

Woman's Temple, Women's Fountains: The Erasure of Public Memory

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In 1996 a statue of three women who had worked for woman's suffrage, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was moved from the first-floor crypt of the nation's capitol into the second-floor rotunda. Much was made of this acknowledgment of women's work in the stately seat of power; no mention was made of a similar tribute, one floor above, that had occurred nearly one hundred years earlier. Frances Elizabeth Willard, orator and reformer who had led the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) for most of its nineteenth-century history, had become the first woman commemorated in the capitol, and the only woman so honored for more than fifty years.¹ By 1905, the year of the statue's installation, the WCTU had become the largest and most influential activist movement of women in the country, extending that power into the twentieth century, taking an active and powerful role in the passage of the eighteenth and nineteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution, as well as hundreds of other laws affecting women and children.² The significance of the Willard memorialization extends beyond the representation in Statuary Hall, however, as Willard's organization made tributes to women one of its primary objectives.

Despite the power and efforts of the WCTU at the turn of the twentieth century, this massive effort to recognize women and their accomplishments has been largely forgotten at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Here, I will examine efforts at the turn of the twentieth century to build monuments and to

establish a significant place in public memory for women. I will use the process of “sifting” employed by Kirk Savage in his examination of Civil War monuments. Savage explored the process by which proposed monuments to African American strength and dignity after the war gradually sifted into memorials representing images to white heroism and of “a black man still mired in the ethos of slavery.” For Savage, sifting accounts for why some ideas come to be viable and others failures, why some “monuments that followed...shut old doors and opened new ones.”³ I will describe a similar but different process from that of Savage: similar because, like those mentioned by Savage, WCTU women’s monuments have been gradually sifted from public collective memory; different because, unlike the proposed but unbuilt monuments Savage discusses, the WCTU monuments were completed and claimed public space. I will also discuss not only the difficulties a group such as the WCTU faces, even if temporarily successful, in attempting to break the traditional hold on the shaping and maintenance of public memory and public space amid the efforts of more powerful forces, especially twentieth-century militarist public discourse, but also such influences as modernist architects and changes in women’s roles that diverted attention to efforts different from those of the largely white, middle-class WCTU.

Temperance became the largest political organizing force for women in the nineteenth century because of intemperance’s association with abuse of women and children. Women protested the manufacture and sale of alcohol, which they believed contributed to women’s and children’s hardships, but for many the focus expanded to include broader women’s issues, especially unequal treatment under the law. The issue became a focus for women, too, because most Americans viewed intemperance as a man’s problem. According to historian W. J. Rorabaugh, two-thirds of all distilled spirits were consumed by 50 percent of adult men—one eighth of the population.⁴ Because alcoholic men often became abusive and unable to provide for their families, women organized and joined the WCTU to oppose and end such abuse. Hundreds of thousands of WCTU women worked for change in a broad spectrum of areas. In addition to suffrage, they sought property rights for married women, the right to custody of children in divorce, and other reforms to assist impoverished and abused women and children; further, they were instrumental in raising the age of sexual consent in nearly every state.⁵

WCTU members were not content with reform alone. They sought to memorialize their leaders and their organization. To that end, they coordinated the largest capital construction campaigns by women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Much as men have commemorated their power and efforts through war memorials and statuary of powerful political leaders, members of the WCTU strove to create permanent testaments to their leaders and organization as well as to the significance of women. Their ability to do so demonstrates the power these women held at the turn of the twentieth century. The deterioration and destruction of these historic monuments attest, as well, to the diminished

nature of that power and the difficulty of any group to hold and maintain public space and recognition so long held by others.

Efforts of women and other marginalized groups to build monuments to recognize their achievements are important because of the significance of visual culture in American society. Collective memory is anchored not only in historical narratives but also in material structures, which shape and support collective memory—creating identity for future generations, determining how we view the past and, therefore, how we see the future, and who is important and worthy of being recognized and honored.⁶ Multi-dimensional public monuments, in fact, are so powerful in determining reality for present and future generations that struggles continuously arise over their construction and the space they occupy. Groups contest the use of space on the National Mall and, most recently, at the site where the World Trade Center once stood. The ability to erect such monuments speaks of power—both in the capacity to construct the monument and in the authority to control public space. The battle is intense because those who control such space influence our understanding of the past.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union demonstrated such power by launching capital campaigns and constructing hundreds of buildings, monuments, and memorials throughout the country as testaments to women's efforts. These buildings and monuments were inscribed with the name and symbols of the organization. Built of marble, bronze, granite, and stone, they were intended to create lasting legacies to the women who led and participated in this historic movement.

Fortresses of Brick, Stone, and Mortar

Perhaps the WCTU's most impressive capital project was the Woman's Temple. In speaking of the building, leaders often used metaphors for the permanence and importance of women's work: "Let the foundations be laid in granite, after the fashion of the evangelistic department, and let its walls go up, the departments of our work embodied in stone, moulded in brick, carved in choice woods, set in beauty everywhere in its finishing and furnishing, and it will draw the eyes of the nation as nothing planted on American soil could do."⁷ Harriet L. Dunlap, representative of the many women who believed that the Temple symbolized woman's rightful role, attested, "I shall rejoice to see the Temple finished, and have woman take her proper place in all things in this land."⁸

Completed in 1892 in downtown Chicago, the red granite and terra cotta Temple, designed by the prestigious architectural firm Burnham and Root, stood thirteen stories high and cost \$1.25 million to build⁹ (See figure 1). The Temple was to be a woman's building, built by and for women as Frances Willard put it, representative of "a new era of woman's work . . . both in philanthropy and the professions."¹⁰ Matilda Carse, who led the efforts to build the Temple, called it "a place to record the deeds of great women."¹¹ To that end, one enormous room



Figure 1: This illustration of the Temple covered the full front page of *The Union Signal*, November 6, 1890.

of marble—Willard Hall or Memorial Hall—consisted of large marble slabs engraved with the names of WCTU leaders and contributors. Members often referred to the hall as the Westminster Abbey of women.¹² At the laying of the cornerstone for the building, Willard drew the comparison directly: “Here will be cherished the precious names and faces; here its brilliant banners will be hung; here its watchwords emblazoned; perchance its martyr’s [sic] names inscribed. For this majestic movement has its romance and history; its literature and art; its discoverers and soldiers; its statesmen and saints.”¹³ Author Harriet Hosmer expressed the hope of many women:

I have long entertained
the hope of seeing, before
I die, a monument erected

which shall record the deeds of great women wherever found, and it is high time that such a memorial should assume form. It might be, could be, and should be the finest monument our country, or any other country of our time, can boast, and I think would do great service to woman’s cause: a grand act, perpetuated and illustrated in such a manner that all must read, cannot but be inspiring to every woman, and would furnish the most eloquent chapter in their higher education.¹⁴

To further emphasize its tribute to women, the temple plans called for a seventy-foot gold bronze flèche, with a woman atop, but it remained uncompleted, as costs increased and funding became problematic. The impressive building served as headquarters for the national WCTU and for the Woman’s Temperance Publishing Association, but for various complicated reasons, the Temple fell out of the hands of the WCTU, and the building was destroyed in 1925.¹⁵

When the building was demolished, The National Association of Building Owners and Managers deployed a research engineer, George R. Bailey, to the site even as the building was being razed, and published a twenty-page booklet explaining and justifying the destruction. Many other early skyscrapers were being preserved for both historical and architectural reasons, and that the study

delineating the Temple's obsolescence took place at the point of demolition suggests that factors other than obsolescence were involved. With the decline of the WCTU and increasing disillusionment with Prohibition, the historic value of the building was less evident. In addition, the ornate design became less desirable with the new emphasis on modernist spaces.

When built, the Temple had been praised lavishly by leading newspapers. A typical description is this one from the *Chicago Evening Journal*:

Among all the Chicago skyscrapers that are to be thrown open to their tenants [. . .] probably the most beautiful is the Woman's Temple. . . . The interior finish of the building is in some respects the finest in the city. From top to bottom the halls are covered with beautiful Florentine mosaic pavements, the wainscoting is of the finest marble, and the woodwork is elegant antique oak. There are eight high-speed passenger elevators, disposed in a concave semi-circle, in the rear of the vinculum; and the rotunda in front of them, on the ground floor within the main entrance, consisting of an imposing archway of carved granite, is a marble palace.[. . .]The effect is singular and surpassingly beautiful.¹⁶

The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* called it the "most beautiful of the Columbian city's commercial palaces,"¹⁷ and contemporary architects Peter B. Wight and A. N. Rebori named it the "greatest of all" and "the most beautiful of the tall buildings" designed by Burnham and Root.¹⁸

The authors of the demolition study recognized that the building was "one of the finest skyscrapers in the country."¹⁹ They further noted its having been considered among the city's finest buildings and attested to the ingenuity of the pioneering skyscraper architects who designed the building.²⁰ They claimed, however, that the very best features of the building led to its demise. The study suggested that the pitched roof was more expensive to repair than a "modern" flat roof, something we know today is often untrue; that although the steel frame was as sturdy as when new, and brickwork had obviously been done by the best masons, the mortar had become brittle; that while the mosaic ceramic floors were in good condition, they seemed uneven; and that dormers intended to relieve the monotony of the large roof area also formed bad leaks during storms and broke office space into irregular patterns.²¹

In contrast to the report's criticism of broken office space, the women occupying the space had loved the "irregular patterns" of this floor with its interestingly shaped rooms high above the city (See figures 2-3). Criticism of irregular spaces contradicted earlier reports and praise for that space as well. The *Chicago Evening Journal* had described this same space more positively: "This floor looks as if a woman has planned it. It abounds in nooks and corners and strange shaped apartments and is a model of convenience and beauty."²²



Figure 2: Advertising Manager's Office. *The Union Signal*, June 2, 1892, 5.



Figure 3: The Business Manager's Office. *The Union Signal*, June 2, 1892, 5.

In fact, according to the authors, the building was still serviceable, but its bulky construction diminished rentable space. The report even suggested that the excellent condition in some areas, such as the steel columns, beams, and girders, “illustrate the fallacy of any expensive treatment in connection with them, except in locations subject to dampness,”²³ as those features had been perfectly preserved and had outlived their usefulness. Charges of obsolescence were repeatedly based on the building’s failure to comply with modern standards and emphasized the elaborate ornamentation that devoured space. Its ornate construction also undermined appreciation for its historic and architectural value. The demolition took place during the rise of the modernist trend in architecture, when the ornamental was being equated with decadence, the primitive, and the feminine, while the sterile lines of modernism were seen as strong, clean, masculine—and valuable.²⁴

Like the ornamentation and irregular spaces of the thirteenth floor, other “problems” tend to surface according to a modernist perspective. For example, “The thickness of the floors [mosaic ceramic and marble] being twenty-one inches, meant that sixty-four inches more vertical height of construction was necessary than would have been needed had the modern thirteen-inch floor been in vogue,”²⁵ and “The double grand-staircase [of marble] and the semi-circular elevator arrangement absorbed a large amount of otherwise usable area.”²⁶ Basically, the corner of Monroe and La Salle Streets in downtown Chicago was prime real estate property, and value was now based largely on rentable space and modernist ideals. In addition, after the passage of the eighteenth and nineteenth amendments, the WCTU had lost importance to the point that the organization had neither the will nor the power to preserve its monument. The building was sacrificed for the erection of a more modern, twenty-four-story bank/office building.

The WCTU was involved in numerous other capital projects nationally in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the more prominent of

the national projects were a national temperance hospital and summer homes at chatauquas and at WCTU summer camps. The National Temperance Hospital, built in Chicago and renamed the Willard Hospital, used alternatives to prescribing alcohol, which was commonly prescribed for medicinal purposes in the nineteenth century. All board directors were women, as were most of the physicians and staff. The WCTU also built alone or joined with the Florence Crittenden Association to build homes for unwed mothers in cities across the country. Numerous summer homes allowed for comfortable quarters when women participated in chatauqua meetings or in summer schools for instruction in rhetorical, political, and parliamentary procedures provided by the WCTU, but often they were used as retreats for working girls and women. Sometimes these were national buildings, sometimes state or local. Members also sometimes opened coffee houses as alternatives to saloons²⁷ (See figures 4-5).

In addition, beginning in the 1880s, state and local chapters began building their own headquarters. Willard noted the “remarkable impetus” that enthusiasm for the Temple had created for the construction of such buildings: “hundreds of towns, villages, and cities are sure to have them. [. . .] The white-ribboners are moving out of their tents, and into their fortresses of brick, stone, and mortar.”²⁸ Even before Willard’s pronouncement, however, many state and local unions had already begun work on their own buildings.²⁹

Temperance Fountains

The most widespread capital project by WCTU women, however, involved prime public space. WCTU chapters erected temperance fountains in their hometowns. Some were large spraying fountains, others a series of tiered basins that allowed water to flow from one level to the next, with still others containing



Figure 4: Palmetto Cottage Summer Home. *The Union Signal*, February 13, 1890, 7.

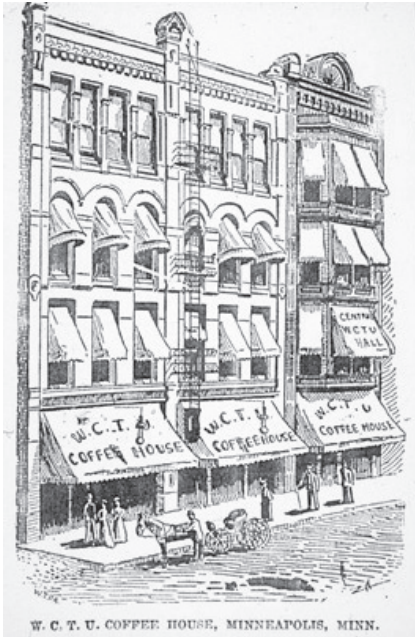


Figure 5: Minneapolis WCTU Coffee House. *The Union Signal*, July 4, 1892, 5.

mechanical faucets. All provided clean drinking water; some housed compartments for storing ice to cool pipes conducting the water. The fountains were intended to provide pure drinking water in heavily trafficked areas of towns and cities, as men often claimed drinking liquor a necessity because of the unavailability of clean drinking water. More significant than the availability of clean water, however, may be the fountains' public tribute to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and its members. Like the Woman's Temple, these fountains claimed prized public space. Also like the Temple, they symbolized the power and importance of the WCTU. The fountains were always inscribed with the organization's name. Two other features—symbols representative of the Union and drinking troughs for animals—mark most WCTU fountains. A white ribbon, the most common image

of the WCTU, appears on every fountain erected by the WCTU I have found.³⁰ The second feature of nearly every fountain illustrates the Union's concern for animal rights. Although ostensibly dedicated to temperance, the WCTU actually comprised at least forty departments that worked for other concerns, with a national leader of each, and state, county, and local leaders of many. One active department was Vivisection, dedicated to the better treatment of animals. This concern is represented in most fountains by drinking troughs, often at a variety of levels, to provide refreshment for horses and dogs.³¹ Constructed amidst great pride and celebration, nearly all WCTU fountains have been destroyed or relegated to obscurity.

Erected in prized space at the center of downtown thoroughfares, on courthouse lawns, and in busy parks, WCTU fountains showcased the name and symbols of the union. Most of the fountains were purchased from prestigious foundries at the time, J. L. Mott Iron Works and J. W. Fiske Iron Works, both of whom advertised in the Union's newspaper, *The Union Signal*, in addition to distributing catalogues to local and state unions. The majority of fountains paid general tribute to the organization and acknowledged the WCTU simply with inscriptions and symbols.³² Some fountains featured symbolic women—angels, Rebecca at the Well, Justice.³³ These were usually tall, measuring eleven to twelve feet in height, often with mechanical faucets.

One such example featuring the mythic Hebe once graced the town common in Baton Rouge, LA. Figure 6 features what remains of the large, decorative fountain. Installed in 1914, the fountain stood eleven feet tall and provided drinking water from spraying or cascading water that accumulated into a basin with chained cups hanging around it. At the time it was installed, newspapers described it as “one of the most beautiful pieces of work in any city in the south.”³⁴ When it was placed, *The Baton Rouge Advocate* described it:

The top of the fountain is the figure of a woman, dressed in the classic Grecian costume, holding in one hand a pitcher and raising aloft a bronze bowl. Through this bowl, held in her left hand, the spray will operate, throwing a shimmering veil of water vapor into the pond beneath the fountain. This pond is expected to prove one of the most attractive and satisfactory which has ever been built to hold a fountain. Its depth and diameter are sufficient to catch the strong spray and to insure strength and permanency. . . . One particular feature of the whole plan is that it provides for sanitary drinking cups around the fountain. There will be four of these placed on the concrete walls of the basin, and they will correspond with the latest sanitary regulations as to public drinking places. The flow of water through them will be continuous, providing places to quench the thirst of people enjoying Baton Rouge's only park.³⁵



Figure 6: Hebe, Baton Rouge, LA. Photographed February 25, 2001 by Lisi Oliver.

However, despite its beauty, when plans were drawn to renovate downtown Baton Rouge, the fountain was destroyed; Hebe was placed on a block of bricks and left to vandals and the elements. The pitcher and the fingers of her right hand, as well as her left hand with the bowl through which water flowed are missing; the small bronze plaque identifying Hebe as donated by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has disappeared. Those who notice Hebe would have no way



Figure 7: Little Water Girl Fountain, Portland, ME Public Library. *The Union Signal*, May 4, 1893, 14.

of connecting her with the WCTU, but even if they made the connection, the importance of the figure is radically diminished.³⁶

Other fountains commemorated individual women, usually WCTU leaders. Most often they honored Frances E. Willard. In Chicago, the WCTU commissioned the original of a bronze Little Water Girl fountain, to honor Willard at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.³⁷ They later duplicated the Little Water Girl fountain in Portland, Maine, to dedicate Lillian Stevens, president of the Maine WCTU who, at Willard's death, followed her as national president (See figure 7); another copy, erected in London, honored Lady Henry Somerset, President of the British WCTU.³⁸

Occasionally tributes included busts or statues of specific women, although typically they cast and placed in public spaces only mythical women and queens. Willard had often noted

the absence of statues of women, referring to the uniqueness of one memorializing New Orleans's Margaret Haughery, according to Willard the first one of a woman in the United States.³⁹ A WCTU fountain that includes a bust of Willard still stands in Reading, Pennsylvania⁴⁰ (See figure 8). In the center of town, the monument now stands somewhat awkwardly in the middle of the concrete and brick sidewalk. A full-length statue fountain paid tribute to Laura Smith Haviland, a WCTU member in Adrian, Michigan, who had also worked to abolish slavery and founded homes for poor girls and young women.⁴¹

Difficulties in Establishing Enduring Remembrance

Part of the problem for WCTU memorials resulted from the Union's success. They located memorials in the most visible and central of public space. Such choices are good for establishing monuments because of their visibility and because such space speaks to power and importance; however, if tradition and sentiment for such memorials is not strong enough to protect them after the power of the originators has diminished, they are gradually sifted from the landscape, as others more powerful lay claim to the space. The Woman's Temple occupied prime real estate property in downtown Chicago—space valued by others,



Figure 8: Bust of Frances E. Willard, Reading, PA Fountain. Photographed July 27, 2001.



Figure 9: McMurtry Fountain, Main (Route 206) and Liberty Streets, Newton, NJ. Courtesy Newton Public Library.



Figure 10: Current location of McMurtry Fountain, Memory Park. Photographed July 27, 2001.

who envisioned a structure more financially profitable. Fountains, too, were located in central areas, but when downtowns were renovated, the fountains were often destroyed or moved to locations far from the coveted, prestigious, public high-use areas, to out-of-the-way places where vandalism would take its toll.

For example, a fountain in Newton, New Jersey (See figures 9-10), originally placed at the center of Main Street, was moved when the street was widened to accommodate large trucks and facilitate traffic flow. The fountain, named in honor of Catherine Ryerson McMurtry, the first local president of the WCTU, was moved to a small park far from its original location.⁴² The drinking faucets no longer work, and the memorial, badly damaged, has lost the grandeur of its earlier purpose and location. The letters and symbols that acknowledged the organization and its leader are gradually fading. Similarly, the bronze Little Water Girl fountain honoring Frances Willard, originally in front of downtown Chicago's Woman's Temple, was moved to a location near Chicago's

North Avenue on Lake Shore Drive when the Temple was destroyed. In 1942, the fountain was moved to Lincoln Park, but it disappeared completely in 1958.

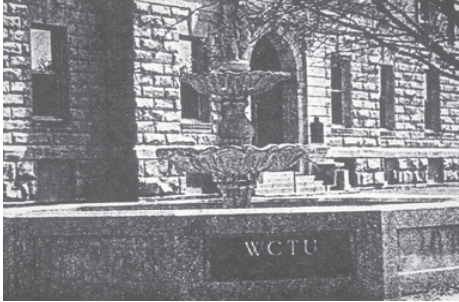


Figure 11: WCTU Fountain, Moultrie County Courthouse, Sullivan, IL. Photograph from Sarah Ward, *The White Ribbon Story*, 156.



Figure 12: Two cupids beneath umbrella now top Moultrie County fountain. Photographed October 19, 2001.

Although theft and vandalism have played a part in the deterioration of some of these memorials, as Diane Barthel notes, “[d]estruction caused by vandals can be small stuff compared to that committed by those with economic and political clout.”⁴³

Rescued fountains are sometimes changed dramatically, as was the one in Sullivan, Illinois (See figures 11-12). When I visited Sullivan, I spoke with Jan W. Haegen, County Planner/Coordinator, in the Moultrie County Courthouse on whose lawn the fountain sits.⁴⁴ He told me proudly of his now deceased brother’s drive to renovate the fountain. The renovation retained the WCTU name, but the original center construction containing the Union’s symbols has been replaced with two cupids beneath an umbrella, an image unlike any the WCTU used. Similarly, when the drinking fountain in the Reading, Pennsylvania memorial broke, rather than maintaining the integrity of the monument by replacing the original piping, unattractive porcelain fountains were attached to its exterior, marring its design coherence as well as the ethos of the woman it celebrates and the group who built it (See figure 13).

The addition of nearby memorials has further diminished the impact of these fountains. When the fountains are not destroyed or neglected, larger memorials, usually those honoring public leaders (typically male) and military events, are often constructed near them, diminishing their presence. The fountain in Leominster, Massachusetts, (See figure 14) for example, still stands at the city center. Although it is in need of repair, if one looks closely its white ribbon symbols are still evident, its references to the WCTU and Willard remain legible; however, its power has been marginalized as the eyes are drawn to the larger, better-kept memorials that surround it. This is not uncommon, as the fountains were origi-



Figure 13: Frances E. Willard Fountain, Reading, PA. Photographed July 27, 2001. Original fountain with porcelain faucets attached.

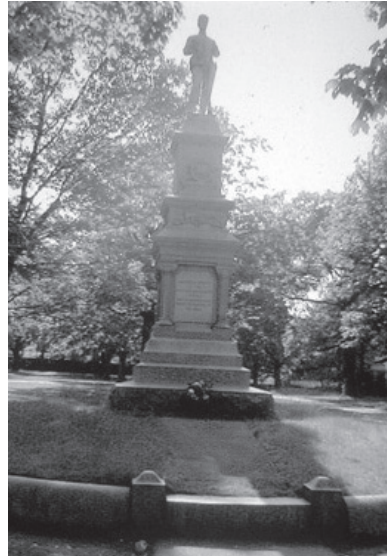
nally placed in desirable, heavily trafficked spaces. Close by the Hebe statue in Baton Rouge, large, carefully maintained war memorials dominate, as is the case in Brockton, Massachusetts as well (See figure 15). War memorials and other monuments to once powerful political and military leaders are erected and well maintained, usually with public monies. Even though fountains were donated to the cities or counties in which they are located, priority is given to preserving other monuments while the WCTU fountains continue to deteriorate.⁴⁵

One further example associated with such fountains, even when preserved, demonstrates the difficulty in creating lasting public memorials to achievements outside the traditional power structure. Figure 16 depicts a Fiske fountain in Lancaster, Ohio, now restored and lighted. Lancaster historians credit A. “Andy” Bauman for the city’s beautiful fountain. Historian David Contosta names Bauman “the most outstanding” of Lancaster’s Victorian era civic-minded boosters, based on Bauman’s “crucial role” in Lancaster’s “longest-lasting Victorian improvement”—the “ornate fountain that stands in the town square more than a century after its dedication in 1890.”⁴⁶ This is the story I heard when I approached David Bogear, superintendent of Lancaster Parks and Recreation, who generously shared the night view of Lancaster’s fountain with me; he had undoubtedly taken the information from Lancaster’s most recently written history.⁴⁷

This account, however, differs greatly from newspaper commentaries published at the time of the fountain’s placement. According to those reports, “a few ladies gathered in some social affair formed without a thought or purpose

Figure 14: (below) WCTU Fountain, Leominster, MA. Photographed May 26, 2001.

Figure 15: (right) Civil War Memorial, Brockton, MA. Photographed May 26, 2001.



of its result, broached the subject as to what part they could contribute toward the general improvement of the place we all delight to call our home. The result of that meeting,” the *Lancaster Daily Eagle* reported, “was the formation of the Ladies’ Fountain Committee, pledged to itself to purchase and present to the city, to be placed upon one of its public parks, a fountain.”⁴⁸

Both local newspapers lauded the women for their “patriotism and love of our city by their presentation of this magnificent gift”⁴⁹ and for their “crowning tribute—a majestic testimonial calculated to perpetuate their energy, perseverance and generosity,” providing the names of the women involved.⁵⁰ According to newspaper accounts, the women thanked Bauman “for his liberality and hearty co-operation with us in our efforts,” for his “advice” and recognizing “that without his aid we would not now be ready to turn over to the use of the city, the beautiful fountain which we have been enabled to secure.”⁵¹

At the fountain’s unveiling, local reporters paid tribute to the women, predicting grateful remembrances of their efforts in procuring the fountain. The *Daily Eagle* called the fountain “a lasting memento—and indestructible memorial to the worth, energy, and patriotism of the ladies of Lancaster,”⁵² and *The Gazette* called the fountain “a majestic testimonial calculated to perpetuate their energy, perseverance, and generosity.”⁵³ Yet a hundred years later, historians give credit for the fountain to Andy Bauman without recognizing the women who provided the fountain. What we perceive as worthy of preservation is often determined by the history of what has been preserved; similarly, accomplishments are often remembered in the form we are accustomed to expect.



Figure 16: Night view, Lancaster, OH fountain. Courtesy David Bogear.

The Politics of Collective Memory

Monuments are powerful symbols in our culture, intended to speak for their sponsors long after their voices are silent, and the women who created these numerous monuments expected that they would continue to speak for them. Their efforts to memorialize their organization are especially impressive when we consider how little money women controlled. The ways they raised money attest to their commitment and their collective effort. The bulk of the money raised for the Temple, for example, came in small amounts, “The gift largely of women and little children.”⁵⁴ The campaign thus demonstrates, as well, the “popular subscription” of which Savage speaks, in which “rich and poor, young and old” were expected to contribute in order to give public monuments validity.⁵⁵ Still, for all the respectability created by the WCTU, few people today know about or recognize the many monuments its members erected.

As Kirk Savage notes, the appearance, if not the reality, of broad public support is generally essential for the creation of public monuments, but scholars agree on other elements necessary for maintaining collective memory, especially performative and ritualized commemoration.⁵⁶ These features, however, seem not to ensure remembrance for all groups. In creating a successful organization, WCTU members were adept at ceremony and ritual. They transformed meeting places by bringing flowers, banners, hand-sewn decorations, patriotic paraphernalia and other symbolic items, even rocking chairs. They organized huge processions, featuring members and children dressed symbolically in white.

For example, just prior to the laying of the cornerstone for the Woman's Temple, Carse previewed ceremonial preparations for readers of the *Union Signal*:

Rehearsals are taking place twice a week on the three sides of the city. It is expected that two or three thousand children will take part in the chorus. A large part of the ceremony will take place in the second regiment Armory, on Michigan avenue. It will accommodate 6,000 persons. The building will be handsomely draped and decorated with the National flag. Almost every state is sending silk banners in abundance, which will be carried by the children in their march from the Armory to the place of laying the corner-stone; those who have not a banner will carry a small flag. The children will be accompanied by marshals wearing white satin badges, headed by a band of music. They will be preceded and followed by a platoon of police. Visitors will follow in carriages.⁵⁷

To assure substantial attendance, WCTU officer Helen L. Hood arranged for railroads to “carry all persons who desire to attend the ceremony” at reduced rates. The *Union Signal* listed twenty-five railroads that had agreed to the arrangement.⁵⁸ The WCTU generally arranged reduced railroad rates for all national WCTU meetings and events.

Similarly, when Frances Willard's statue was placed in the Capitol, “Anna Gordon asked that Washington school children be ‘given an opportunity to visit Statuary Hall’ to view Willard's statue” and arranged their “march under protective escort to the Capitol Building and through Statuary Hall,” where “each child placed a flower [contributed by the District of Columbia WCTU] near the Willard statue.”⁵⁹ Similar pageantry accompanied installations of fountains, where bands provided music, dignitaries gave addresses, “brilliant lights” added to the significance of the occasion,⁶⁰ and street parades and fireworks created “a striking resemblance to . . . a legal holiday.”⁶¹ Such ceremonial rituals were typical of major WCTU events, but they must be sustained by later generations to preserve memorials from the sifting that takes place over time.

Scholars also note the importance of emotional involvement for public memory.⁶² Emotion was key to the success of the WCTU as well. Many women, for example, became members of the WCTU when touched personally by the devastating effects of alcohol abuse. For example, Carse, who led efforts to build the Woman's Temple, joined the WCTU after a drunken carter ran over and killed her young son, and Saleta Evans became a member of the Evansville, Indiana WCTU, donating downtown property for a WCTU building, after her sons, Paul and Robert, fatally shot one another after heavy drinking.⁶³ Such associations were common; most were acquainted with someone who had suffered greatly from alcohol or drug abuse. Emotional stakes in the WCTU and its movement ran high. Emotion though is often valued according to context—seen as powerful

and appropriate in some cases and devalued in others. In the wake of Prohibition's failures, emotional capital surrounding the activities of the WCTU was greatly diminished.

Another feature scholars attribute to creating lasting memory involves the use of patriotic symbols. As John Bodnar suggests, "[T]he symbolic language of patriotism is central to public memory in the United States because it has the capacity to mediate both vernacular loyalties to local and familiar places and official loyalties to national and imagined structures."⁶⁴ The WCTU made great efforts to cloak itself in patriotism. Leaders argued that harm done by alcohol diminished the productivity and health of the country. The national flag was displayed at all events, and when the national WCTU convention met in Baltimore, leaders borrowed and displayed the historic Fort McHenry flag. Fountains were often draped in the national flag before their formal unveiling, and children frequently carried small American flags as they marched at WCTU events. However, not all patriotism is valued equally. As Bodnar has demonstrated, "In the twentieth century the administration of commemorative activity by government officials at both the state and national levels ended any doubt of which symbols and messages were to be considered dominant in public commemorative activities."⁶⁵ Bodnar cites "an aggressive patriotism"⁶⁶ that has supported such commemoration, and patriotism has become inscribed largely in militaristic and nationalistic terms. Despite leaders' and members' "getting it right" by attending to features most scholars recognize as successfully contributing to public memory, WCTU women and their monuments have not fared well.

Maintaining the Status Quo

If, as Fentress and Wickham⁶⁷ suggest, contemporary contexts help to determine which historical monuments and individuals are important, the past greatly determines present context as well. Generations who have witnessed the ceremonial pomp of tributes to presidents and military heroes already hold expectations for what merits such commemoration. Recent funeral rituals for former President Ronald Reagan provide a case in point. The nation slowed its pace and focused on the funeral ceremonies for a full week of choreographed rituals intended to be burned into the memories of those watching. The rituals echoed earlier funerary tributes to Lincoln and Kennedy, assassinated presidents, buried amidst very emotional circumstances. For those who remembered the Kennedy assassination, or even those with passing knowledge of the Kennedy and Lincoln assassinations, the ceremonies for Reagan evoked feelings that established the importance of the current event. Moreover, commentators continually related the proceedings to the earlier funerals and informed viewers that many of the extensive military rituals, such as the riderless horse, can be traced to much earlier, historic times—to the Roman Empire, for example—creating an aura of history and tradition and, therefore, contributing to forming collective memories.

If the most enduring public memories are those reenacted and repeated over time,⁶⁸ the repetitive and ceremonial nature of state funerals contributes to that process. The additional stature given such events by placement at official and sacred locations with a vast uniformed military presence and official dignitaries make it difficult for those outside government to compete in establishing events “worthy” of such importance. Private organizations do not have access to such official sites as the capitol rotunda, nor do they control the public funds or the military planes and personnel necessary for such displays. Similar circumstances apply to national holidays that honor presidents and to military efforts.⁶⁹ Even for observers not in agreement with the accolades so lavishly bestowed on the persons honored, the sheer press coverage and spectacle will for many assign importance to the event and, thus, to the person.

Although groups will continue to erect monuments for their causes, they are likely to be slowly sifted from public view, as their efforts will have difficulty competing with traditional expectations and the force of the highly militarized and massive commemorations sponsored by the national, or even state and local governments. While I agree with Diane Barthel that there are now efforts “designed to promote and to celebrate America’s diverse cultural and ethnic heritage,”⁷⁰ it is highly unlikely that smaller groups can successfully compete with the most visible and acknowledged traditional memorialization on a significant scale. Most lasting changes in the memorial landscape will more likely come as diverse individuals attain the power to command those forces.

Notes

1. Willard is probably still the most memorialized American woman. In addition to statues or busts at the national capitol, New York University’s Hall of Fame, the Asbury Park, NJ Library, and the WCTU headquarters, numerous streets, buildings and halls are named for her. Commonly they use only her last name (Willard Hall, Willard Street), and most people no longer recognize the figure behind the name. In addition, at least seven stained glass windows depict Willard: First United Methodist Church in Moline, IL; United Methodist Church, Griggsville, IL; United Methodist churches in both Sweetser and Greenfield, IN; Marsch Chapel at Boston University; Rainbow Mennonite Church in Kansas City, KS; and at the NWCTU headquarters in Evanston, IL, a stained glass window originally in the Kellogg Building at the New York Chautauqua institution. I learned of many of these stained glass windows from Sarah Ward, *The White Ribbon Story* (Evanston, IL: Signal Press, 1999), 128. The standard biography of Willard is Ruth Bordin’s *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

2. Membership numbers for the early twentieth century suggest the importance of the WCTU in attaining passage of the nineteenth amendment. The WCTU supported suffrage for women, and the suffrage amendment was passed within a year of the eighteenth amendment, the prohibition amendment; this was not simply coincidental. Not only was the WCTU membership much larger than that of the National American Woman’s Suffrage Association, the largest suffrage organization, WCTU members’ less threatening demeanor and greater public acceptance also contributed to acceptance of woman’s suffrage. For further information, see Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998).

Membership Numbers for WCTU and NAWSA

WCTU		NAWSA	
1901	158,477	1900	8,981
1911	245,299	1910	19,240
1919	346,638	1914	70,240

(Mattingly, *Well-Tempered* 188)

3. Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 209.

4. W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11.

5. As late as 1905, the age of sexual consent in five states (Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Maryland) was fixed at age 10 years. In two states (Kentucky and Louisiana) the age of consent was 12 years. At least ten other states held age of consent at 14 or 15. Eighteen others placed the age at 16. ("Age of Consent," *The Union Signal*, 27 April 1905, 12). Prior to WCTU efforts, age of consent in some states had been as low as seven years.

6. For the cognitive support concrete structures provide for collective memory, see Juanjo Igartua and Dario Paez, "Art and Remembering Traumatic Collective Events: the Case of the Spanish Civil War," in *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, edited by James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, and Bernard Rime (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 79-102. For other works that address the importance of the visual to collective memory, see Sanford Levinson, *Written in Stone* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

7. Mrs. S. M. I. Henry [Lady Henry Somerset], "The Temperance Temple," *The Union Signal* 7 June 1888, 4.

8. Quoted in "Temperance Temple Items," *The Union Signal* 21 August 1890, 5. Dunlap was one of the leaders of the Woman's Crusade, the largest political protest of women in the century. Jack S. Blocker, Jr., "*Give to the Winds Thy Fears*": *The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985) is the most thorough study of the Crusade. According to Blocker, between December 1873 and November 1874, women in the movement protested the sale of alcohol by marching and by holding prayer meetings inside and outside saloons. The Crusade involved an estimated 57,000 to 143,000 women across 911 U.S. cities.

9. Matilda Carse described the future building for readers of *The Union Signal*:

The architecture of the Temple is French Gothic. It has a frontage on LaSalle street of 190-feet by 96 on Monroe Street. The building is formed somewhat in the shape of the letter H, and consists of two immense wings united by a middle portion or vinculum. It has a court seventy feet long and thirty feet deep, fronting on La Salle street, and a similar court of the same length, and eighteen feet deep, fronting to the west. In the front court, facing the grand entrance, and formed in a semi-circle, are eight great elevators which will transport persons in a trice, from the first to the thirteenth story. From this court also rises two grand staircases of marble, which stop not until the towering roof is reached. There will be a central hall on each floor running north and south, and a transverse hall in each wing running east and west. The lower court and halls will be paved in marble mosaic, the upper ones in plain marble. The wainscot in all the halls will be of marble. The material used in the building, for the first two stories, is to be a rich dark red granite, and above that, pressed brick of the same color and terra cotta. But very little wood will be used, iron taking its place wherever practicable, as the building is to be entirely fire-proof.

On the lower floor are to be located three great banks (already spoken for) and Willard Hall. This magnificent audience room which will seat between six and seven hundred, without galleries, is entirely shut off from the rest of the building. It is reached by a long, wide hall opening off Monroe Street. The entrance hall as well as the audience room will be lined with marble, the walls being used as well as those in the main hall as tablets on which to inscribe the names of noble women and men as well as societies who have subscribed \$100 or over to the building fund of the Temple. Willard Hall will be amphitheater shaped. In the center will be a beautiful fountain. It will have memorial windows, and pedestals will support busts of illustrious persons who have lived and labored and died for the cause of temperance. Memorial tablets will tell of the great and noble departed. Opening off the Hall will be an iron vault which will contain great books of record, one for each state in the Union; the names will be here recorded and kept sacredly, of every person who has given any sum between \$1 and \$100 to the building fund. From Willard Hall the incense of prayer will ascend everyday for the suppression of the liquor traffic and the salvation of the drunkard.

The Temple is to be thirteen stories high; at the tenth story the building line retreats, and the immense roof, which contains three stories, commences, breaking as it ascends into Gothic turrets, from the center of which springs a *flèche* of gold bronze seventy feet high, surmounted by the beautiful form of a woman with face upturned, and hands outstretched to heaven in prayer over wicked Chicago. On the southern corner of the building on the street

there is to be a beautiful drinking fountain finished with suitable sculpture and inscription.

(“The Temperance Temple,” *The Union Signal*, July 31, 1890, 5)

10. Frances E. Willard, “Address at Laying of Corner-Stone, Nov. 1, 1890,” *The Union Signal*, November 8, 1890, 2.

11. Carse, “Temple Temperance Items,” *The Union Signal*, February 20, 1890, 5.

12. Carse often used the term explicitly in her *Union Signal* columns. She claimed, for example, that “In truth the Temple is to be a Westminster Abbey, in the sense that it is to be a place of blessed memories of the good and noble departed” (“Temperance Temple Items,” *The Union Signal*, December 4, 1890, 5) and that “many other unions are determined to have their names recorded in this Westminster of the temperance reform” (“Temperance Temple Items,” *The Union Signal*, December 26, 1889, 4). In their letters to Carse, printed in her column, members also used the term.

13. Willard, “Address at Laying of Corner-Stone,” 2.

14. Quoted in “Temperance Temple Items,” *The Union Signal*, February 20, 1890, 5.

15. WCTU control of the Temple suffered from a variety of factors. The WCTU membership divided over whether the WCTU should be involved in such a real estate venture, some concerned about the risk involved in such an expensive building and challenging Carse’s ability to lead such a project. Mary Hobbs led the opposition within the WCTU, joined by Caroline Buell, national corresponding secretary, and Esther Pugh, national treasurer. Mary Hobbs’s husband, James B. Hobbs, attacked the project publicly. James Hobbs, Pugh, and Buell eventually joined in a public denunciation of Carse in *The Chicago Tribune*, February 25, 1893. Some rivalry among national leaders developed, but such friction was intensified with the building project. The Hobbses were involved in the Woman’s Land Syndicate, a real estate venture (in which both Buell and Pugh became involved) and hoped to attract WCTU investors—in competition with the Temple project. While the Hobbses’ project was later discredited as fraudulent, the Hobbs, Buell, Pugh opposition to the Temple created much concern and dissatisfaction within the national union with the Temple project. Willard defended Carse and the Temple project and kept membership largely in tow until her death, but at the 1898 national convention following Willard’s death, the union voted to disaffiliate with the Temple. Carse continued her efforts to save the Temple, but her own illness and general financial difficulties following the panic of 1893 with its ensuing depression led to her resignation and the Temple reverted to the mortgage holder, who finally reaped the profits from the building. For an in depth account of the controversy surrounding the Temple and the gendered rhetoric associated with women’s venturing into the masculine financial world, see Rachel E. Bohlmann, “Our ‘House Beautiful’: The Woman’s Temple and the WCTU Effort to Establish Place and Identity in Downtown Chicago, 1887-1898,” *Journal of Women’s History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 110-134.

16. May 15, 1892, 5.

17. The *Inter-Ocean* continues:

Like the beauty and fragrance of clustered roses, the east facade and skyward foliage suggest the charm and geniality of John Root’s [architect] presence, and are a living memorial of the artist-architecture. . . . The Temple’s roof climaxes the beautiful building, just as the head of the Venus de Milo completes the statue’s symmetry of proportion, that subtle presence which in architecture, as in sculpture and painting, distinguishes fine art. Not the Bishop of London’s new crozier has richer crotchets, nor the “frozen music” of Milan cathedral more crystalline harmonies. In clusters of graceful gothic, the roof windows and red pinnacles aspire in sumptuous foliage to the topmost heights. . . . It was of the Temple surely the bard sung, “I dreamt I dwelt in marble halls.” The vision rises in full-orbed beauty immediately beyond the great arch of entrance; nobly sculptured in conventional oak leaves, to the topmost corridor the white marble luster of the grand central rotunda penetrates. (April 27, 1892, 12).

In another description, the *Chicago Herald* declared, “The building itself is a beautiful structure. It is an honor to the city and a splendid monument to the labors of noble and self-sacrificing women in a worthy cause” (Quoted in “Complete Vindication of the Temple Affairs,” *The Union Signal*, April 6, 1893, 9). The *Chicago Woman’s Business Journal* called the building “The grandest of monuments to consecrated energy and womanly aspiration.” (Quoted in “Temperance Temple Items,” *The Union Signal*, July 21, 1892, 5).

18. Peter B. Wight, “Daniel Hudson Burnham and His Associates,” *Architectural Record* 38, no. 1 (1915): 1-12; A. N. Rebori, “The Work of Burnham and Root, D. H. Burnham and Co., and Graham, Burnham,” *Architectural Record* 38, no. 1 (1915): 32-168, quoted in Rachel E. Bohlmann, “Our ‘House Beautiful’: The Woman’s Temple and the WCTU Effort to Establish Place and Identity in Downtown Chicago, 1887-1898,” *Journal of Women’s History* 11, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 110-34, 129, n. 17.

19. The National Association of Building Owners and Managers, *Office Building Obsolescence* (Chicago: The National Association of Building Owners and Managers, 1927), 2.

20. *Ibid.*, 3.

21. *Ibid.*, 18.

22. Quoted in "Temperance Temple Items," *The Union Signal*, May 5, 1892, 5.

23. National Association, *Office Building*, 7.

24. The modernist trend was led by such figures as Adolf Loos, who suggested that "The evolution of culture is synonymous with the removal of the ornamental from utilitarian objects" (Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture* [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1964], 20) and Le Corbusier, one of the giants of twentieth-century architecture. According to Le Corbusier, "The styles of Louis XIV, XV, XVI or Gothic, are to architecture what a feather is on a woman's head; it is something pretty, though not always, and never anything more" (Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Frederick Etchells, [New York: Praeger, 1970], 27. Originally published in French in 1923 and translated into English in 1927.)

25. National Association, *Office Building*, 12.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Summer homes were usually built at regular chataqua meeting grounds and other retreat areas. Some illustrated or described in *The Union Signal* are Palmetto Cottage (*The Union Signal*, February 13, 1890, 7); Asheville, NC (*The Union Signal*, March 27, 1890, 12); Poughkeepsie, NY (*The Union Signal*, March 27, 1890, 4); the Catskills (*The Union Signal*, March 25, 1893, 3). For a photograph of another WCTU coffee house, see *The Union Signal*, April 7, 1892, 5.

28. Willard, "Temperance Temples," *The Union Signal*, May 3, 1888, 7.

29. *The Union Signal* abounds with reports from unions stressing "the urgent need of a new building [they] can call [their] own" ("Ohio," *The Union Signal*, October 10, 1889, 12). Upon building, women expressed their "proud feeling of ownership" ("Southern California," *The Union Signal*, December 5, 1889, 10). Some local and state headquarters mentioned in *The Union Signal* include the following: New York State (September 4, 1890, 12); Atlantic Highlands, NJ and Bridgeton, NJ (October 3, 1889, 12); Newark, NJ (April 17, 1890, 12); Essex County, NJ (February 20, 1890, 11); Ohio Central (October 20, 1889, 12); Southern California (October 24, 1889, 4, and December 5, 1889, 10); Little Rock, AR (January 23, 1890, 12); Denison, IA (July 10, 1890, 11); Canton, OH (November 2, 1905, 10); New Era, OR (December 28, 1890, 11); Washington, DC (April 27, 1905, 2); Jackson, MS (July 31, 1890, 13); Albion, MI and Unionville, MO (August 26, 1890).

In 1891, *The Union Signal* ran a three-part series titled "Temperance Temples," listing "unions which own their headquarters . . . own building lots or have money in the bank saved toward that purpose" (November 19, 1891, 8). Among those listed are Leadville, CO; Montrose, CO; Fremont, NE; Los Angeles, CA; Poughkeepsie, NY; Mt. Vernon, NY; Waco, TX; Old Orchard, ME; West Haven, CT; Orange, NJ; Hockessin, DE; Newport, DL; Chautauqua, NY; Baltimore, MD; Morgan City, LA; Phoenix, AZ; Harriman, TX; Bay View, MI; Kirkwood, MO; Gainesville, FL; Harvey, IL; and Providence, RI. Depictions of a number of these buildings are included (November 19, 1891, 8; November 26, 1891, 4; December 10, 1891, 4).

Halls had wide uses. For example, Canton, OH listed, in addition to meeting space, "a place for girls, just as the Y.M.C.A. is for boys . . . dining, sitting, and reading rooms . . . industrial school . . . and dormitory" ("W.C.T.U. Notes," *The Union Signal*, November 2, 1905, 10).

30. These features are clearly represented in most photographs of these fountains. The WCTU identified itself as the White Ribbon Army and referred to members as White Ribbon women. Members wore badges made of white ribbons to identify themselves as Union members, and deceased members' graves were decorated with stone or ceramic white ribbons. The ribbon often appears across a round globe, representing the global membership of the organization. I have been assisted in locating many of these fountains and in learning about others by the Smithsonian Institution's Inventory of American Painting and Sculpture, which sponsored a survey of outdoor sculpture, *Save Our Outdoor Sculpture*, in the 1990s. Sarah F. Ward's *The White Ribbon Story* also names some fountains. Friends and relatives have also generously helped to locate and photograph fountains.

31. A fountain in Olympia, WA (Sylvester Park) honors Emma Page (1853-1910), Washington state WCTU member who spoke, wrote, and lobbied for kindness to animals and to have kindness to all living beings made a part of schools' curricula. Another fountain at Pen Argyl, PA (Weona Park) addresses this issue. Below the symbolic white ribbon appears an image of a horse, and large troughs at horse level and at lower levels for smaller animals provided water for animals. The inscription on the fountain reads "Nature's Own Beverage for Man and Beast." The fountains at Lima, NY and New Shoreham, RI are similar: inscribed "A Fountain Made for Dogs, Horses, and Man," the fountains had bowls attached at various levels to accommodate animals. A Strasbourg, PA fountain erected in 1900 was also inscribed for Man, Dog, and Beast. This fountain included electric globe lamps on each side, along with bowls for animals. The Strasbourg fountain was destroyed in 1922.

32. I have provided measurements and dedication dates where available. Fountains that made a general tribute to the WCTU include one at Ocean City, NJ (1912) that measures 5'4" x 3'4" x 3'4" with a base 5' x 4'2" x 4'2" (visited July 28, 2001); one at Brockton, MA (1894) stands 10' high (visited May 26, 2001); the fountain at Pen Argyl, PA (1911, Weona Park) measures 5' x 9'

x 3'6" (visited July 27, 2001); Amherst, MA (1904) 4' 9" x 2'6" x 2'6" (visited May 26, 2001); Orange, MA (1904) pavilion 3' x 3', fountain 7' x 3' (visited May 26, 2002); Vineyard Haven, MA (Owen Park, 1935) (visited May 27, 2001); Hadley, MA (My grateful appreciation to Marcia Curtis for information about and a photograph of this fountain; Uxbridge, MA (visited May 27, 2001); Shenandoah, IA (intersection Sheridan and Clarinda Avenues); Arcadia, CA (Town Square); Fowler, CA (City Park); Madera, CA (1908, Yosemite Avenue and D Street); Ontario, CA; Red Cloud, NB; Bloomington, IN (Monroe County Courthouse) (visited June 12, 2002); Cranbury, NJ (1907, Main Street Brainerd Lake (visited July 28, 2001); Rehoboth Beach, DL; Hanford, CA (1905); Fortuna, CA (1905); Reedley, CA (1909, Pioneer Park); Selma, CA (1913, Lincoln Park at High and McCall); Watsonville, CA (1893, City Plaza); St. Petersburg, FL (1901, Museum of History); Trinidad, CO (1905); Lapeer, MI (1906, Old Court House); Las Vegas, NV, Lion Fountain (1896) 7'7" x 5'9" x 6'11" (visited May 28, 2004); Huntsville, AL (ca. 1900 Madison County Nature Trail); Decatur, IL (1905 7' x 4' sq., originally at Central Railroad Station, now in backyard of a private residence); Dixon, IL (1912, City Hall) (visited June 12, 2002); Edgewood, IA (Madison and Washington Streets); North Attleboro, MA (thanks to Marcia Curtis for photographing this fountain; Salem, NJ (1901) (visited July 28, 2001); Allegheny, NY (1910, Town Hall Park); Avon, NY (1904).

33. One fountain featuring Rebecca at the Well stood in Lima, NY (1900) but is no longer standing; a duplicate of that fountain remains, although in very bad repair, in New Shoreham, RI (1896); and another at Block Island, RI. The statue stands approximately 6' on a 5' base. A winged woman (angel) at Tupelo, MS (1908) base 5'2" x 1'5" x 15" (My appreciation to Jim Andrews for photographing this fountain, 8 August 2003), Figure 4'2" x 15" x 15"; in Vernon, TX (ca. early 1900s, now at Allingham Park but originally at Wilbarger County Courthouse), the figure of the allegorical Justice 4'10" x 2' x 2' stands atop a base that measures 7' x 6'4". A Greek goddess stands atop a 4' base in Riverside, CA (Mission Inn and Orange St.), and another in Anacortes, WA. Hebe tops an app. 4'6" base in Roseburg, OR (fountain base 1885, Hebe placed atop 1905 (Eagles Park).

34. "Fountain Will be Presented 8:30 Tonight," *State Advocate Times* (Baton Rouge, LA), July 17, 1914, 1.

35. "Fountain Is on Its Way to Baton Rouge," *State Advocate Times* (Baton Rouge, LA), June 19, 1914, 1.

36. The figure of Hebe has recently been removed for restoration.

37. Costing \$3,000, the fountain was paid for entirely by pennies from 350,000 children in the Loyal Temperance League, the children's affiliate of the WCTU. To assure active and broad participation by children, each child was to earn the donated pennies, and no child was permitted to give more than a dime (*The Union Signal*, May 4, 1893, 14).

38. The water girl measures 4' 2" high on a base 9' 2 1/2". Willard described the statue as "a little girl offering a cup of cold water to the multitude, and providing also for the refreshment of the lower animals." Willard saw the statue as especially fitting because it depicted a "child just verging upon her teens, and for this reason represents, not only one who receives, but one who gives forth of devotion, intelligent thought, and earnest action to the temperance reform in which she is already a soldier drilled and disciplined. It is this phase of the L.T.L. [Loyal Temperance Legion, one of the children's organizations of the WCTU] work that recommends it most strongly to all" (Quoted in *The Union Signal*, May 4, 1893, 14). Other fountains in honor of Willard include one in Leominster, MA (1903) that stands 5' tall (visited May, 26 2001); one in Richmond, VA (located in Byrd Park, this fountain also honors members of the Woman's Crusade) (visited June 12, 2002); Petaluma, CA (1891, Walnut Park); Lansing, MI (1902), 4'6", originally Michigan and Washington Avenues, moved to Potter Park Zoo, later found thrown into river and placed in Turner Park; and another in Churchville, NY (Riga Library). A fountain in Griffin, GA (1916, Memorial Park) was dedicated on Willard's birthday.

Fountains dedicated to other individual women include one in honor of Emma Page in Olympia, WA (Sylvester Park); one honoring Amelia Jeanette Kilbon in Lee, MA (1899, designed by Daniel Chester French, 4'10" x 4'4" x 3'9") (visited May 27, 2001); a fountain honoring Rebecca Mitchell stands in Idaho Falls, ID; a fountain in Boise, ID (moved from the old city hall to the new one in 1988) honors Mary B. Tolles, founder of the Boise WCTU; one in Fredonia, NY dedicated to the memory of Esther McNeil, one of the original members of the Woman's Crusade (West Barker Commons Park); in Greensboro, NC in honor of Caroline Gillespie Gorrell (1909); one honoring Anna A. Gordon, long time secretary to Frances Willard and later president of both the national and world WCTU, in Chataqua, NY (1930, South Lake Drive); and a Newton, NJ fountain honors Catherine Ryerson McMurtry, first president of the Newton WCTU (visited 27 July 2001).

39. Haughey, a poor woman, nonetheless took in and toiled to support impoverished orphan children and contributed to orphanages. Willard's reference to this statue shows up in many of her presidential addresses at the annual national convention. Her interest in the figure was remarked, also, at the time Willard's statue was installed in the Capitol. Other women mentioned at the installation of Willard's statue include the following: Harriet Martineau in the rotunda of Wellesley College; two statues of Hannah Dustin, one in Haverhill, Massachusetts and another "on an island named for her at the junction of the Merrimack and Contocook rivers in New Hampshire"; Emma Hart Willard,

in Troy New York ("Statues of Women," *The Union Signal*, February 23, 1905, 8). The statue of Haughery still stands in Margaret Place, named for Haughery, off Magazine Street in New Orleans.

40. The Reading fountain, of granite, was placed in 1904 and measures 9'7" x 54" x 24".

41. The seated figure measures 54" x 28" x 28"; a multi-tiered base stands 58" x 68" x 68". This fountain was a joint effort of the Adrian Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Haviland Memorial Association.

42. Dedicated in 1904 and made of stone, the memorial measures just over 9 feet tall, 8 by 6 feet in other dimensions.

43. Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 127.

44. I visited Sullivan October 19, 2001. Comments are taken from notes written after my interview with Mr. Haegen.

45. In fact, large governmental organizations have been established to help create and oversee war monuments. For example, the American Battle Monuments Commission, an agency of the Executive Branch of the federal government, creates and maintains a vast number of monuments both nationally and internationally, including the recently completed World War II monument on the National Mall.

46. David R. Contosta, *Lancaster, Ohio, 1800-2000: Frontier Town to Edge City* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 87.

47. My grateful appreciation to Susan and Dennis Hall, who located and photographed this fountain, and especially to Susan Hall, who gathered information about the fountain's history in local newspapers. Email correspondence with David Bogear with night photograph February 10, 2004.

48. "To View," *Lancaster Daily Eagle*, July 18, 1890, 4.

49. *Ibid.*, 40.

50. *The Semi-Weekly Gazette* (Lancaster, PA), July 19, 1890, 3. The women named are Mrs. E. C. Rutter, President; Mrs. Dr. Niesse, Vice President; Mrs. G. Book, Treasurer; Mrs. Jas. Willock, Secretary; Mrs. Ed. Dobson; Mrs. A. Bauman; Mrs. Dr. J. H. Goss; Mrs. John Zink; and Misses Agnes Becker and May Fischel.

51. "To View," 9.

52. *Ibid.*, 4.

53. "An Imposing and Suitable Ceremonial," July 10, 1890, 3.

54. Such comments are prolific. This quotation is from Eliza J. Thomas of Evelyn, MO. ("Temperance Temple Items," *The Union Signal*, December, 1889, 4). The enormous sums of money raised for the Temple are more remarkable because individual women and unions actively raised money for so many causes related to the WCTU. In addition to annual membership dues, women participated in self-denial week, usually the week after Easter Sunday when "every white ribbon woman in Christendom is asked to deny herself something not necessary, that its cost may go to the local, state, National, or World's W.C.T.U. treasury, as her conscience may decide" ("REMEMBER self-denial week," *The Union Signal*, April 7, 1892, 1). The week was noted on the Union's Red Letter Day Calendar as a reminder. Many unions or union members also contributed to or endowed beds or furnished rooms at the national Temperance Hospital. "The cost of an endowed bed a year is three hundred and fifty dollars, and can be supported by an individual or a union, be it a local, county or state union" ("National Temperance Hospital Note," *The Union Signal*, April 28, 1892, 12). In addition, many local unions supported "mercy hospitals," or hospitals for the indigent.

The amounts raised were impressive. In 1890, Illinois WCTU reported raising \$4,000 for the Temple fund, \$350 for the Temperance Hospital, and \$67,000 for local work. The following charities were listed among those supported within the state: The Bethesda Day Nursery and Kindergarten and Talcott Day Nursery and Kindergarten, with a combined total of 15, 929 children; the Anchorage Mission for Women, sheltering 4,000 girls; Hope Mission and Reading Room, for Scandinavians; The Bethesda Inn, serving 52,540 men with clean rooms at ten to fifteen cents per night; The Bethesda Free Medical Dispensary; the Hope Free Medical Dispensary; The Bethesda and Hope Sunday Schools; and the Central WCTU restaurant, serving over a thousand daily. Unions and union members also contributed to a variety of causes championed by both the national and the local unions, from education to vivisection (*The Union Signal*, November 6, 1890, 3).

55. See Savage, *Standing Soldiers*, 6.

56. See Edward Shils, *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White* (New York: Altamira Press, 2003); Nico H. Frijda, "Commemorating," in Pennebaker et al., *Collective Memory of Political Events*, 103-127. Acknowledgment of the importance of ceremony surfaces in the popular media as well. For example, on NBC's *Today* show, General Wesley Clark expressed concern at the early handover of government to the Iraqi Council because it omitted "The pomp and ceremony that would have convinced the Iraqi people they're back in charge" (June 29, 2004).

57. "Temperance Temple Items," *The Union Signal*, October 30, 1890, 5.

58. *The Union Signal*, October 16, 1890, 5.

59. "Program," *The Union Signal*, February 2, 1905, 8.

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60. "Fountain Will be Presented Thursday Night," *State Advocate Times* (Baton Rouge, LA), July 11, 1914, 1.

61. "An Imposing and Suitable Ceremonial," *Semi-Weekly Gazette* (Baton Rouge, LA), July 12, 1870, 3.

62. Some sources I have found especially useful in thinking about emotion and public memory are Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, especially Chapter 2; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vantage Books, 1993), especially Parts III and IV; James W. Pennebaker, et al., *Collective Memory of Political Events*, especially Part II; Winfred Gallagher, *The Power of Place: How Our Surroundings Shape Our Thoughts, Emotions and Actions* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993), especially Chapter 8; Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Don Kuiken, *Mood and Memory* (New York: Random House, 1991); Wheeler Winston Dixon, *Disaster and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Dena Elisabeth Eber and Arthur G. Neal, *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Competing Realities* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 2001), especially the Introduction and Epilogue. Sources helpful for thinking about emotion related specifically to commemoration are Edward S. Casey, *Remembrance: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), especially Chapters VIII through X; Carole Blair, "Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric's Materiality," in *Rhetorical Bodies*, edited by Jack Selzer and Sharon Crowley (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 16-57; and Michael Halloran, "Text and Experience in a Historical Pageant," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (2001), 5-17.

63. Ward, *The White Ribbon Story*, 128.

64. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 14. Patriotism may be read in a variety of ways, of course, and those favoring temperance but opposing legal prohibition might have questioned the Protestant WCTU's brand of patriotism. Perhaps the largest such group was Catholics. Prejudice towards Catholics was still strong, even as late as the turn of the century. Although Willard often spoke favorably of Father Matthew and other Catholic temperance leaders in an effort to dispel dissension and encourage unity under the temperance banner, many members continued to express prejudicial rhetoric about Catholics, regarding Catholicism as synonymous with intemperance, despite the many large Catholic temperance union chapters. WCTU members sometimes saw the Catholic opposition to legal prohibition as a deterrent to their cause. The country was largely Protestant, and fear and distrust of Catholics was common. Because of their mainstream membership and shows of customary patriotic symbols and rhetoric, most Americans, I believe, would have found the WCTU acceptably patriotic.

65. *Ibid.*, 249.

66. *Ibid.*

67. James Fentress and Christopher Wickham, *Social Memory* (Cambridge, U.K.: Blackwell, 1992).

68. Shils, *Tradition*.

69. For an excellent look at Presidential commemoration, see Benjamin Hufbauer, *Presidential Temples: How Memorials and Libraries Shape Public Memory* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2005).

70. Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 23.