week beforehand, and sent to each pulpit on the Sabbath previous. The following form is recommended:

To the ladies of ———:

The National W.C.T.U. has twenty-five auxiliaries, and is the largest and most influential society ever composed and conducted exclusively by women. It has nearly three thousand local auxiliaries and hundreds of juvenile organizations. It is a lineal descendant of the great temperance crusade of 1873-4, and is a union of women from all denominations, for the purpose of educating the young, forming a better public sentiment, reforming the drinking classes, transforming by the power of Divine grace those who are enslaved by alcohol, and removing the dram-shop from our streets by law.

Mrs. _____ of _____, duly authorized by _____ W.C.T.U. to undertake this work, will speak in _____ on _____ at _____ o'clock on the history, aims, and methods of this society. All ladies are earnestly requested to attend. The presence of pastors is respectfully invited.

On the same slip put the following:

ATTENTION, BOYS AND GIRLS!

You have a friend who would like very much to meet and talk with you at _____ on _____ at _____ o'clock. She will show you some interesting experiments, blackboard exercises and charts. Please come, and we will try to organize a Band of Hope. Yours for clear heads and true hearts.

Mrs. _____

This should be sent to Sunday-schools and public schools as well as to pulpit and press. It is a false — let us rather say an ignorant — delicacy which hesitates to give full information through all legitimate channels, of the time, place, and object of any attempt to build up Christ's kingdom by benefiting the race for which he died.

But our workers have gone hundreds of miles to form a local union only to find a single stray line in the corner of one newspaper as the only notice given, or a brief mention at a rainy Sunday morning service their only herald. Not thus does the enemy permit his opportunities to go by default.

Second, The opening exercises. Let these be informal, but full of earnestness. Many a time have I seen the devotional spirit frozen out by the mechanical air of the leader, added to the slow process of hunting up and distributing hymn books, waiting for the organ key to be sent for; persuading some reluctant musician to come forward, and so on to the doleful climax of failure. Suppose you just omit all that — come forward at once with some pleasant allusion to a familiar hymn as "one of the special favorites in our work," strike up yourself, or have some one ready to do so without loss of time. As to Scriptural selections, I could spend a whole day exhibiting the choice cabinet of jewels in delightful variety and marvelous adaptation to our needs, which the past years of study have disclosed. As I listen to our women, East and West, in local meetings and conventions, I am impressed by

none of their beautiful gifts so much as that they are indeed workmen who need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of God. From Mrs. Leavitt of Cincinnati, with her "Saloon Keeper's" Psalm (the tenth), to Mrs. Carhart of Iowa, reading Miriam's Song at the jubilee in June; whether it be Sanballat, Gideon's Band, Deborah and Barak, Queen Esther, Joel (second chapter), or the Prodigal Son, and Good Samaritan, our workers have proved themselves mighty in the Scriptures ever since those wondrous school days when they learned to read their Bibles in the grog-shops of the land. Their "Crusade Psalm" (the 146th) is unrivaled for expository use. It is capable of being wrought into a delightful evening's "Bible Reading," but this must be greatly abridged in your opening exercises. Suppose you study its ten verses for the purpose of finding our bugle call, our key word, exhortation, basis, complete plan of work, prophecy, and philosophy, and song of jubilee — for all of these and vastly more are there!

If a pastor is present ask him to offer prayer.

II. THE ORGANIZATION

And now, with preliminaries arranged, the spirit of praise and prayer evoked, a secretary *pro tem*. appointed to keep the important record of "first things," and a group of women gathered around you in home or church parlor, what are you to say and do that they shall love our cause and work with us?

First, Don't take too much for granted. Don't think because these are women of general intelligence and Christian experience they are also clear in their respective minds as to the history, mystery, and methods of the W.C.T.U. On that subject you had better take it for granted they are outside barbarians. At least I was of this description when the crusade of 1874 struck the classic suburb of Evanston. Fancy the ignorance of one who had never, that she knew of, seen a saloon and yet had lived for nearly twenty years within a few miles of Chicago. Imagine the illiteracy that had never once laid eyes upon a temperance paper nor heard the name of J. N. Stearns. Conceive of the crudity that led me in my sober senses to make a bee line to Boston, that I might

learn of Dr. Dio Lewis the whole duty of a W.C.T.U. woman, and for the same reason to Portland that I might sit at the feet of Neal Dow.

But all this is hardly more absurd than the revelation of failure (after I thought myself a veteran in our ranks) made to me the most unwittingly by a dear old lady down in Delaware, who, after I had talked an hour by the clock on the "Aims and Methods of the W.C.T.U." said in a droll soliloquy, as she scrawled her name upon my membership card: "I'm sure I don't know what she wants us to do, but I reckon it's a good deal in temperance work as it is in goin' to prayer meetin' of a dark night—I can't see but a step to a time, but when I've taken one step, why I'm there and the lantern's there too, and we just go along to the next. So if the Lord has got temperance work for me to do he'll give me light to do it by." Learn then, dear temperance workers, that in this day of specialists you are safe in assuming that your group of good women have minds as vacant as a thimble, and about as much expanded on the scope and working and laws of the W.C.T.U. Their interest is general, not specific; they have come on purpose to find out what it is your business (not theirs) to know. Therefore, take nothing for granted save that each of them is fitted out with brain and heart and conscience on which you are to act by knowledge, sympathy, conviction.

Second, Don't assume the role of Sir Oracle. Teach without seeming to do so. Carefully skip around all such "hard words" as "Take notice," "I call your attention," "Do you understand?" and on no account conclude a sentence with that irritating grammatical nondescript "See?" Put yourself in the attitude of a learner along with the rest. Thus your style will be suggestive and winsome rather than authoritative and disagreeable. I shall never forget Bishop Warren's opening words to a room full of young people in a southern school. He stood before them with a face wise, kindly, and benignant, and gently called them "Fellow students."

Third, Don't despise the day of small things. You have no reason to be discouraged because your audience is small. I have organized seventy women into a weak society and seven into a strong one. Well do I recall a winter afternoon in 1870, when, complying with an invitation previ-

ously given by my first Bible class teacher (of auld lang syne), Mrs. Governor Beveridge, as we call her now, half a score women of Evanston went to a missionary meeting in that lady's parlor. Its object was to organize a Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, and though I had traveled in several Oriental countries, and as a tourist seen something of evangelistic work there, I found myself rudimentary in knowledge beside one who had made the subject a specialty and brought Mrs. Willing's thoroughness of grasp to the theme of woman's martyrology in lands unsunned by Christ. Less than a dozen names were that day enrolled to form our local auxiliary. A dozen years have passed, and through the influence—direct and indirect—of this society, nearly forty young people have gone out from Evanston to the foreign field, to say nothing of thousands of dollars gathered and dispensed through its treasury.

Fourth, Don't fail thoroughly to premeditate your "impromptus." The Holy Spirit seems better pleased to inspire the process of reflection and composition than to atone for what Miss Ophelia called "shiftlessness," by an eleventh hour inspiration. We want no scattering fire in our public utterances, but the sober second thought of your brightest and most studious hours. As a general outline speech I would offer the following:

1. Very brief allusion to the origin and progress of temperance movements, with earnest acknowledgment of what has been done by the Church, the Washingtonian movement, Good Templars, Catholic Total Abstinence Society, etc.
2. Brief and pictorial (not abstract) account of the Woman's Crusade.
3. Organization as its sequel—origin of National W.C.T.U., at Chautauqua in 1874.
4. Growth of the Society in the United States, in Canada, England, and elsewhere, evolution of its work, number and variety of its departments; notwithstanding this general uniformity, the National like a photograph of imperial size; the State a cabinet, the local a *carte de visite*.
5. Why we have superintendents instead of committees to insure individual responsi-

bility. Illustrate by blackboard with our departments written out.

6. Reasons why women should join us. I have often given these in anecdotal form, telling just what women, old and young, grave and gay, had said to me about the convictions resulting from their own observation and experience which had led them into temperance work.
7. Appeal from considerations embodied in our motto 1. For God; 2. For home; 3. For native land.

This address, mixed with the Word of God and prayer, both in its preparation and recital, should be followed by a humble petition for His blessing.

Fifth, Don't fail to suit the action to the word. Ask for a motion to organize, stating it in due form and requesting any lady who has the matter at heart to make it. Get a second to the motion and make a few incidental remarks about the importance of that etiquette of assemblies which we call parliamentary usage. Recommend them to buy Roberts' Rules of Order, and learn a little of it at each meeting. When it comes to a vote after the parliamentary interval for remarks, mention that you are tired of your own voice and anxious to hear theirs, adding in your clearest tones, "All in favor of that motion will please to say aye," and let your final word be in the most decided sense a rising circumflex. You will be surprised to see the readiness with which you can thus call out the voices of the timid, partly out of good nature and partly because their musical perceptions lead them to put a climax to your incomplete inflection by their own. Do not go through the dumb show of "the lifted hand," nor the imbecility of "manifest it by the usual sign" (when there are several signs), but call out that most inspiring response, the human voice divine. Remember too, that thus you educate women out of the silence which has stifled their beautiful gifts so long. Next follows the form of constitution for local auxiliaries, which should be gone over rapidly, reading only the important points, and remarking that this is the form usually adopted and subject to revision at their regular meetings. (Mrs. Buell, our National Corresponding Secre-

tary, at 53 Bible House, New York, furnishes the best.) After a *viva voce* vote on this, read with emphasis our pledge. It includes total abstinence from wine, beer, and cider as a beverage. Explain about the annual membership fee of fifty cents; exhibit *Our Union-Signal*, stating price, and send out ladies previously appointed to solicit memberships and subscribers.

This moment is the crucial test. To it everything has pointed—failing to secure its objects you will fail indeed. But just at this point we are too often unpardonably heedless. What would be said of the angler whose awkwardness at the critical moment should frighten away the fish he was about to impale? Or the farmer who should forget his scythe when going to the hay-field? But how often have we seen such a stale, flat, and unprofitable half hour succeed the aforementioned address, that it seemed as though a premium was put upon a general stampede of the auditors. "Has any one a pencil to take names?" is a question equally pregnant and imbecile, while vandal hands have made a raid upon stray hymn-books, and their fly-leaves have been ruthlessly confiscated to take the place of the enrolling tablets, conspicuous for their absence. The best way is for the leader of the meeting to keep up a running fire of pleasant explanation or of reply to questions invited by her from the pews. Among the questions which her clear-cut preliminary statements should anticipate are: "Must we pay the membership fee when we give our names?" (No, not unless it is convenient.) "Can young ladies join?" (Most gladly.) "Does this mean all kinds of cider?" (It does.) "Then I cannot join." Well, you can at least attend the regular meetings of the union to follow this, in which the cider leaflets will be discussed, and become an associate if not a regular member (only the latter are eligible to office). It should be explicitly stated that by our new basis of organization, adopted at Washington, we are entitled in the National Convention (beside our State officers) to one delegate for each five hundred members, and as we desire for a large representation, we are anxious to enroll the names of all women who are sufficiently intelligent and devoted friends of temperance to take the pledge and pay the fee, even though they are unable to do any work or to meet with us reg-

ularly. The use to be made of the fee should be distinctly stated. Draw a fifty-cent coin on the blackboard—or make a drawing of the same—and have it hung up. Divide it into equal parts, representing that one of these remains to be used in the local work, the other going to the State treasury to extend the organization, save that one-fifth of it is taken out and sent to the National W.C.T.U. to carry on its work. Explain that the National has never had a salaried officer until within three years, and now but pays the current expenses of its Corresponding Secretary at the headquarters, 53 Bible House. Bring forward *Our Union-Signal* and solicit subscribers to the national organ; speak of the Hayes memorial portrait and exhibit the ten cent a share cards by which children so readily raise the five dollars requisite to secure a copy of the same. Give references to the National Temperance Publishing House, 58 Reade Street, New York, and D. C. Cook, Chicago, by no means forgetting our own literature department, conducted by Miss Colman, at 76 Bible House, New York. Distribute the Annual Leaflet of the National W.C.T.U., which has all needed information as to who and where are our superintendents of departments. If there is a piece of fine music prepared, or if you have an interesting speaker present besides yourself, it will be well to mention that attraction as a counter-inducement to those inclined to go.

But all these exercises, from your first bow to your closing *Benedicite*, must be marked *staccato*, and must be made brief and crisp, or your group of guests (for such, do not forget, they are) will file out and hie itself away. The change from one exercise to another, if effected with sufficient ingenuity to avoid jumbling, will help to hold your audience, but most will depend upon your compliance with the suggestion—

Sixth, Don't fail to keep your wit, wisdom, and patience well to the front. Somebody will come to you then and there will be *sotto voce* gossip, with legends and histories of societies previously organized and now fossiliferous, or the prayer-meeting killer of the neighborhood will stray in and begin his sanguinary work upon your feeble banking of a society; or Miss Contretemps, of the contrary part, will state her objections to the pledge, or Madame Pharisee

feel called upon to explain that she never was cursed with this demon in her own home and therefore can not, etc., etc., drowsily oblivious of the statement you—should—have made, that ninety per cent. of our members share the exemption which she, with small good taste, parades. Now is the time to prove what manner of spirit you are of. Does your courage rise with danger? Are you fertile in resource? You are being tested now as they test steam engine boilers. The force is applied—the tension noted—and the strong, well wrought metal holds its own, but the thin, flaw-eaten, gives way in its weakest part. Are you master of the situation? "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he who taketh a city." Now is your chance for *mastery*. Many of these annoyances may be prevented by circulating the question papers before the meeting opens and asking that any query, comment, or criticism be written and placed in the question-box, to be circulated before the meeting is closed. This gathering up of questions, as well as the circulation of the various documents I have mentioned, should be attended to by the Secretary *pro tem.*—to be appointed at the opening of the meeting.

Seventh, Don't be precipitate in choice of standard bearers. In this choice will be involved the success or failure of your entire movement. You are trying to launch a life-boat, but if the captain be near-sighted and the mate a blunderer, your craft will swamp before it gets beyond the breakers. The worst of it is that you are at the mercy of the raw hands who must select these officers from their own newly-enlisted crew. In this choice the element of deliberation is important, for while you will be often urged to select the officers then and there, "for fear we cannot get the women together again," my experience is that in the long run we get better results by a careful canvass of the pros and cons. Too often when we try to finish up the business of electing at first meeting, we discover, later on, that the finish was an extinguisher. From a recent confidential letter I make this extract:

A W.C.T.U. was recently organized in our village and there isn't a quarrel in the neighborhood that was not represented on our board of officers.

As you will naturally conclude, I do not expect the liquor traffic in that locality need stand in special fear of said society. This was away down east, but a remark made to me on the frontier has in it equal food for reflection. It was from a new worker, and was so simply said, and with so much of large-eyed wonder "for the cause," that if not so tragic I would have deemed it vastly comical: "Why, do you know, that until our new President was elected I did not know that anybody could be an officer at all and yet be such a poor one!"

Alas for the applications of this utterance, which all of us have seen! Now, while we cannot hope to avoid these calamities in the present partially developed condition of woman's work; while it is doubtless true that girls now acquiring the systematic training of our public schools and colleges will make the more efficient officers of our future work, it is nevertheless possible for us to secure, in a majority of instances, excellent services from the good women of the present. But here, as always, the preliminary part of the recipe is: "First catch your hare," and I am confident a choice specimen will be caught by appointing (by previous consultation) such a committee on nomination as will represent the different churches and social circles, and adjourning to a day not distant when said committee shall report. It should also include, among its

duties, the preparation of a plan of work for the society, and the organizer should furnish it with a model from our State or National minutes, with a leaflet of the National containing our list of superintendents of departments. In appointing the list of Vice-Presidents, insist on one from each denomination, including Catholics, Jews, etc., and appoint one "at large" to represent the great and kindly outside fraternity which has this cause at heart. Insist on a Superintendent of Temperance Literature, who shall also be Librarian of your Loan Library and agent for our journalistic organ. Make these Superintendents members of your Executive Committee—which should meet weekly, while the W.C.T.U. meets monthly and has a religious, literary, and business programme. Fix the government of both meetings at five—so that the exceeding deference which causes our good women to lose so much time rather than "act without the prescribed number," may not endanger their results of work. Wear the white ribbon yourself, and urge all to do the same. Close your meeting by singing "Blest be the Tie that Binds."

I have suggested that you follow this meeting at once by another for the children. This is of paramount importance for its own sake; also to conciliate public sentiment and give your new society that *sine qua non* of its existence, to say nothing of its success—something to do.

rhetoric as first and
foremost about that
"something to do"

→ as we've moved away
from the Enlightenment
and its demographics,
we are getting closer
to a rhetoric of doing
and not only representing
or conversing →