"A Prayerful Public Protest"

During the winter and spring of 1873–1874, more than fifty-six thousand women throughout the United States entered saloons, praying and singing hymns in an effort to close them down.
The Significance of Gender in the Kansas Woman’s Crusade of 1874

by Nancy G. Garner

For my part I have faith in woman, and now that the ingenuity and power of man has failed to cure the licentiousness of the age—to extirpate the curse of intemperance which prevails over the length and breadth of the land. I am ready, as the Israelites [sic] were, to call on the Lord and on all the Deborahs, Jaels and Judiths in the land, to march forth to battle, and to destroy root and branch of this offspring of hell, this child of perdition. Let every woman take off a head, as Judith smote the head of Holofoernes. Let the women fight until there shall be nothing of old king alcohol but empty barrels, jugs and demijohns—a poor old dead carcass.

This stirring call for women to fight “king alcohol” came not from Carry Nation in the early 1900s but from the pages of the Leavenworth Daily Commercial in March 1874. Signed only “B.B.B,” the author encouraged Kansas women to join the nationwide woman’s crusade against alcohol. During the winter and spring of 1873-1874, more than fifty-six thousand Anglo-

Nancy G. Garner earned her Ph.D. in history from the University of Kansas in 1994. She is an assistant professor of history at Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio, where she teaches U.S. women’s history, the U.S. West, and public history. She has extensively researched the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union.

The author wishes to thank the staffs of Watkins Community Museum of History, Lawrence; the Kansas Collection at the University of Kansas, Lawrence; the Kansas State Historical Society Library and Archives, Topeka; the Leavenworth County Historical Society (especially Robert A. Holt); and PJ. Capps of the Leavenworth Public Library, Mary Wentz, and Katie Armitage for their assistance in research for this article. The author also appreciates the helpful comments of Regina Morantz-Sanchez, Richard Hamm, and Peggy Pascoe.


“A PRAYERSFUL PUBLIC PROTEST”
Women who assumed leadership roles in the crusade included radical reformer Drusilla Wilson (left) and Mrs. George March (right), who believed that women were transformed by their very weakness into God's prayer warriors.

Protestant women throughout the United States entered thousands of saloons, praying and singing hymns in an effort to close them down. Dr. Diocletian Lewis of Boston unwittingly provoked this astonishing and deliberate invasion of male-defined public space by well-respected churchwomen during his lecture tour in December 1873. His account of his mother's organization of a local campaign against saloons forty years earlier inspired female audience members in New York and Ohio to organize crusades of their own. As news of their actions spread, a massive women's grassroots campaign against saloons erupted well beyond Lewis's lecture circuit. Although concentrated in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, the crusade also extended throughout the thirty-one states and the District of Columbia, excluding the Deep South.

Protestant white churchwomen in eastern Kansas, inspired by newspaper accounts of their Ohio sisters and their own temperance ministers, began to crusade in February 1874. (White women were not yet present in significant enough numbers to crusade in the cattle towns of western Kansas.) The woman's crusade was a welcome diversion from the economic anxiety that marked towns such as Leavenworth, Lawrence, Manhattan, and Fort Scott in the spring and summer of 1874. All eastern Kansas was hit hard by the Panic of 1873, when many banks failed and local governments already were in debt as a result of...


the cutthroat competition for the best railroad routes that marked the late 1860s and early 1870s. Bribery and corruption in politics generated during the railroad competition were additional reasons for eastern Kansans to lose faith in businessmen and politicians.4

Central to the crusade was a rethinking of gender roles generated by the political and financial anxiety of the early 1870s. Crusaders insisted that civic morality and prosperity could only be guaranteed if an equal balance of power existed between men and women in the public spheres of government and business. They fully accepted the assumptions promoted by nineteenth-century gender roles that assigned virtue, nurture, and idealism to respectable Anglo-Protestant women and strength, practicality, and individualism to Anglo-Protestant men. But both male and female prohibitionists rejected conventional divisions drawn between a feminine private sphere and a masculine public sphere that confined women’s moral authority and power to the home. Men, they asserted, degenerated into selfish, greedy, and ruthless creatures when women and their countervailing feminine values were denied public power. Political corruption and poverty resulted from an excess of masculinity that subordinated feminine values of compassion, nurture, and godliness.5

Saloons were convenient symbols of male excess, and the female crusaders’ ability to assert their presence into these dens of male dissipation was emblematic of the power of feminine values to solve the economic and moral crises. At the same time, the conventional strict separation between male and female spheres was challenged by the knowledge that public saloons invaded and wrecked private homes in the guise of drunken husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons and the larger knowledge that the economic depression threatened the homes of respectable Christian families with financial ruin. Prohibition advocates

Both male and female prohibitionists rejected conventional divisions drawn between a feminine private sphere and a masculine public sphere.

crossed the lines drawn between public and private, inserted religious values into public political debates, and promoted a larger role for women in politics and government.


"A PRAYERFUL PUBLIC PROTEST" 217
The crusade closed down a few saloons, but more significantly it helped revive both the temperance movement and the question of woman suffrage in Kansas in 1874. The crusade directly resulted in the meeting of temperance forces in Topeka in August that explicitly included women (such as Amanda Way of Fort Scott and Drusilla Wilson of Lawrence) in leadership positions. The most radical temperance reformers, including two of the female leaders of the crusade from Lawrence and Leavenworth, Drusilla Wilson and Mrs. William Fairchild, later called for an additional convention in Leavenworth in September to form their own prohibition political party. The first resolution of that party’s platform did not concern the prohibition of alcohol (that was the fourth resolution) but called for "the civil and political equality of all men and women," and they were the first to nominate a woman, Mrs. M.J. Sharon, to a public office (superintendent of public instruction). Although this prohibition party itself was not successful, Kansas prohibition advocates did realize success when Kansas voters approved an amendment prohibiting the sale of alcohol in 1880, which was in force until it was repealed in 1948. Woman suffrage advocates (who included many prohibitionists) enjoyed a more permanent success when Kansas women obtained the right to vote and run for office in city elections in 1887 and then full suffrage in 1912. And most directly, the crusade resulted in the birth of the national Woman’s Christian Temperance Union later in 1874 and the Kansas WCTU, which was formally organized in 1878.

The ladies of Manhattan threw the first salvo in the Kansas crusade’s war on saloons on February 24, 1874, placing the blame for the spread of poverty and immorality squarely on the saloonkeepers, who received the following message on post cards:

Dear Sir: You are requested and entreated to abandon the sale of intoxicating liquor for your own welfare and that of humanity. It is degrading to yourself and spreads vice and poverty in your town; if not, we will unite our prayers and visit you and every saloon in a body, fervently praying and pleading until our object is attained.

Ladies Committee Temperance

---


7. Frederikson, "The Liquor Question in Kansas before Constitutional Prohibition," 387; Western Home Journal (Lawrence), March 5, 1874.
Not all white middle-class Kansas women agreed that entering saloons, even to pray and sing hymns, was appropriate behavior for the fairer sex or effective in prohibiting drunkenness. Mrs. George March, a leader of the Lawrence crusade, acknowledged that

We have no idea our saloons are particularly bad; we have been told there is but one really disreputable saloon in Lawrence. They are only the more dangerous. We must remain upon the watchtower, for we know not the day or hour when our own may fail, and are we not in some measure our brother's keeper?"

Not all white middle-class Kansas women agreed that entering saloons, even to pray and sing hymns, was appropriate behavior for the fairer sex or effective in prohibiting drunkenness.

Prohibition advocates retorted that saloons, which tempted men to become drunk and irresponsible, threatened the welfare of women and children who were dependent on men. Christian women were duty bound to insist on the application of "feminine" moral standards to the actions of husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons in the public sphere to protect their homes and children.

Crusading women agreed, although most of them were not directly related to a habitual male drunkard. Those who were victims of male intemperance were remarkable enough to rate specific mention in the papers. Even so, all crusaders expressed alarm at the very existence of saloons. Mrs. George March, a leader of the Lawrence crusade, acknowledged that

We have no idea our saloons are particularly bad; we have been told there is but one really disreputable saloon in Lawrence. They are only the more dangerous. We must remain upon the watchtower, for we know not the day or hour when our own may fail, and are we not in some measure our brother's keeper?"

Not all white middle-class Kansas women agreed that entering saloons, even to pray and sing hymns, was appropriate behavior for the fairer sex or effective in prohibiting drunkenness.

Crusaders feared that if they did not eradicate saloons, their husbands, brothers, sons, and fathers **might** succumb to temptation and destroy for themselves and their families a privileged but precarious middle-class status. They also rejected a "male" individualistic ethic for a more "feminine" ideal of responsibility for each community member's welfare.

An unidentified Fort Scott woman directly attacked the excessive individualism of men that she believed caused them to trespass on the "rights and happiness of others." She pictured a representative man standing and exclaiming "I am man! and every man has a right to himself. Therefore, whatsoever I deem proper to do who shall dare to question?" Her answer was "Woman!"

Schuyler's saloon to demonstrate "how my husband acts when he comes home drunk from your whiskey." This act of violence perpetrated by women is quite uncharacteristic of crusaders, who more often confined themselves to praying, singing, preaching, and signing petitions. Frederikson, "The Liquor Question in Kansas before Constitutional Prohibition," 393–94; 


10. One of the few instances is from Lecomber where one widow, "whose husband died a victim of intemperance," asked saloon owners to consider how many times she had had to come to the saloon to guide her drunken husband home; "Woman's Work," Lecomber Daily Commercial, May 3, 1874. Two women in Burlingame took up hatchets and destroyed

“A PRAYERFUL PUBLIC PROTEST”
Platform of the Temperance Party of Kansas,

Adopted at its State Convention, at Leavenworth, September 10th, 1874.

The temperance men and women of the State of Kansas, believing that the time has come when they ought to present a State Ticket, composed of honest, temperate, and capable men, hereby unite in the following declarations of principles:

WE ARE IN FAVOR OF

First: The civil and political equality of all men and women.
Second: An economical administration of all departments of the Government.
Third: Political reform by advocating for office men but honest and capable men.
Fourth: The legal prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale, as a beverage, of all intoxicating liquors.
Fifth: The fostering and improvement of our system of common schools.
Sixth: The apology and exemplary punishment of all public officers guilty of embezzlement, the misappropriation of the Public Funds, or neglect or refusal to perform sworn duties.
Seventh: The immediate and complete protection of our exposed frontier from Indian outrages.
Eighth: The public assistance by all proper and legal means, of the sufferer from the grasshoppers and drought in the newly settled counties of the State.

BUT WE ARE INFLEXIBLY OPPOSED

First: To all forms of legislation, either State or national or municipal.
Second: To the appropriation of the public funds for the advancement of private enterprises.
Third: To the further appropriation of the public domain to the building of railroads.

DAVID C. BEACH, Secretary.
J. BOYNTON, President.

STATE TEMPERANCE TICKET FOR 1874.
Governor, W. K. MARSHALL, Lawrence.
Lt. Gov., L. BROWN GIRARD, Crawford Co.
Sec. of State, W. H. ROBINSON, Leavenworth.
Auditor, DAVID C. BEACH, Lawrence.
Treas., WILLIAM FAIRCHILD, Leavenworth.
Attorney General, A. M. F. RANDOLPH, Coffey County.
Superintendent Public Instruction, MRS. M. J. SHARON, Marion County.
Associate Justice Supreme Court, D. M. VALENTINE, Ottawa, Franklin Co.

Female crusaders signaled this transgression of gender boundaries by describing themselves with what was characteristically “male” terminology, frequently utilizing military language. The word “crusade” itself conjured up images of the medieval male crusaders. As a result, newspaper reporters frequently referred to them as “Amazons” who defied the conventional delicacy supposedly required of respectable ladies.

The sphere where female crusaders asserted the most authority was in religion—a part of the public realm with which they were most comfortable. While at least one woman in Leavenworth asserted that the Ladies Temperance Association was not a religious organization, the evidence disputes her claim. When the Leavenworth crusaders asked the women of the local Jewish synagogue to join them, they were courteously refused, as the Jewish women explained they could not participate in Christian religious services. The invasion of the saloons by bands of praying women was an assertion of religious authority. Acting independently of men, these Protestant ladies walked into saloons, led public prayers, and sang hymns, just as in a church service. Then they literally walked into the church to conduct temperance meetings, both with men and without them.13

An unidentified Leavenworth woman asserted that the crusade had quickened “the Christian spirit in her; before the crusade in this city began she had not the courage to go out upon the streets to pray and sing, but now she felt it her duty and considered it a privilege.”14 The Leavenworth crusaders so enjoyed their newfound religious authority that they decided to make devotional exercises “the principal [sic] business of the [Ladies Temperance] association” because they had not allowed enough time for all the women to participate in the devotions.15 Mrs. George March of Lawrence made the following declaration: “Ladies on the platform of Plymouth Church! What does this strange thing mean? It is the Lord God that has done it.” She continued by asserting that God was raising up weak women to do his work:

The secret of the weakness of woman working such mighty works lay [sic] in observance of the scripture injunction: ‘Pray ye the Father in secret, and the Father which seeth in secret shall reward you openly.’ Wives and mothers have been praying in secret, and now God has undertaken to answer, and to avenge their wrongs. Women have been the greatest sufferers; the arm of the law has been tried and not proved strong enough and they have taken their cause to God in prayer... The

law and all temperance organizations have failed and they have fallen back on prayer."

Mrs. March claimed the right to speak publicly, even in the pulpit, not because she desired to to but because God wanted her there! Pious and submissive women were transformed by their very weakness into God's prayer warriors, invincible because they followed his supreme command. This claim challenged men's exclusive right to public speaking and the pulpit but also allowed for Mrs. March to maintain that she was acting in submission to God. Not a direct threat to patriarchal power, Mrs. March still criticized men's failure to protect women from alcohol's evil without directly defying her prescribed role as a submissive Christian woman.

Crusaders further criticized male irresponsibility in Fort Scott, where fifteen women led by Amanda Way gathered up twenty-one "drunkard's children" and escorted them to the Capital saloon, which advertised a free lunch to attract more customers. The children reportedly ate the generous lunch "as if it were their 'first square meal for an indefinite period.'" By bringing the hungry children into the saloon, the crusaders were able to vividly illustrate their belief that fathers' drinking literally took food out of the mouths of their children.¹⁸

The very symbolism of respectable Christian women praying and feeding hungry children in saloons made a powerful statement about the threat saloons posed to women and families. This was the private made public: women emphasized the fact that public saloons and private homes were not separate and distinct but were intricately connected.

Mrs. De Forrest Fairchild of Leavenworth, who along with her mother-in-law became a major spokesperson for the Leavenworth crusaders, also challenged the conventional public/private dichotomy when she noted that many saloonkeepers denied the ladies admittance, protesting that their saloons were "not places to which any lady may go." She reported that if "a woman, with her greater moral rectitude, guarded by modesty, virtue and religion cannot enter those doors in the service of her Master without taint or pollution," then how much more must men, who do not have such moral fiber, be risking when they enter those "low places whose atmosphere reeks with liquor fumes, obscenity and blasphemy."¹⁹ In effect, she was arguing that woman's supposed purer spiritual nature made her more fit, not less fit, to enter the public, male space of the saloon.

The crusaders further subverted the separation of male public power and female moral authority by insisting that "feminine" moral values be applied in the business world. Female crusaders proclaimed that selling liquor was simply immoral, no matter how many individuals, families, or entire towns it supported. The Leavenworth crusaders demanded that the newspapers quit accepting liquor and saloon advertisements, making an analogy between selling poison to murderers and suicides and selling alcohol to drunkards.²⁰

The ultimate female challenge to the established gender role system was the call for woman suffrage. Many began to realize, if they had not already, that


women needed the vote to protect the home. However, the first step the crusaders took was to demonstrate the informal but important role that white middle-class women played in nineteenth-century politics by lobbying and petitioning their city councils. In Lawrence about twenty members of the Ladies Temperance Association entered the city council chamber on April 10, 1874, to present a petition signed by more than one thousand women. They asked the city council to repeal all ordinances concerning liquor licenses, thus reverting the City of Lawrence to state law, which would only grant a liquor license if a majority of men and women in the city approved. The women used two strategies to convince the councilmen: they argued that taxpayers inevitably would support drunkards’ families, and they also appealed to the corresponding gender roles—as dependent mothers, wives, and sisters they were asking husbands, fathers, and brothers to make sure all the families of Lawrence were provided for by sober fathers.

After stretching the potential of true womanhood as far as it would go, Mrs. George March defied convention when she indignantly asserted that “the united voice of 1000 women ought to be heeded.” Not because they were mothers, sisters, or wives but simply due to the sheer volume of their numbers, these women had a right to voice their opinions formally in the city council. No wonder that the Daily Kansas Tribune commented toward the end of the crusade that whatever may be the effect of the crusade upon whisky drinking, it is in our humble opinion destined to conquer a kingdom of prejudice, open up new fields of usefulness to our mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts, and it is useless to disguise it, precipitate the era of woman suffrage.

Leavenworth crusaders argued for the vote more explicitly, although not all of them were convinced it was a good idea. Woman suffrage was first discussed on April 2, 1874. Mrs. H.A. Calkins opened the meeting of temperance supporters by declaring that “the women must take active part in this crusade. Women must consent to lead where before they have been led.” Mrs. [Frank?] Scott followed, cautiously raising the subject of woman suffrage, asserting that women “would put away cherished opinions” when it came to temperance and “take up the ballot box in its defense.” These women were willing to violate gender norms because they felt that God had called women to protect families when men, as voters, politicians, and government officials, had failed to protect women and children from saloons.


22. Daily Kansas Tribune, April 11, 1874.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., May 1, 1874.
Women were not the only ones to rethink gender roles during the crusade. In their varied responses to the crusaders, white middle-class men also questioned the strict division between the conventional designations of public and private and between business and religious and moral values. The newspapers serving the Anglo-Protestant middle-class record a lively and often contradictory debate among men as they reacted to the crusaders’ assertion of female power, attempted to carefully define their economic and moral responsibilities to women and children, and strove to assess the relationship of the consumption of alcohol to masculinity.

Many temperance men supported the crusade wholeheartedly. They welcomed and encouraged women to exercise what they assumed was women’s superior moral authority and spirituality in the public realms of government and business. T.D. Thacher of Lawrence, a prominent temperance man and editor of the Western Home Journal, cited the crusade as evidence that women’s participation in public affairs “was calculated to strengthen on the side of good morals and virtuous living.”

White middle-class men also questioned the strict division between conventional designations of public and private and between business and religious and moral values.

Men are fond of saying that woman is on a higher, moral plane than man. She is only just beginning to prove the truth of this saying by taking on an individuality of force in a great moral question, but alas how weak are even her best endeavors supported by the law! Men, brethren, countrymen, give us the ballot!”

Despite this emphatic call for the vote, the Leavenworth Ladies Temperance Association never formally endorsed woman suffrage. However, enough support had been voiced that even Reverend Isaac S. Kalloch of the Baptist church, who admitted being “a little shaky on the female suffrage question,” conceded that “it is coming and I might as well just now get out of its way.”

27. “Temperance,” ibid., May 22, 1874. Isaac S. Kalloch, the “golden tongued orator,” was the notorious model for Sinclair Lewis’s Elmer Gantry. When forced to leave the ministry after being caught in adultery in Boston, he came to Kansas, swindled the Ottawa Indians out of land, founded the town of Ottawa and Ottawa University, and then removed to Lawrence where, among other things, he speculated in railroads, dabbled in journalism, and for a time was proprietor of the Eldridge House and Saloon. In 1873, during the Hammond Crusade, he found God again and returned to the fold. Just before the crusade began, the Leavenworth First Baptist Church lured him to that city early in 1874, promising him a salary of three thousand dollars. In 1875 he left Kansas to pastor the Metropolitan Church in San Francisco. See Charles Arthur Hawley, “Ottawa Kansas Pioneer the Prototype of Sinclair Lewis’s Elmer Gantry,” Kansas City Star, August 5, 1937; John P. Harris, “Road Stallion,” Kansas Magazine (1935): 13–18; M.M. Marberry, The Golden Voice: A Biography of Isaac Kalloch (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1947), 163–229.
As represented in this sketch, crusaders feared that if they did not eradicate saloons, their husbands, brothers, sons, and fathers might succumb to temptation and destroy themselves and their families.

the Lawrence Daily Kansas Tribune, signed only "Sigma," was even enthusiastic about the women's leadership:

The fact is our best women—our mothers and wives—those to whom we go for counsel, and in whom more than all others we rely, are leading in this movement, and are actuated by a holy, unselfish desire to save men from ruin, and are supported by a faith that cannot be extinguished while they may choose to exercise it. Women in such matters are not like men. They are better endowed, they are stronger than men. They have far more persistence. They may make mistakes, they may use weak arguments, they may not in every instance have the mastery in word and deed, but in a lively warfare like this, in which they have so much at stake, they will have the best of it.³⁹

These male prohibitionists were not initially threatened by the crusaders' claim to public authority since women were assumed to be totally unselfish and submissive. Male prohibitionists expressed confidence that crusading females were not initiating a political revolution that would upset conventional gender roles or usurp men's exclusive claim on public authority. They invited women to enter the public sphere to fully exploit the power of the symbolism inherent in their gender identity. The respectability and vulnerability of wives, mothers, and daughters marching into saloons presented a shocking contrast to the disrepute and corruption associated with a den of drinking, gambling, and prostitution. The persuasive power of such images was welcome in the campaign against drink.³⁰

Ministers who supported the temperance cause especially welcomed the woman's crusade and actively encouraged it. Vashni Garwood remembered that the best definition of the crusade she "ever heard was from the lips of a Presbyterian minister—He said 'It is a prayerful public protest' and that is just what it was." This particular minister gave the crusaders in Fort Scott his support, becoming the women's "tower of strength."³¹ Resolutions supporting the woman's crusade were approved at the 1874 state meetings of the Kansas Evangelical Association, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the State Congregational Association.³²

²⁹. Daily Kansas Tribune, April 7, 1874.
³⁰. Dannenbaum, Drink and Disorder, 199.
³¹. Garwood, "How We Crusaded in Kansas."
However, temperance men who endorsed the woman’s crusade and encouraged women’s public participation in the temperance cause made themselves vulnerable to charges that they were hiding behind women’s skirts or losing their masculinity by associating themselves with the unconventional crusaders. Ministers’ masculinity was especially at risk, since they were already more associated with femininity because women were assumed to be more spiritual than men. An irate letter appearing in the *Daily Kansas Tribune* to “the Reverend ‘Crusader’ who Crusades in Feminine Garb” suggested that one Lawrence minister might be termed the “Shero of the Lawrence Temperance Crusade. You invited the women to the battle and most valiantly bring up the rear in their armor.” Thus, if men invited women to join them in a traditionally defined male activity, they jeopardized the security of their own masculinity. J.C. Douglas of Leavenworth reminded the men in his audience that in the war against rum sellers, “we must suffer ourselves to be called ‘women.’”

Some temperance men were threatened by the crusading Amazons’ assertions of public authority. F.A. Armstrong cautioned his “dear sisters” in a letter to the *Fort Scott Monitor* that they should “leave to other agents, that without doubt are appointed by the Lord, to do that work, the whole work of authoritative dealing with evil doers.” A column labeled “Pertinent Thoughts of a Temperance Man,” also in the *Fort Scott* paper, accused the ladies of hypocritically praying in public to gain attention for themselves and advised the women that the best way to keep men out of the saloon was to make homes attractive to their husbands and children. Certainly these men were happy with conventional gender roles that assigned public power to men and saw no reason to question them.

Ministers who opposed the crusade and/or prohibition also were more comfortable with conventional gender roles. Reverend E.R. Sanborn of Lawrence’s Free Congregational Church argued for temperance in all things, rather than teetotalism. He questioned the manhood of abstainers, asserting that they had failed to develop the will and strength of character necessary to drink sensibly:

The pledge is a prop to bolster up the manhood which cannot stand alone and the majority of men need just such props. Their manhood totters whenever they near temptation. When they have no inward honor to lean upon, they lean upon the honor of the outward promise. . . . Give crutches to men who need them, but take them away as soon as possible and make them depend upon their inward strength to keep their balance. Make men teetotalers by outward pledges, and you only keep them out of the fire by uncertain bonds, and when they loosen they will rush in even swifter than before. Let men be temperate in honor to their soul and they will be manly always, in good or bad society.

Men who endorsed the woman’s crusade and encouraged women’s public participation in the temperance cause made themselves vulnerable to charges that they were hiding behind women’s skirts.

Real men, according to Sanborn, developed strong self-control, making pledges and prohibition unnecessary. That self-control allowed truly temperate men to use alcohol wisely. The lone male standing against the world, reasonably and wisely in control of his body and soul exemplified Sanborn’s ideal man. Reason defined him—in fact Sanborn denounced the temperance revival of 1874 as “an emotional epidemic taking possession of a town, and exciting all the emotions in one direction.” He stated that

---

34. *Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, March 27, 1874; “Pertinent Thoughts of a Temperance Man,” ibid., March 29, 1874.
a religious principle which will preserve the manhood pure under all events, will never need reviving, because it never dies; and a true temperance man will be temperate always, and aid others to be so too, and not fluctuate with hurricanes and calms. 36

Calm, reasonable consistency was prized by Sanborn as a mark of manhood and true religion, in contrast to the emotional excitability of women, who vacillated according to the whims of their environment, rather than developing internal control. The crusade, in Sanborn's eyes, was a prime example of the hysterical characteristic of women to act on their emotions before thinking. Sanborn recommended teaching "boys to be the masters of their appetites, not the slaves." That would cure the problem of drunkenness and encourage more men to be manly masters of their own destinies.

Reverend Richard Cordley, pastor of Lawrence's Plymouth Congregational Church and a temperance man, argued with Reverend Sanborn that drunkenness was a disease, rather than simply a failure of manly will. He directly confronted Sanborn's attack on his masculinity by arguing that the disease of drunkenness could attack any man, no matter how much self-control he developed. Reason would not save him, since he contended that alcohol was a drug that automatically controlled the drinker the minute he ingested it. Teetotalism was the only way to combat such a disease—even one drink could enslave a man and destroy his masculinity. Cordley emphasized that drunkenness was no respecter of persons—"the cultured professor, the gifted lawyer, the man of business and wealth, the working man and the street loafer have fallen side by side in equal degradation." Neither manly self-control, character development, nor culture could combat alcohol—instead alcohol emasculated men by enslaving them.

Both men utilized the language of gender and presented different models of manhood in their arguments regarding temperance: both assumed that self-control was an integral ingredient of manhood, although one argued that moral suasion could cultivate the self-control necessary to drink alcohol whereas the other believed that only prohibition and teetotalism could ensure self-control.

Antitemperance men defended themselves against charges of a lack of self-control and irresponsibility by accusing women of wasting family resources on fashion. In what most certainly was a fictitious account written by D.R. An-

36. Ibid.

37. Western Home Journal, March 26, 1874.
thony, the flamboyant editor of the Leavenworth Times (and brother of Susan B. Anthony), 194 Leavenworth men reportedly formed a "counter-revolution" against the crusaders by asserting that women's expensive tastes and their insufferable piety drained men of their financial resources, driving them to insanity or to drink. They voted to visit millinery shops to pray with the proprietors as long as women continued saloon visitation. Aware of the alliance between temperance ministers and crusaders, they also proposed that a committee be appointed to pray with the town preachers.38

Other temperance men and antitemperance men also disagreed with the radical crusaders, who went too far for those temperance supporters who believed more strongly in moral suasion than in prohibition. Some men insisted on the separation of religion and business by declaring that moral implications were not involved in the sale of alcohol and that saloonkeepers must be allowed to fulfill their traditional role of breadwinner by marketing their stock.39 Furthermore, it was simply impractical to expect men to quit selling alcohol, since the consumption and availability of alcohol had increased in Leavenworth to the point that "the wholesale and retail liquor business of Leavenworth employ[ed] more men than there [were] voters in the largest ward in the city," David W. Houston, editor of the Leavenworth Daily Commercial, was a husband of a crusader, and although he later became a supporter of prohibition, Houston reminded prohibitionists in 1874 that it would be very difficult to rid the city of alcohol, given the amount of business and income it generated and the fact that drinking alcohol was a well-established custom and habit, especially among the thriving German community of Leavenworth.40

Houston continued this line of argument when the crusaders requested that the Leavenworth newspapers stop accepting advertising from liquor interests. He politely refused, emphasizing that the paper depended on advertising revenue for its existence. Houston complained that while the crusaders wanted him to refuse the saloonists' advertising money, they expected him to advertise church services for free. "As consistent members of society," he told the

Antitemperance men defended themselves against charges of a lack of self-control and irresponsibility by accusing women of wasting family resources on fashion.

women, "you... cannot wash your hands and say you are innocent of these things."41

Colonel Charles R. Jennison of Leavenworth, who had developed a reputation for terror and pillaging against Missourians before the Civil War and had served as colonel of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry (or Jennison's Jayhawks) during the war, owned the patauial Saratoga saloon in Leavenworth. He made one of the most flamboyant defenses of his business against the crusaders and in so doing also challenged conventional assumptions about gender. Posing as a chivalrous gentleman, he was unwilling to concede exclusive moral authority to Christian women and did his best to dilute the authority granted the women by their positions as "ladies." When both male and female crusaders approached the Saratoga at nine o'clock P.M. on March 5, he politely refused them entrance that night but invited the ladies only back for lunch and lemonade, volunteering to lead their prayer meeting himself. Insisting on


39. For example, Henry Hutchins Ludington of Lawrence's Eldridge House offered to sign the ladies' temperance pledge only if the crusaders would promise to share the financial loss he would inevitably incur if he closed down. See Daily Kansas Tribune, April 3, 1874.


The efforts of the 1874 Kansas crusaders influenced the future of temperance associations across the state. This 1899 photograph depicts the membership of the Kansas State Temperance Association gathered at the First Congregational Church in Topeka.

the right to run a legitimate business, he also claimed respectability for himself by noting that his business supported both his family and his charitable contributions.

Jennison prepared to welcome the crusaders by redecorating the Saratoga, turning objectionable pictures to the wall, removing the gambling devices, and covering each table with a white tablecloth. The stand from where the keno game leader usually shouted out the numbers was made into a pulpit, complete with a pitcher of water and a bible. Unfortunately, the ladies declined to appear at the appointed time.

When the female army did approach him for the second time a few days later, Jennison refused them entrance but addressed them outside the saloon. He quoted bible verses that endorsed wine drinking. He even went so far as to deliver a “temperance” lecture where he declared himself also to be a soldier in the war against drunkenness because he advocated the temperate use of everything, including alcohol. Then he graciously offered the ladies the use of his saloon on Sundays for their temperance meetings.

While Jennison dramatically made over his saloon, the prohibitionist factions in Leavenworth and Lawrence both proposed plans for temperance saloons where both men and women would be welcome. Wholesome entertainment and tasty nonalcoholic drinks would be available, along with inviting fireplaces. As a model of a world where women’s values were honored, the temperance saloon offered conviviality without the dark specters of drunkenness, prostitution, and violence associated with traditional nineteenth-century saloons.

John Hutchings, editor of the Daily Kansas Tribune, objected to the authoritative femininity implied in this vision. Complaining that a “preparatory department of the church” was not what was needed but a “very worldly” addition to the city library that provided billiard tables, nonalcoholic beverages, and a “well-equipped gymnasium,” he insisted that only men could be trusted to run this enterprise in a businesslike manner. Endorsing the separation of the sexual spheres, he suggested that the ladies should be confined to patronizing the “strawberry, oyster or ice cream departments” of such an establishment.

43. Western Home Journal, May 17, April 16, 1874; Leavenworth Daily Commercial, May 5, 19, 1874; personal diary of Mrs. James C. (Fannie B.) Horton, Lawrence, Kansas, Friday, May 5, 1874, H.L. Moore Collection, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society.
44. Daily Kansas Tribune, May 7, 1874.
As it turned out, the temperance supporters' plans in both cities fell victim to disagreements over whether billiards, cards, dice throwing, or backgammon were appropriate entertainments for the temperance saloon. Leavenworth crusaders apparently did "convert" John Berg, who transformed his saloon into a "Temperance Billiard Hall" that offered only lemonade, cider, and soda water, probably thinking he would cash in on the teetotalers' trade during those financially strapped times. However, city officials, recently cajoled by the crusaders into enforcing the city's liquor and gaming license laws, rewarded Berg's moral stance by charging him with operating billiard tables without a license.45

The enforcement of the state and city liquor laws already on the books became the focus of the crusade's final phase. Female crusaders in both Lawrence and Leavenworth pressured city governments to enforce and/or revise existing liquor laws. This was largely unsuccessful in the short term, primarily due to the women's lack of legal experience, especially in Leavenworth, where the saloonists' more skillful lawyers secured their clients' acquittals on technicalities even though they clearly were in violation of the law. A few saloons, including Jennison's Saratoga, did close, but they probably fell victim more to the financial crisis of 1873–1874 that forced many recent Kansas immigrants to return east.46

However, in the longer term, we can conclude that the Kansas crusaders may have been the most successful in the nation, even when compared with their much more numerous Ohio sisters. As mentioned earlier, prohibition was enacted in Kansas in 1880 and women began to vote in city elections in 1887, years before either was achieved on a national level. The Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union became one of the more influential state unions in the nation, carrying the crusaders' insis-

The temperance saloon offered conviviality without the dark specters of drunkenness, prostitution, and violence associated with traditional nineteenth-century saloons.

47. See Garner, "For God and Home and Native Land," 289–96.