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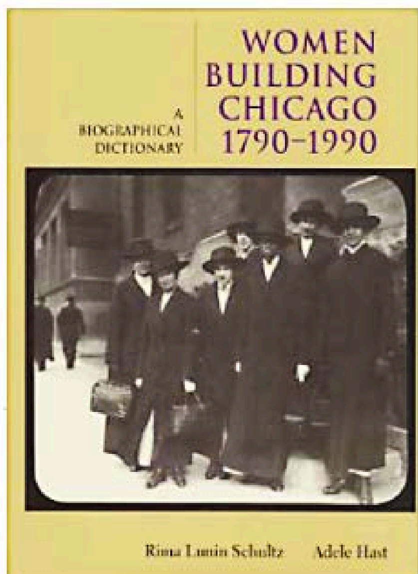

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WILLARD, FRANCES ELIZABETH CAROLINE

September 28, 1839–February 17, 1898

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND TEMPERANCE REFORMER, AUTHOR, SPEAKER

Frances E. Willard was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for nearly two decades, from 1879 until her death in 1898. As head of what was then the largest American women's organization and a reformer of international fame, Willard led her constituency in support of a broad reform agenda, ranging from temperance to women's rights to labor issues. Called America's "uncrowned queen" (Gordon, 314) during her lifetime, she was, in the estimation of her contemporaries, the most famous woman in the United States.

Willard was born into a western New York farm family of New England ancestry. Her father, Josiah Flint Willard (1805–68), and her mother, Mary Thompson (Hill) Willard (1805–92) had two children besides Frances who survived infancy: an older son, Oliver (1835–78), and a younger daughter, Mary (1843–62). Willard's family was a close-knit one for whom she had great affection. From childhood she admired her brother Oliver and appreciated his comradeship with her. Her sister Mary was her intimate—"her other self" (Gifford, *"Writing Out My Heart,"* 15)—and Mary's early death at nineteen from typhoid fever brought great grief to the entire family. Her father's death from tuberculosis not long after was another difficult loss. Her mother remained her strongest supporter and guide throughout most of her life; Willard depended on her for wise advice and spiritual sustenance.

In 1841 the family moved to Oberlin, Ohio, where Willard's father began to prepare for the ministry at Oberlin College by entering its preparatory department. They moved again in 1846 to southeastern Wisconsin because of Josiah Willard's health; he was already showing signs of incipient tuberculosis.

Frances Willard spent the years from 1846 to 1858 on the family farm near Janesville, Wisconsin, reveling in what she later remembered as a carefree, country existence. Yet she acquired a love of learning and a sense of community responsibility during these early years that stayed with her throughout her life. Her parents revered education and they and their neighbors took a lively interest in the antislavery struggle and other social issues of the time. Her mother, in particular, loved literature, especially heroic poetry, encouraging her children to commit po-

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FIG. 130. *Temperance and social reformer Frances E. Willard seated at her desk, c. 1888.*

FIG. 131. *International temperance leader and suffragist Frances E. Willard with Lady Somerset, her English counterpart, c. 1892.*

ems to memory and recite them. She also supported Willard's early efforts at writing, suggesting that she keep a journal and submit essays and stories to newspapers and magazines. Willard's father took civic duties seriously, serving a term in the Wisconsin state legislature and many years as a trustee of the Wisconsin Institute for the Blind. He also presided over the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society and held county and town offices.

Willard's mother, formerly an elementary school teacher, taught her two daughters at home until they were well into their teens. By January 1856 Willard's parents and neighbors established a one-room schoolhouse nearby, where she and her sister Mary studied for more than a year. Next, they attended for one term in 1857 the Congregationalist-founded Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Female College, where their Aunt Sarah Hill was teaching. But Willard's father preferred to send his daughters to a Methodist school, and in 1858, Willard and her sister entered North Western Female College, a secondary school in Evanston, Illinois, as boarders. Shortly afterward, her father leased his Wisconsin farm and entered a Chicago banking firm. The entire family moved to Evanston, a newly founded suburb of Chicago. There, the Willards quickly entered the lively intellectual, social, and religious life centering around the town's Methodist church and its three Methodist-related educational institutions: Northwestern University, Garrett Biblical Institute, and the female college. Willard and her sister attended their school as day students, and their brother, Oliver, enrolled at the biblical institute to become a Methodist minister.

Willard graduated from North Western Female College in June 1859 and began to teach school in Harlem (later River Forest), Illinois, in the early summer of 1860. For most of the next decade, she held a series of teaching positions in public schools in Illinois and Methodist-related secondary schools in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York. The Willard family's commitment to Methodism was strong, and Willard herself was a lifelong member of the denomination, joining the Evanston Methodist church in spring 1861 when she was twenty-one. Yet from her young adulthood, her Methodist enthusiasm was accompanied by a broad-minded, ecumenical spirit.

From early fall 1861 to winter 1862, Willard was engaged to Charles Fowler, a promising young Methodist minister and good friend of her brother Oliver. Their engagement was encouraged by family, friends, and the Evanston Methodist community. But Willard broke it off because she felt no physical attraction toward Fowler, although she admired, respected, and honored him. She was, however, deeply in love with her best

friend Mary Bannister, who later married her brother Oliver. Although Willard wrote in her journal that her intense love for Bannister ended abruptly at the time of her sister Mary's death, she continued to form attachments to several women over her lifetime. Willard never married; instead she received emotional sustenance from her strong and abiding friendships with women who shared her spiritual life and her passion for reform.

From her early teens, Willard had longed to see the many famous sites in the "old world" (Gifford, "'My Own Methodist Hive,'" 95) that she and her family and friends had read about in magazines and books. She realized her dream of travel in her late twenties, when her friend Kate Jackson's father paid her way to accompany his daughter on a two-and-a-half-year tour of Europe and the Middle East. From spring 1868 to fall 1870, the two young women studied European history, culture, and languages, gathering knowledge they intended to use as teachers when they returned to the United States.

During these years, Willard's commitment to what she termed "the Woman Question" (Gifford, "'My Own Methodist Hive,'" 95) deepened as she observed the condition of women in Europe and the Middle East. She had supported woman suffrage from at least 1860, when she was twenty-one years old and read an essay by popular preacher Henry Ward Beecher entitled "Women's Influence in Politics" in the *New York Independent*, a Congregationalist weekly (February 16, 1860). Beecher strongly advocated the vote for women in this essay and Willard heartily agreed. She often recorded her dismay at women's educational disabilities, and her disagreement with societal expectations that married women would subdue any dreams they might have of careers or intellectual interests to their husbands' wishes and requirements. In spring 1868, as she and Jackson prepared for their European trip, they attended a lecture by Theodore Tilton, a newspaper editor and prominent women's rights speaker, on "The American Woman." Willard was inspired by Tilton's speech and wrote in her journal: "Some how since I heard Tilton lecture, my purpose is confirmed—my object in life clearer than ever before. What I can do in large & in little ways, by influence, by pen, by observation, for *woman*, in all Christian ways, that I will do. And may God help me!" (March 21, 1868, quoted in Gifford, *"Writing Out My Heart,"* 265–66).

While in Paris, Willard and Jackson met with French and American women's rights supporters who were concerned about women's economic dependence on men. Willard began to analyze women's economic disabilities as well as their educational and political ones, realizing that overcoming women's second-class status meant reform in all areas of their lives. After her return from Europe in fall 1870, Willard crafted her observations on women's status in Europe and the Middle East into a lecture, "The New Chivalry," that she gave many times in the Chicago area to large and enthusiastic church audiences. In it she called on the chivalrous men of the "new world" to join with women in developing a new egalitarian relationship between the sexes; it would be in America, she insisted, and not in the "old world," that a new model of equality would emerge.

Willard realized from this experience of lecturing that she enjoyed public speaking and was good at it, but she still saw herself primarily as an educational reformer. She had spent much time studying the methods of educating women in the countries she visited, at the request of friends back home who were working to found a college for women in Evanston. In early spring 1871, within a few months of her return to Evanston, Willard accepted the presidency of the Evanston College for Ladies, which was to be a sister institution of Northwestern University.

As president, she became well-known in the Chicago area and beyond, through her fund-raising efforts for the college as well as by her direction of it. She participated in the National Women's Congress in fall 1873, where she was elected a vice-president of the Association for the Advancement of Women formed at the congress. MARY LIVERMORE, a former Illinois suffrage leader who had recently moved to Massachusetts, introduced her to many eastern women's rights reformers. Livermore became a mentor of Willard's, often giving her the support and courage she needed to take liberal positions on women's rights. The friends and allies Willard made through the women's congress and other avenues were invaluable to her as she pursued her aim of working on behalf of women's independence.

When the Evanston College for Ladies united with Northwestern in fall 1872, Willard became dean of the women's division of the university. She remained dean until spring 1874, when she resigned in a disagreement with the university's administration over the governance of the women's division. Suddenly faced with the prospect of finding another position, Willard began to investigate possibilities, including the burgeoning temperance movement with which she had sympathized for many years.

During the winter of 1873–74, a Women's Crusade against liquor dealers had begun in Ohio and spread quickly throughout the northern United States. By summer 1874, a permanent organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), was launched. That same summer, Willard visited women temperance leaders in New York City and attended the first Gospel Temperance Camp Meeting in Maine. On her way home, she joined a band of Women's Crusade participants in Pittsburgh as they knelt praying outside a saloon in an attempt to persuade the saloon keeper to give up his trade. Willard was convinced that her future lay in temperance reform but worried that she would not be able to support herself and her mother through this work. She received a letter from Louise Rounds, a Chicago Women's Crusade leader, asking her to become president of the Chicago WCTU. With some hesitation, she accepted the offer and embarked on her reform vocation.

For the first year of her temperance work, Willard's WCTU activities focused on downtown Chicago, where she operated out of the Chicago WCTU headquarters, a rent-free office in the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) building. In the YMCA's Farwell Hall, she led daily evangelistic prayer meetings, exhorting drunkards to accept Christ and sign a temperance pledge. When not involved in saving souls, she expanded the scope of the Chicago WCTU by producing publicity, speaking on the organization's goals and methods, and raising money for its operation. Although she was somewhat successful in helping to fund the Chicago WCTU, she worked without a salary until she met MATILDA CARSE, a Chicago WCTU leader. Carse personally raised a salary of one hundred dollars a month in order to ease Willard's precarious financial situation. Carse's

care for her young colleague was the beginning of a close working relationship that lasted throughout Willard's career in the WCTU.

As a delegate from the Chicago WCTU, Willard attended the first Illinois WCTU meeting in October 1874 and there devised a motto encapsulating the organization's mission—"For God and Home and Native Land"—that the state WCTU immediately adopted. It became the motto of the National WCTU (NWCTU) two years later. Representing the Illinois WCTU, Willard participated in the first national WCTU convention, which met in Cleveland, Ohio, in November 1874. Convention delegates elected her corresponding secretary of the NWCTU, with the task of traveling across the country, speaking and establishing local unions.

Through her work with local and state leaders, Willard rapidly became a power within the organization as the head of its more liberal wing. Her followers endorsed woman suffrage as a means of "Home Protection," a slogan Willard invented to signify that women's vote would be instrumental in passing legislation prohibiting the sale of liquor, thus protecting women from the effects of male drunkenness. Although she had worked closely and harmoniously with NWCTU president Annie Wittenmyer for two years, Willard's public advocacy of woman suffrage, beginning in summer 1876, caused a rift between the two officers. Wittenmyer and her conservative supporters opposed the vote for women, preferring to rely on women's influence through the traditional strategies of prayer and petition to bring about prohibition. Sensing that the time was not yet right to challenge Wittenmyer for the presidency of the NWCTU, Willard resigned her national office in fall 1877.

Even earlier, she had begun to work with Dwight L. Moody, a popular Chicago-based evangelist, traveling with him for several months on an eastern tour, where she led well-attended women's prayer meetings. At one of these, she met ANNA GORDON, a young Massachusetts woman. The two women quickly became close friends, and Gordon acted as Willard's personal secretary until Willard's death in 1898. Gordon efficiently managed all the details of Willard's busy life and was, as well, a companion whom Willard and her mother regarded as an integral part of the alternative family that they created for themselves during the 1870s.

After Willard left the Moody campaign in fall 1877, chafing under his narrow Protestantism and his limited understanding of women's roles in evangelism, Gordon accompanied her back to Evanston, where Willard launched her fight for woman suffrage. Willard, her mother, and Gordon considered Rest Cottage, the house Willard's father had built in the mid-1860s in Evanston, their family home. From the mid-1880s until the early 1890s, Rest Cottage was the center of NWCTU activity, serving as office and living quarters to the three women as well as several NWCTU staff members. It was a female household knit together by a shared spiritual and reform commitment, with Willard's mother as its head and heart.

Willard first tested the "Home Protection" ballot measure in Illinois in the mid-1870s by undertaking a petition campaign to persuade the Illinois legislature to pass a bill giving women the vote on whether liquor licenses could be issued in the state. WCTU women collected more than 175,000 signatures in support of the Home Protection ballot measure in spring 1879 and succeeded in getting a bill before the legislature, but it was defeated in the House and died in committee in the Senate. Nevertheless, the campaign was a triumph for Willard and the Illinois WCTU; they had managed to bring the issue of woman suffrage squarely before the state at a time when there was little other suffrage activity in Illinois.

Even though she remained out of the NWCTU spotlight for several years, Willard and her supporters kept agitating within the organization for woman suffrage. In 1879 she went as the head of the Illinois delegation to the NWCTU convention, where she was easily elected president, a victory for those who supported woman suffrage and intended to broaden the aims of the NWCTU. During the next several years, the WCTU under her direction grew from a small, struggling group focused on the single issue of temperance to a massive organization, numbering nearly two hundred thousand at the close of the nineteenth century. Its broad program of reform encompassed temperance; woman suffrage; women's economic and religious rights; the reform of the institutions of marriage, home, and family; and the support of measures advocated by the rising labor movement.

Willard understood her organization as a powerful vehicle for women's self-development. As a strong, independent leader who urged her constituency to move beyond women's familiar territory of home and church into a wider sphere, she was the WCTU's most powerful model of self-development. Convinced that women's superior morality mandated their entry into the male-dominated world of politics, government, and business in order to purify it and make it responsive to the needs of women and children, Willard set about to convince the WCTU. Her persuasive oratorical powers were legendary. She was a spellbinding speaker who could command her listeners' attention for hours on end and inspire them to realize that they were capable of wielding power they had never known they had.

Willard spoke to her mainly white, middle-class Protestant audience in a language they understood, that of evangelical Protestantism. She insisted that God called them forth to make the world better—a challenge they could not resist. And her WCTU followers believed her; she elicited enormous personal loyalty from them and sincere respect from many others, both in the United States and abroad. A diminutive figure with a sweet face and an ever-present pince-nez who dressed in a plain but pleasing manner, Willard did not threaten the women she sought to influence as did some of the women's rights reformers of the era. Yet over the course of her WCTU presidency, she proposed more and more audacious roles and activities for American women, moving the country's mainstream in a more liberal direction. Her rallying cry, which she embodied, was "Womanliness first—afterward what you will" (Bordin, *Frances Willard*, 9); it seemed on the surface a safe position. But in Willard's interpretation it was a blueprint for radical action.

Under her direction, the WCTU became a kind of school to train women for responsible participation in the public life of their country. By the early 1880s, she had gained the WCTU's endorsement of woman suffrage. She then began to urge its members to see themselves as a potentially powerful pressure group within national, state, and local party politics. She insisted that the WCTU could bring about changes in laws and

government policies even before women gained the vote. Following her lead, WCTU women brought their considerable influence to bear on all levels of government by means of lobbying, forming coalitions of groups working for the same reform ends, and through more informal avenues of persuasion. At the same time, Willard and the WCTU continued to push for woman suffrage.

Much of Willard's coalition-building was done at the national level. In 1881, she labored to heal the rift the Civil War had created by going on a southern tour to encourage southern women to work with their northern sisters in the WCTU. Her 1883 "Western Round-Up" was her first concerted effort to organize WCTUs in the Far West. Eventually the WCTU widened its scope internationally with the founding of the World's WCTU in 1883. Meanwhile, Willard continued to build her reform network in Chicago and Illinois, becoming a member of several Chicago organizations working for women, including the Chicago Woman's Club, and state organizations such as the Illinois Woman's Press Association. In 1888, as president of the National Council of Women, a group organized during the fortieth anniversary celebration of the Seneca Falls declaration of women's rights, Willard pushed for women's coalitions in states and cities across the country.

She was instrumental in forming one such coalition in Chicago in June 1888, as seventy women's organizations responded to her call for local women's groups to join forces. During the summer, Willard agreed to be the president of what became the Woman's League of Chicago. In October 1888, at the League's first formal meeting, Willard gave a stirring address, "The Dawn of Woman's Day." In it she announced that "next to God, the greatest organizer on this earth is the mother." She called on Chicago's "mother-hearted women"—whether or not they were biological mothers—to mobilize the "resistless force of... aggregated motherhood" (*Our Day*, November 1888, 346–47) in order to address the deplorable conditions for women in the labor force. The Woman's League was apparently short-lived. Its successor, the Illinois Woman's Alliance, in which Willard was only peripherally involved due to the press of her national duties, was active for several years on the Chicago reform scene. The alliance implemented some of the investigations and changes she had advocated in her October 1888 speech to the coalition. Impressed and delighted by Chicago's female reform community, Willard dubbed the city a "paradise of exceptional women" (Bordin, *Frances Willard*, 150), a milieu in which she was proud to locate the national headquarters of the WCTU.

Willard's presidency of the National Council of Women marked the peak of her power and prestige as a reform leader. Throughout the 1880s, her organization carried out the "Do Everything" policy Willard had laid out for it in 1881. It became involved in myriad causes and reforms: from prison visiting to securing police matrons for women in jail, from the kindergarten movement to scientific temperance education in the public schools, from the right of women to preach to their right to have control of their own bodies, from arbitration as a way of settling labor disputes to calling for international arbitration as an alternative to war. Willard and other prominent WCTU leaders politicized their organization and shaped it into a strong force capable of setting reform goals and effecting them. Their leadership was recognized and heeded by a large segment of the American population as well as by millions of followers worldwide.

Drawing on the WCTU's increasing power and influence during the 1880s, Willard sought to enter the national political arena. She had been a longtime supporter of the Republican Party, believing in its commitment to reform since her father and other Evanstonians had joined it in the late 1850s. But she became disillusioned with the party's failure to champion woman suffrage and prohibition at the national level. Concluding that neither the Republican nor Democratic Party was likely to support woman suffrage or temperance in the near future, she worked throughout the 1880s to persuade the WCTU to throw its weight behind the rising Prohibition Party.

She did not accomplish this goal without a struggle, however. Some of the WCTU's finest leaders believed that it should remain nonpartisan, and others kept their allegiance to the Republican Party. A small minority, including Republican J. Ellen Foster, a lawyer from Iowa and one of Willard's most valued colleagues, left the WCTU in disagreement with Willard's partisan political stance and formed the Non-Partisan WCTU. Prominent woman suffragists such as Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, pointed out to Willard that in some states woman suffrage and temperance were championed by the Republican Party and urged her not to lend the WCTU's influence exclusively to the Prohibition Party. Willard was distressed by this criticism but kept her organization in the Prohibition Party ranks. As a member of the party's executive committee for many years, she argued for the continued inclusion of a woman suffrage plank in its platform and watched with apprehension as the party began to focus more and more during the 1890s on the single issue of prohibition.

During the 1880s Willard began to sympathize with the country's growing labor movement. For the first years of her presidency, she had concentrated on building the WCTU's strength and establishing it as a major force in reform. But as her organization consolidated its power, she turned her attention to the pressing problems of urban industrialization. Willard, like many other reformers, became increasingly alarmed at the great gap between rich and poor, owners and workers, that was developing during the last third of the nineteenth century. She began to seek solutions to the problems of the exploitation of workers and the poverty that resulted.

She was especially drawn to the Knights of Labor, then the largest labor organization, because its leader, Terence Powderly, endorsed both woman suffrage and temperance. Like Willard, he advocated arbitration between owners and workers rather than the use of violent means to obtain better conditions for workers, a position some rising socialist leaders supported. Furthermore, the Knights enthusiastically welcomed women into their ranks, which other unions did only reluctantly, if at all. In the mid-1880s, Willard became acquainted with Knights' leader ELIZABETH RODGERS, head of an all-woman local in Chicago. Willard introduced Rodgers, a working-class woman, to the members of Chicago's overwhelmingly middle-class women's reform network and asked Rodgers to inform them about the situation of working women.

In her annual addresses to the WCTU from the late 1880s on, Willard continually raised the issue of the growing inequity between rich and poor. She spoke about labor's attempt to redress this economic gap and her acute sense of the injustice present in the country's capitalist system. Searching for a way to confront the unjust economic situation in the United States, she considered various alternatives, including Nationalism, a form of nonviolent socialism described by economic reformer Edward Bellamy in his best-selling Utopian novel, *Looking Backward*. She recommended that WCTU members read Bellamy's book and form Nationalist clubs to study the cooperative state he proposed. In the early 1890s, she joined the Fabian Society, a British socialist group that worked, like Bellamy's Nationalists, for nonviolent change from private to state ownership of the manufacturing and transportation industries and of utilities.

In an attempt to bring together a reform alliance among the growing populist movement, labor groups, the Prohibition Party, and the WCTU, Willard joined with other leaders hoping to create a new political party that would mount a serious challenge to both Democrats and Republicans in the 1892 presidential election. Delegates from these groups met at the St. Louis Industrial Conference in February 1892 to hammer out a platform for the new party and to fuse the disparate factions into a cohesive organization. Willard used all her political skill and influence to lobby for woman suffrage and temperance planks, but she was unsuccessful. With this defeat, she reached the limits of her political power as the leader of a women's organization because she could not promise a bloc of voters in the November election. Some of the other leaders at the conference might have been sympathetic to her goals of woman suffrage and prohibition, but they could not afford to support an ally who was unable to deliver the vote.

During the 1890s, Willard's WCTU presidency became more troubled. Her organization felt pinched economically by the 1893 depression. Several financial ventures the WCTU had undertaken were on shaky ground, and the organization looked to Willard for rescue.At the same time, Willard had begun to spend at least half of every year in England, working with Isabel (Lady Henry) Somerset, the president of the WCTU's British counterpart, the British Women's Temperance Association, hoping to revamp that organization along the lines of the WCTU. Somerset and Willard had met in 1891 when Somerset first visited the United States to take part in the CTU annual convention. They quickly became good friends, and when Willard's mother died in summer 1892, Somerset invited Willard to be her guest in England while she recovered from her grief over her mother's death. The two leaders' friendship was stimulating to their reform work and emotionally satisfying but kept Willard from attending to the WCTU's growing problems. Her absence from the United States was sorely felt by her organization as disagreements arose between factions of national officers and Willard's leadership was challenged.

Furthermore, her constituency began to question her views. In the 1870s and 1880s, Willard had usually been able to persuade her organization to support her more radical positions. But by the 1890s she had moved far beyond most of the WCTU membership by championing labor and espousing Christian socialism. She had also begun to assert that poverty was a main cause of intemperance rather than the other way around, as most Americans believed at the time. And she came to believe that temperance would never result from legislative action; instead it would come through education and training. Most WCTU members could not accept Willard's challenges to social and economic positions held by America's middle class, from which the WCTU's membership came. Her ideas were a threat to the very basis of the country's dominant capitalism, and all but a few of her followers were uncomfortable with the challenges that Willard posed to capitalist ideology.

All these factors combined to place great strain on Willard's relationship to her organization. Yet her constituency eagerly continued to support some of her causes during the 1890s. They rallied around her effort to rescue Armenian refugees from Turkish oppression, raising funds and agreeing to sponsor Armenian families in the United States. They mounted a huge drive securing 7.5 million signatures on the "Polyglot Petition," calling on the world's leaders to stop the global traffic in liquor and opium.

Willard continued to speak out boldly against Turkish oppression and on other issues of human rights abuse internationally, but she failed to attack white racism in her own country with similar forcefulness and moral clarity. During the 1880s and early 1890s, race relations in the United States had reached a nadir; Jim Crow laws, segregation, and white terrorism of African Americans had grown to dreadful proportions. By 1892, the number of lynchings had increased to its highest point. Antilynching campaigner IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT and other African American leaders looked to white reformers like Frances Willard, known internationally for her championing of human rights issues, to join with them in condemning lynching.

At the time, the WCTU was one of very few national organizations that welcomed African American members. Wells could reasonably expect Willard to take a strong stand against lynching. However, Willard equivocated, faced with both her moral obligation to denounce lynching as the worst excess of white racism and her need not to offend Southern WCTU leaders. Although she decried the vigilantism of lynching, she suggested that it was understandable as an action to protect white women from black men, an argument many Southerners, including some in the WCTU, used to condone lynching. In making such a statement, she showed her lack of understanding of the actual causes of lynching as well as her tendency toward compromise in order to please both sides in a controversy. Often in the past she had been successful at this tactic, bringing together disparate groups and factions to work toward common goals. But in this instance, Willard managed only to disappoint antilynching activists in the United States and Great Britain and compromise herself as a reformer. Her failure tarnished her reputation as a moral leader.

Willard became ill in the early 1890s, suffering from pernicious anemia, then a fatal disease. She struggled to keep up her hectic speaking and writing schedule and attempted to retain control of her organization from across the Atlantic, but she had lost her former buoyancy and energy. Even exercise regimes and

diet could not return her to health. Throughout the decade, she grew weaker and more seriously ill. Finally, in New York City in early February 1898, she contracted influenza as she was ready to sail for England once more. Her body, frail and weakened by anemia, could not fight off the flu, and she died on February 17, 1898, at age fifty-eight, with her beloved Anna Gordon and other WCTU leaders at her bedside.

WCTU members were stunned at the news of Willard's death. Disagreements with their president were set aside as the organization joined the entire nation to mourn one of its most revered figures. Two thousand people jammed the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City to attend her funeral, and many thousands more gathered at the railway stations of towns and villages across the Midwest as her funeral train traveled toward Chicago. There she lay in state for a day at the Woman's Temple, the national headquarters of the WCTU, as an estimated twenty thousand people filed by to pay their respects. After a final service at the Evanston Methodist church, she was buried in her family's plot at Rosehill Cemetery on Chicago's North Side. A reformer to the last, Willard had requested Anna Gordon to carry out her wish to be cremated, then an innovative idea and one that repulsed Gordon, Isabel Somerset, and other close colleagues of Willard's. But loyalty to her friend's last wishes overcame Gordon's discomfiture with cremation and, a few weeks later, she arranged for Willard to be cremated and her ashes placed in her mother's grave as Willard had desired.

Often in her speeches and writings, Willard had proclaimed the imminent arrival of "the dawn of woman's day" with the fast-approaching twentieth century. The day that she envisioned might best be characterized by one of her favorite aphorisms, which she used over and over again to spur her organization on toward its goals: "Woman will bless and brighten every place she enters, and she *will* enter every place on the round earth!" (Willard, "The Work of the WCTU," 404). Through her impassioned leadership of the largest and most powerful women's organization of the time, Willard succeeded in making this slogan a reality for hundreds of thousands of women.

Sources. A large collection of Willard materials—correspondence, a fifty-volume journal, scrapbooks, copies of speeches and articles, etc.—is in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) archive, Frances E. Willard Memorial Library, National WCTU Headquarters, Evanston, Illinois. Much, but not all, of this material is on microfilm: Series III, *The Temperance and Prohibition Papers* (1977). The journal volumes and some other Willard material are microfilmed as an *Addendum* (Series V [1982]) and a complete transcription of the journal, produced by Carolyn De Swarte Gifford, is on deposit at the Willard Library. Other Willard papers at the Willard Library, discovered since the original microfilming project, have not been microfilmed. Correspondence from Willard can also be found in the papers of many late-nineteenth-century reform and religious leaders, for example, those of women's rights leaders Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. An edition of Willard's journal has been published: Carolyn De Swarte Gifford, *"Writing Out My Heart": Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1855–1896* (1995). Willard produced a copious autobiography: *Glimpses of Fifty Years: The Autobiography of an American Woman* (1889). She published many other books, including *Woman and Temperance* (1883); *How to Win: A Book for Girls* (1886); *Woman in the Pulpit* (1889); *Do Everything: A Handbook for the World's White Ribboners* (1895); *A Wheel within a Wheel* (1895, 1991); and, with Mary A. Livermore et al., *Woman of the Century* (1893). She wrote numerous articles for journals and newspapers, including the prominent reform journals *Our Day*, *Arena*, and *Dawn*, as well as *Union Signal*, the official newspaper of the WCTU, and other temperance papers, such as *Voice*, the New York-based organ of the Prohibition Party. She also authored many chapters in edited volumes, including "The Work of the W.C.T.U.," in Annie Nathan Meyer, *Women's Work in America* (1890). The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, publishing arm of the WCTU, issued many booklets and pamphlets written by Willard; one of the most important, *A White Life for Two*, went through many reprintings. There have been a number of biographies of Willard, including Anna Gordon, *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard* (1898), written from the perspective of Willard's loyal companion and including many memorials from international reform leaders; Ray Strachey, *Frances Willard: Her Life and Work* (1913), by the granddaughter of one of Willard's trusted lieutenants, who had access to many women who worked with Willard; Mary Earhart (Dillon), *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics* (1944), interpreting Willard as a powerful political figure and influential women's rights leader; and Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (1986), which incorporates new research in the history of alcohol in America and the growing field of women's history from the 1960s to the1980s into a portrait of Willard as a skillful and persuasive reformer. There have been several recent studies of Willard's rhetoric, including, Richard W. Leeman, *"Do Everything" Reform: The Oratory of Frances Willard* (1992), and Amy Rose Slagell, "A Good Woman Speaking Well: The Oratory of Frances E. Willard (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin—Madison, 1992). Slagell's dissertation contains a chronological listing of Willard's speeches and reproduces the full text of more than fifty. Elizabeth B. Clark, "The Politics of God and the Woman's Vote: Religion in the Suffrage Movement in America" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1989), compares Willard's and her organization's approach to suffrage with that of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other suffrage organization leaders. Suzanne M. Marilley, "Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 19, 1993, examines Willard's political ideology and the rationale for the WCTU's support of woman suffrage, as does C. D. Gifford, "Wouldn't You Like to Vote as Well as Oliver: Frances Willard's Crusade for Women's Equality," *Humanities*, July/August 1995. For a discussion of Willard's religion, see C. D. Gifford, "'My Own Methodist Hive': Frances Willard's Faith as Disclosed in her Journal," in *Spirituality and Social Responsibility: Vocational Vision of Women in the United Methodist Tradition*, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller (1993). C. D. Gifford, "For God and Home and Native Land: The WCTU's Image of Woman in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Women in New Worlds*, ed. Keller, vol. 1 (1981), and C. D. Gifford, "Frances Willard and the WCTU's Conversion to Woman Suffrage," in *One Woman, One Vote*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (1995), look at the changing understanding of womanhood within the WCTU, encouraged by Willard's leadership. C. D. Gifford, "Frances Willard and the Women's Movement in Illinois: The Ballot for Home Protection, 1874–1882," unpublished manuscript, 1995, details Willard's first campaign for woman suffrage. Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty* (1981), and Susan Dye Lee, "Evangelical Domesticity: The Origins of the WCTU under Frances Willard" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern Univ., 1980), give an understanding of Willard's relation to her organization. Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920* (1981), chapter 2, places Willard within a radical reform tradition. Emilie M. Townes, "Because God Gave Her Vision: The Religious Impulse of Ida B. Wells-Barnett," in *Spirituality and Social Responsibility*, ed. Keller, and Carol Mattingly, *"Well-Tempered Women": Nineteenth Century Temperance Rhetoric* (1998), chapter 7, give accounts of Willard's clash with Wells-Barnett over Willard's equivocal stance on lynching, as does Bordin's biography.

CAROLYN DE SWARTE GIFFORD