

LIFE OF CARRY NATION

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THE LIFE OF CARRY NATION

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY  
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MORRISON LIBRARY  
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WICHITA, KANSAS

MAY, 1930

## PREFACE

The activities of Carry Nation have had a peculiar significance in Kansas history and many myths have grown up around them. I have endeavored to give an accurate and unprejudiced account of her life and also to clear up the many inaccuracies concerning it.

It may seem that an unproportionate amount of space and time has been given to her activities in Wichita and Topeka. The reason for stressing this period of her life lies in the fact that I was particularly fortunate in having access to much valuable and original material concerning it.

Herbert Asbury's recent book on the life of Carry Nation, in place of exhausting the subject, made it but the more interesting to the research student. His material is excellent but uncritical.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. John Rydjord for his helpful criticisms and suggestions; to the librarians of the University of Wichita and those of the Kansas State Historical Library for their unstinted co-operation; and to both The Wichita Beacon and The Wichita Eagle for so graciously allowing access to their files and in making room for a troublesome student.

A debt of gratitude is also due to the many persons

whom I have interviewed, and to those persons in Medicine Lodge and elsewhere for their prompt and courteous attention to the questionnaires sent to them. I was especially favored by the valuable information contained in the letters from Mrs. Lucy D. Wilhoite and Mrs. Julia Hays Evans who were co-workers with Carry Nation.

H. T. N.

Wichita, Kansas.

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CARRY NATION

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## CHAPTER I

### CARRY NATION'S EARLY LIFE

Carry Nation was born November 25, 1846, on a farm in Garrard County, Kentucky. Her first home was a rambling ten room house at the side of which was a garden. The little Carry spent much time in the garden, and her favorite corner was the family cemetery. The tomb-stones were long slabs of marble laid flat on a framework of masonry the size of the grave. One of her chief delights was to lie prone on a slab trying to see the corpse underneath.<sup>1</sup>

Carry adored her father, George Moore, who was a prosperous stock trader and slave owner and of Irish descent. She says of him:

If I ever had an angel on earth it was my father. I have met many men who had lovable characters, but none equalled him in my estimation. He was not a saint but a man--one of the noblest works of God. He was impetuous, quick, impatient, but never nervous, could collect himself in a moment and was always master of the situation. I have seen him in many trying places but never remember to have seen him in a condition of being afraid . . . . He was a thorough business man, but his social qualities exceeded all others.<sup>2</sup>

Being a religious man, he saw to it that his family went to church on Sundays. He was generous to the poor and a kind

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<sup>1</sup>Carry Nation, The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation, Topeka: F. M. Steves and Sons, 1908, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-29

master to his slaves. His daughter considered him good looking, and it was her secret ambition to resemble her father. To this end she tried at one time to wear off her teeth on the right side as his had been.

Her mother was Mary Campbell, daughter of James Campbell who was a prosperous Kentucky planter and slaveholder. She was married first to a William Caldwell who freed his slaves and moved to Illinois where he died. He left his wife with two small children both of whom later died at her father's home where she returned after her husband's death. Later she married George Moore by whom she had six children. It was she who brought the strain of insanity into the family.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the birth of Carry her peculiarities began to increase. Mr. Asbury writes that she was obsessed with the idea that she was Queen Victoria.<sup>2</sup> For a long time Mrs. Moore was content to believe herself only a lady-in-waiting to the Queen of England, but as her ailment progressed she became convinced that she was in reality Queen Victoria, and her demeanor became increasingly regal . . . . She was very talkative, and whenever she found it necessary to reprimand a slave or one of her children, she employed a rare flow of language, which was seemingly without beginning, middle or end. The hereditary transmission of this gift, and of delusions of power and infallibility with which Carry Nation was certainly afflicted, were Mrs. Moore's most important contributions to the char-

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Asbury, Carry Nation, New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1929, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-11.

acter of her daughter, for she was always too busy with her grand hallucinations to provide much parental supervision.<sup>1</sup>

In 1890 her mother was admitted to the State Hospital for the Insane at Nevada, Missouri, and died there of heart's disease three years later. The institution's records show her ailment to have been "recurrent mania", and that her mother, brother and sister were also insane.<sup>2</sup>

Carry as well as her brothers and sisters spent much of their time in company with the slaves on her father's farm. She devotes some little space in her book telling of her early impressions gained from the negroes and of her affection for them.

When her mother would go visiting the children were often sent with their nurse, Betsy, to their grandfather Campbell's. It was here that Carry first came in contact with liquor. Her grandfather was not a teetotaler like her father, and it was his custom to mix a hot toddy before breakfast--giving a spoonful to each of his family and drinking the rest himself.<sup>3</sup>

The unconventional spelling of the crusader's name was due to chance. Her father, being an uneducated man,

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<sup>1</sup>This statement is substantiated by the fact that Carry Nation failed to mention her mother except in the role of the "grand dame" riding about the country in her elegant carriage.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

wrote her name in the family Bible, Carry Amelia Moore. This was of seemingly no consequence as his daughter changed the spelling and used the conventional form until she had achieved fame. About the time she was writing her autobiography in 1904 she seemed to have discovered the original spelling. In her book she writes: "This is no accident but Providence. This does not mean that I will carry a nation, but that the roused heart and conscience will, as I am the roused heart and conscience of the people."<sup>1</sup>

When Carry was about eight years old her father moved from Garrard County to Woodford County, Kentucky. Their new farm was on the pike between Midway and Versailles. In Midway she attended Sunday School and was much influenced by the religious teachings of her instructor. The minister gave her a book whose story was of three brothers. The unselfishness of one was so glowingly rewarded that Carry was determined to conquer her selfish ways.

A year later they moved to Missouri. Part of this trip was made by boat, and on the way Carry took a severe cold which resulted in what she termed as consumption of the bowels. This lasted for several years, and for some months they did not expect her to live. During this time she repented of her sins which, she asserts, were of a most serious nature. She had, it seems, been accustomed to steal edibles

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 129.

both for herself and the slaves, as well as bits of lace and silk for her doll clothes. This was not all, as she would often lie to escape punishment and was, moreover, hardheaded and stubborn. This dishonesty and untruthfulness were cured by a little book given her by the minister. She states her repentance was sincere, but it did not seem to have included the softening of her stubborn, head-strong ways.<sup>1</sup>

About this time the ten-year-old Carry was converted. One Sunday morning she was able to go with her father to Hickman's Mills in Jackson County not far from their home in Cass County. There was a protracted meeting at the Christian or Campbellite Church.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the sermon Carry began to weep. Her father spoke to the preacher who looked in her direction, and she felt impelled to move forward to the "mourners' bench". The next day she was baptized in a running stream of ice-cold water. She wrote of her baptism:

It seemed like a dream. I know God will bless the ordinance of baptism, for the little Carry that walked into the water was different from the one who walked out. I said no word. I felt that I could not speak, for fear of disturbing the peace that passeth all understanding. Kind hands wrapped

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> Asbury writes that Carry Nation's maternal grandfather was a relative of Alexander Campbell who founded the church, op. cit., p. 8.

me up and I felt no chill. I felt the responsibility of my new relation and tried hard to do right.<sup>1</sup>

Carry was a semi-invalid until she was almost sixteen. Her father sent her to a Mrs. Tillery's Boarding School in Independence, Missouri, but her poor health handicapped her and she was not able to stay long. Soon after she was fifteen the Civil War broke out and her father moved to Texas. There were no railroads and the family went in the carriage while the slaves drove along in wagons. They stopped in Grayson County in the northeastern part of Texas and bought a farm. They were six weeks on the road, and typhoid fever spread through the white people and slaves. The following spring Mr. Moore started back to Missouri with his family; he had freed his slaves and they remained in Texas. The winter in the warm climate had completely restored Carry's health which was the only good fortune the move brought to the family.

The carriage had to be sold and the family returned in a wagon with few household goods left, as most of them had been given away while passing through the war zone. Upon their return to Missouri, they were commanded along with other families to move to Kansas City. The housework now fell on Carry as they no longer had their slaves, and her mother's condition had been aggravated by their move and

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 48.

the war.<sup>1</sup>

The young Carry became most eager for an education and did attend a private school in Liberty, Missouri, for a short time. The financial condition of the family, however, made it impossible for her to continue, and she had to return home to care for the house and the family.

Overburdened by the many household tasks, Carry sought consolation in the Scriptures. She did not always find solace in them, however, as this was a time of doubt. She kept her qualms to herself and read the Scriptures more assiduously than ever. It was during this time that she almost became ensnared by Spiritualism, but a book found by her in the attic exposed their tricks.<sup>2</sup>

Carry Nation in her autobiography asserts that she was a "great lover".<sup>3</sup> The reader is somewhat surprised and shocked as her priggish ideas and her evident lack of suitors belie her statement. Mr. Asbury interprets her statement as follows:

It is quite likely that she either employed the word "love" solely in a Biblical sense, or that her assertions, with their vague suggestions of moral irregularity, were bragg-

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury states that the loss of her carriage made her believe that she had had to abdicate her throne, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 54-55.

desire, and a part of the defense mechanism of a life singularly devoid of requited affection.<sup>1</sup>

Her only sweetheart was her first husband. In 1865 Dr. Charles Gloyd came to Belton, Missouri, from Newport, Ohio, where his father was a Justice of the Peace. His intention was to teach until he found a suitable place to practice medicine. Mr. Moore helped him to get a school near Belton and he boarded with the family.

At first Carry considered him only as an added burden to her many duties as a housekeeper, but she soon became aware of his superior education. His knowledge of several languages caused her to stand in awe of him. This feeling later turned to love when he astonished her one evening by stroking her hand and kissing her. Having never before experienced such actions she believed herself ruined, but he declared his intentions to be honorable and she began to love him.

Her mother and father opposed the match because he was addicted to drinking. Her mother was particularly opposed to him because she had planned another match for her daughter.<sup>2</sup> Carry, however, was determined to marry him and disregarded her parents wishes. He soon moved to Holden where he began his practice of medicine and sent for his

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 62.

mother and father.

Two years later they were married on the 21st day of November, 1867. The day was a gloomy one and seemed to forebode their unhappy life together. The bridegroom had been drinking a little too heavily when he came to the wedding, and he continued it until his death less than two years later.

Carry was disappointed in not finding him the devoted lover she had expected. She was very unhappy because of his drinking, but was helpless to stop him. He was gone from home much of the time, and his favorite retreat was in the Masonic Lodge rooms where he drank with his fellow Masons and where he could hide from his wife who soon began to go scurrying through the streets searching for him.

One of the commonly believed myths circulated by Carry Nation's detractors is that she drove him to drink. This is untrue, as he had learned to drink during the Civil War in which he served as a Captain of the 118th Ohio Volunteers.<sup>1</sup>

The knowledge that she was to bear a child increased her worries, and she began to sit at home and brood. Out of this brooding was born her implacable hate for the Masons

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

and alcohol.<sup>1</sup>

By summer the knowledge of her poverty and comparative desertion, brought about by Dr. Gloyd's prolonged spree, reached her father. He drove over from Belton and took his daughter home with him. She protested, as she still loved her husband dearly, but she realized that she would soon be more helpless than ever. Upon her return Mrs. Moore was determined to make the separation final. Carry continued to write to her husband and he came to see her once, but her mother treated him as a stranger and would not even let them visit alone.

Six weeks after the birth of Charljen in September, Carry once more drove back to Holden. Her brother went with her to get her trunk and she promised her mother to return with him. Dr. Gloyd begged her to stay, promising to reform, and predicting that he would die in six months if she left. She went back with her brother much against her desire, but she recognized that her mother offered her the only support she could rely upon. In about six months she had a telegram telling of the death of her husband because of delirium tremens.

Dr. Gloyd's death left his mother alone, as his father had died a few months before. Upon learning of her husband's

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<sup>1</sup>Equal to her hatred of tobacco and alcohol was the hatred of Masonry. Evidence of it is to be found in her book and her actions.

death Carry determined to go to Mrs. Gloyd and support her. She writes in her autobiography that at this time she did not love her New England mother-in-law, but her one desire was to be near her husband's mother and to take his place. Carry now undertook her first Herculean task--that of supporting herself, her child, and her mother-in-law. The kindness she showed to Mrs. Gloyd was most admirable for she never referred to them as helping her.

To finance the venture, she sold some lots her father had given her, Dr. Gloyd's library and instruments, and rented their larger home, while she had a three room house built for themselves. The income was insufficient, and so she went to Warrensburg to attend the Normal Institute there. She was able to obtain a certificate and taught the primary grade at Holden for four years. Carry was secure in her place until a Dr. Moore objected to the way she had the children read. She was dismissed, and it was rather significant that Dr. Moore's neice was her successor.

Deprived of her sole means of support, marriage seemed the only way open to her. To this end she prayed that the Lord send her a husband as she had none picked out. Shortly after this David Nation, editor of The Warrensburg Journal, was in Holden on business. While passing him he spoke to her, and Carry was assured by the peculiar thrill which passed between them that he was the answer to her prayer.

The following day she received a letter from him, and after six weeks they were married. Her friends tried to discourage the match, as Mr. Nation was nineteen years older than she and had a large family by a former marriage. At this time, however, David Nation was quite good-looking, and a well-informed and successful lawyer. He was also a minister in the Christian Church.

Their married life was very unhappy. David Nation deceived his wife in many ways, and they found few interests in common. Carry Nation writes that their most serious difficulties arose over Christianity. Her combative nature was developed, she believed, through her life with him, for she writes, "I had to fight for everything I kept."<sup>1</sup>

Two years after their marriage in 1879 they exchanged their mutual properties for seventeen hundred acres of land on the San Bernard River in Texas. Taking a car load of furniture and some live stock, Carry Nation again set out for Texas. Her second Texas venture proved no more successful than her first. Part of their land was in cotton, the cultivation of which they knew little and their plows were thrown into the river by a "bad neighbor".<sup>2</sup> Their horses

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<sup>1</sup> Nation, op. cit., p. 70. Mr. Leahy also refers to this in an interview, April 25, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Nation, op. cit., p. 71. Asbury attributes the loss to a quarrel and paints an even darker picture, op. cit., p. 37.

died, and soon their money was gone. David Nation went to the county seat to practice law, leaving Carry alone to manage the crop. With the help of a neighbor and some negroes, they were able to get it picked, but there was no way to get it to market.<sup>1</sup> The negroes were paid in bedding, and with all their money gone the family faced starvation. During part of this time Carry was seriously ill with chills and fever. Their provisions of corn meal and sweet potatoes were low, and without the timely aid of a kind neighbor, they would have starved.

Soon the owners of the Columbia Hotel, a ramshackle place over-run with vermin, were without a tenant. Carry Nation had spoken for it before, so now they sent for her.<sup>2</sup> She moved her family to Columbia, a small town some fifty miles from Houston, and there she started in the hotel business. Lacking funds she had to manage it on a very slim margin. By dint of extremely hard work Carry Nation was able to keep her venture going, but made almost no headway financially. Not only was she manager, but cook and laund-

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury gives an even more bleak account of the move, making it seem as if Carry Nation happened onto the hotel by chance, having come to town to help her husband.

ress for all the guests who stopped with her. She writes that, with the exception of Mr. Nation, who was still pursuing his will-o'-the-wisp law practice with no better success, the family for several months ate the scraps that were left on the plates of the boarders.<sup>1</sup>

Overburdened by work, Carry's mind became subject to the "periods of distraction and utter gloominess"<sup>2</sup> of her invalid girlhood. During this time she would often be unable to recall important transactions, names of familiar places and people and even her own name.

Meanwhile Charlien became very ill with typhoid fever. Upon convalescing she refused to have the Bible read to her, and although she owned a belief in God, her mother thought her soul damned unless she repented. She wrote: "This my only child was peculiar. She was the result of a drunken father and a distracted mother."<sup>3</sup>

Carry Nation began to pray God to save her daughter's soul, even through affliction if necessary. Soon her petition was answered. An erosive sore came on the child's cheek and finally ate the flesh away exposing the jawbone. The wound healed but left a hole the size of a quarter, and

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 76. Also Asbury, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 75.

the jaws were locked together and remained closed for eight years.<sup>1</sup> As soon as Carry Nation could afford it she took her child to a doctor at Galveston who closed the hole in her cheek but could do nothing to open her jaws. Successive operations at San Antonio and consultations with doctors in New York accomplished nothing, until they found one in Philadelphia who performed a successful operation. It was believed that part of her jawbone had been removed in San Antonio, but the surgeon at Philadelphia assured them that no jawbone had ever been removed. When Carry Nation saw her daughter chewing and felt her jaws she exclaimed: "Well, this is just like God; he has not only opened your mouth, but has given you a new jawbone."<sup>2</sup>

About 1881, during this trying period, the family had moved to Richmond where Mrs. Nation continued in the hotel business. Here they were a little more prosperous, but still Carry Nation had little time to devote to religion. Mr. Nation's daughter, Lola, soon married, as did Charlien, and both girls lived at the hotel with their husbands.<sup>3</sup> Besides the increased family there was Mrs. Gloyd who was now very old and a constant care.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 76

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 80. Carry Nation had prayed earnestly for years for her child's cure. She states other evidence as answers to her prayers in finding her railroad ticket.

<sup>3</sup> Charlien married Alexander McNabb of Richmond, Texas.

It was in 1884 during a Methodist conference held in Richmond that Carry Nation received what she believed to be the "baptism of the Holy Ghost".<sup>1</sup> During the sermon she had the impression of an angel talking and of the church ascending to heaven, and felt her "natural heart expanding to an enormous size".<sup>2</sup> No one else had a similar impression so Carry Nation believed herself especially consecrated to God and determined that henceforth she would devote her time and efforts in God's service. (Mr. Nation in his petition for a divorce stated that she had been a good wife up to this year.) People began to consider her crazy on the subject of religion, and she would often begin her conversations with people by asking: "Do you love God?"<sup>3</sup>

Not only did her experience and consequent change of life make her a less dutiful wife, but a less dutiful Sunday School teacher as well. After her "baptism" she was requested to give up her Sunday School class at the Methodist Church, and changed to the Episcopal where she pleased no better. Undaunted she organized a Mission school in her hotel dining-room on Sunday afternoons. She had between thirty and forty pupils, and was able to purchase necessary

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

supplies from their donations.<sup>1</sup>

The visions which had flitted through her mind while a sickly child began to come again. Now they were very vivid and she felt able to interpret them. At one time she believed she was warned of a fire which swept the town, but spared her hotel. After a long drougth she with some others prayed for rain and had their prayer answered. These are among the many instances Carry Nation gives as evidence of her fuller spiritual life after her "baptism".

Due to some difficulties with one of the political factions in the town, David Nation's life was threatened, and it became necessary to leave Richmond. He went to Kansas where he had a brother. Good fortune followed him and he was chosen pastor of the Christian Church of Medicine Lodge in Barber County. They traded the hotel for property in Medicine Lodge and moved there about 1890. Mrs. Nation left Charlien and Lola Nation with their husbands in Texas, as well as old Mrs. Gloyd, who died a year later.

Carry Nation's life in Kansas was not filled with the hard physical labor she had endured in Texas, but she was soon destined to embark upon her hardest task.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

## CHAPTER II

### CARRY NATION COMES TO KANSAS

Carry Nation was very happy with the move to Kansas. For the first time in many years she was relieved from the hard physical labor and the many responsibilities of managing the hotel. When the year was out, Mr. Nation left Medicine Lodge to take charge of the church at Holton, Kansas, in the northeastern part of the State.

Mrs. Nation drove to Holton in their horse and buggy in order to save the expense of shipping them. The journey was over three hundred miles<sup>1</sup> and for a woman to attempt such a trip showed no little courage.<sup>2</sup> So pleased was David Nation with his wife's accomplishment that he gave her the horse and buggy.

Their stay in Holton was not a long one. Carry Nation was convinced that her husband did not belong in the ministry, for she believed that he had never been a converted man. It is said that she undertook the task of super-

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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Nation in her autobiography (p. 96) states that the distance was about 400 miles, but the present maps show that it would be about 300 miles.

<sup>2</sup>There was a young girl who accompanied her part way, Nation, op. cit., p. 96.

vising his ministerial efforts.<sup>1</sup> However this may be, he was found unsatisfactory, and the Nations returned to Medicine Lodge before the year was ended. Mrs. Nation drove the horse and buggy back again and she records that she enjoyed her trip very much. Mr. Nation never again took charge of a church, but resumed his practice of law.

Carry Nation had joined the Christian or Campbellite Church in Medicine Lodge, but she was in constant friction with the minister and the elders. The minister rebuked her for her unsound faith when she testified that she had received the "baptism of the Holy Ghost". She in her turn rebuked the preacher for his companionship with a druggist whom she believed to be selling liquor as well as being an infidel.

Freed from the arduous physical duties which had so enslaved her in Texas, she turned more resolutely to religion. The visions which had come to her in Richmond continued. At one time she relates that she felt the Savior's presence for three days.<sup>2</sup> Another time she was haunted for several months with a sensation of hanging over a precipice

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury tells the story of Carry Nation's supervision at Holton, op. cit., pp. 54-55. T. A. McNeal tells much the same story only places the setting at Medicine Lodge, When Kansas Was Young, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. 214-15.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 114.

from which at last she was freed. Her loudly voices praises annoyed her fellow-worshippers, and she was persuaded to refrain only to receive divine punishment. Later, however, she was reinstated in grace. Such experiences made other members look upon her with some suspicion; a few even thought that she was crazy.

Being unpopular with the church people she sought more solace in religion, and came to look with contempt upon any display of wealth either in dress or house furnishings. She became the champion of the poor. As such she did much real good, and for her kindness she is remembered in Medicine Lodge today.<sup>1</sup> She solicited both food and clothing for the needy. Her efforts supplied many children with clothes which made it possible for them to attend school.<sup>2</sup> At Thanksgiving and Christmas her home was thrown open to the poor, and she was known throughout the community as "Mother Nation."

Not only was she solicitous of the physical wants of the less fortunate, but she attended to their spiritual needs as well. One woman whom Carry Nation induced to join the church was later expelled from membership, the minister accusing her of "living in open adultery". Mrs. Nation

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<sup>1</sup>Correspondence with ten residents of Medicine Lodge who knew her personally confirm this statement.

<sup>2</sup>In her book Mrs. Nation states that Mr. C. Q. Chandler who was living then in Medicine Lodge was one to whom she never turned for help in vain, op. cit., p. 123.

promptly rose to her defense reminding the congregation that they had never in her two years of membership called upon her or made her welcome in any way, and now they were planning to expel her upon this false accusation. The minister commanded her to sit down, and when she continued her tirade the minister left his pulpit to eject her himself. His efforts were unsuccessful, and that afternoon the elders met and "withdrew fellowship" from Sister Nation as she was a "'Stumbling block" and a disturber of the peace".<sup>1</sup> Much as she grieved at being denied membership in the church to which her mother, father, brothers and sisters belonged, she did not let it deter her from attending the services.<sup>2</sup>

Hating whisky as she did, Carry Nation looked forward no doubt to residing in Kansas where the great revolt against the evils of intemperance evidenced between the years of 1875-1885 had culminated in an amendment to its constitution. This amendment, signed by Governor John P. St. John, May 1, 1881, forever prohibited the sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors in the state except for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes. Seemingly the temperance victory was complete, but actual enforcement was difficult. About four hundred of the twelve hundred

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Later her religion embraced the sign of the Cross and fasting.

saloons then operating remained to fight the law,<sup>1</sup> and these were located in a score of towns controlled by liquor sympathizers. The "lean days of the nineties"<sup>2</sup> strengthened the anti-prohibition forces as the business men were assessed heavy taxes which were considerably lightened by countenancing the system of "high license". In such a practice the saloon owners were haled into court once a months and a regular fine was imposed ranging from twenty-five to fifty dollars.<sup>3</sup>

At this period the saloons were popularly called "joints" and the owners were given the name of "jointists". In the smaller towns they were operated in the rear room of a place ostensibly carrying on a legitimate business such as a restaurant or pool hall.<sup>4</sup> Many of the larger towns had saloons which ran as openly as those in states with no prohibitory amendment.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This statement was made by Justice Dawson, Judge of the Supreme Court, A. B. Macdonald, "Booze in Kansas", The Kansas City Star, April 14, 1929.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Moreau Hager, "Kansas Prohibition Status" in the Independent, VII (February 21, 1901), p. 430.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 430. Asbury, however, gives the fines as ranging from \$25-\$100, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>4</sup>Description of the "joints" may be found in Asbury, op. cit., p. 95, and Nation, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>5</sup>The Carey Hotel in Wichita was an example of this type.

While Kansas had "prohibition in theory and local option in practice"<sup>1</sup>, the temperance people were handicapped by the officers of the law who refused to do their duty, and the juries who refused to convice the few offenders who were tried. The papers also supported the joints and money sent in by the breweries helped to further their cause through bribes. For almost ten years resubmission of the amendment had been agitated and the saloon element were anxious to encourage violations to make prohibition appear a failure.

Because of her interest in prohibition, despite its difficult enforcement, Carry Nation prevailed on Mrs. Wesley Cain, wife of the pastor of the Baptist Church, to organize a chapter of the W. C. T. U. Mrs. Nation was made jail evangelist and later became county president.

While she was working as jail evangelist Carry Nation learned that intoxicating liquor was responsible for most of the persons being in jail.<sup>2</sup> She, therefore, began to harass the "dive-keepers",<sup>3</sup> although she recognized that

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<sup>1</sup>Hager, "Kansas Prohibition Status", in Independent, LIII, (February 21, 1901), p. 430.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup>"Dive" was another name applied to the saloon.

the city officials were as much at fault as they.<sup>1</sup>

Mart Strong had one of the most notorious of the joints then operating in Medicine Lodge. Several talks with Carry Nation had not changed his ways; so one Saturday afternoon, seeing a number of people going in, Mrs. Nation decided that she would enter also.<sup>2</sup> She had proceeded no farther than the front room when Mart seized her by the shoulders and said: "Get out of here, you crazy woman."<sup>3</sup> Pushed out to the sidewalk she continued to sing the temperance song which she had begun when she entered.<sup>4</sup>

Who hath sorrow? Who hath woe?  
They who dare not answer no;  
They whose feet to sin incline,  
While they tarry at the wine.

Chorus:

They who tarry at the wine cup,  
They who tarry at the wine cup,  
They who tarry at the wine cup,  
They have sorrow they have woe.

James Gano, the town constable, was standing in the crowd and gave voice to a desire which was destined to be felt by many public officials the next few years: "I wish

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<sup>1</sup>That part of the blame should be placed on the officials was an opinion held by many, Nation, op. cit., p. 103, and Review of Reviews, XXIII, (March 1901), p. 260.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury gives the date as the late summer of 1899, op. cit., p. 64. His account, however, is most dramatic and spectacular. The author has been unable to verify the story of the hand organ.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 103-4. This song has four more verses.

I could take you off the streets."<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Nation turned on him saying: "Yes, you want to take me, a woman, whose heart is breaking to see the ruin of these men, the desolate homes and broken laws, and you a constable, oath-bound to close this man's unlawful business."<sup>2</sup>

The Mayor and councilmen upon hearing of the incident ordered Mart Strong to close his business. He left the next day, thus bringing to an end one of the worst places in the town.

Henry Durst's joint was the next to be closed on account of Mrs. Nation's efforts. Soon after Mart Strong closed his place a woman by the name of Mrs. Elliott came to Carry Nation with a pitiful story about her drunken husband, who was patronizing the Durst bar.<sup>3</sup> This time, in place of trying to force an entrance, she fell to her knees in front of the saloon, pouring out the woman's story to God and those townspeople who were passing by. Mrs. Elliott joined in the prayer and Henry Durst was warned "that hell was his portion if he did not change".<sup>4</sup> The man took heed and moved out of the state.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

Hank O'Bryan closed his saloon after Mrs. Nation had paid him a visit upon her return from prayer-meeting one night. She persuaded one of his customers to let her enter a back room. There she found another patron and a bottle of beer. After tasting the contents of the bottle to prove her contention that it was beer and not "hop tea", she made the two miscreants kneel with her and pray.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. O. L. Day's drug store was the next place to feel the brunt of Carry Nation's prohibition zeal. The druggist was suspected of selling liquor without a permit, and on February 16, 1900,<sup>2</sup> word came to Mrs. Nation that he had just received a new supply. She relayed the news to Mrs. Cain who called a meeting of the W. C. T. U. After much discussion the women decided to investigate and two of their members were chosen. There was some friction in the meeting. One of the women declined to cooperate if Carry Nation participated for she was considered something of a fanatic.<sup>3</sup> In the end it was decided that Mrs. Runyan and Mrs. A. L. Noble should go first and investigate. Mrs. Runyan, however, asked that Mrs. Nation take her place, which the latter

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<sup>1</sup>Carry Nation records with much satisfaction that these two men later gave up drinking and pursued useful and prosperous lives, while Durst was later reduced to poverty,

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Nation states the date was February sixteenth, op. cit., p. 113, and Asbury gives the year as being 1900 which is probably correct, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

was only too glad to do.

Mr. Day was described by Carry Nation as being "a gentleman by nature" whose one fault was alcoholism. Being a gentleman he allowed the women to inspect his back room without dispute. They were not long in discovering a ten gallon keg behind his prescription case. When this had been rolled out Mrs. Nation exclaimed to the rest of the women who had come in: "Women this is the whisky!"<sup>1</sup>

Both the drug clerk and James Gano, the constable, seized the keg to turn it out of Carry Nation's hands. The women, however, succeeded in pulling the men away while Mrs. Cain was repeating: "Don't anyone touch these women. They are right. They are Christian women, trying to save the boys of our state."<sup>2</sup>

Carry Nation called for a hatchet from the hardware store.<sup>3</sup> The proprietor<sup>4</sup> refused to lend one, and Mrs. Noble obtained a sledge hammer from the blacksmith shop. She struck the keg and the whisky flew into the air, and after saving some for evidence the women poured it into the gutter and set it on fire.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>3</sup>This is the first record which the author has found of Mrs. Nation desiring to use a hatchet in her smashings until the Wichita raid of January 21, 1901.

<sup>4</sup>Mrs. Nation says: "He also was drinking too much.", op. cit., p. 112.

Mr. Day had already made application for a permit to sell liquor. The W. C. T. U. bitterly contested the application and soon the case was brought up before the county court. The members attended the hearing in a body. When it was proven that the contents of the keg which was destroyed was a poor quality of whisky in place of the California Brandy as the druggist had claimed, his case was dismissed. He was so humbled, in fact, that he sold out and left Medicine Lodge in a month.

This episode freed Medicine Lodge of the last of its joints. In retaliation the "republican rum element"<sup>1</sup> attacked both Mrs. Cain's and Mrs. Nation's houses one night, breaking some of the windows and Mrs. Nation's buggy. Before the hearing they threatened to burn the Nation house if the women continued their opposition to Mr. Day. To this threat Carry Nation replied that "such men as these will not prevent me from doing my duty, besides should my home be burned, it would be a lecture in favor of my cause that would be worth more to me than the home."<sup>2</sup>

Continuing her work as jail evangelist, Carry Nation found quite as many persons in jail on account of liquor as before Medicine Lodge was purged of its saloons.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>3</sup>Asbury tells of the predominance of bootleggers, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

averred that they were getting their drinks in Kiowa, a small town close to the Oklahoma border. Mrs. Nation took the matter up with Sam Griffen, the County Attorney, but to no avail. Later in the spring she went to Kiowa herself and inspected its dives bringing back evidence which she desired the County Attorney to use in prosecuting these law breakers. When he refused to do his duty, Mr. A. A. Goddard, the State Attorney General at Topeka, was informed of the situation. Getting no result from him, she appealed to Governor Stanley, but in vain. All the officials it seemed were quite willing to allow the saloons of Barber County to run unmolested.<sup>1</sup>

Finding her appeals to earthly powers useless, Carry Nation sought conciliation in prayer, fasting, and Scripture reading. Becoming discouraged she made a particularly impassioned plea on the evening of May 30, 1900,<sup>2</sup> asking that she might become the unworthy tool of the Lord in saving the homes of Barber County. The next morning she was awakened by a musical voice murmuring the words:<sup>3</sup> "Go to Kiowa", and in a more positive tone, "I'll stand by you". At the same

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<sup>1</sup>The officials' attitude may be found in Nation, op. cit., p. 127, and Asbury, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

<sup>2</sup>Both Mrs. Nation and Mr. Asbury give the date of the smashing as June 6, but the account in The Barber County Index for June 7, 1900, indicates that the date would be May 31, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Nation, op. cit., p. 130.

time the inspiration came: "Take something in your hands, and throw at these places in Kiowa and smash them."

In the morning while completing her many household tasks, Carry Nation picked up brick bats and rocks in her back yard. These she hid in her kitchen apron until she got to the house where she wrapped them in newspapers. By the middle of the afternoon she had a considerable pile which she put into her buggy and began her journey to Kiowa. She had scarcely driven beyond the outskirts of town when she beheld a group of demons in the middle of the road who were making gestures as if to stop her. Upon an earnest prayer the diabolical creatures fled from the road.<sup>1</sup>

About sundown she had reached a friend's house nearly half way to Kiowa. Uncertain as to whether to proceed or spend the night with her friend she found her answer by prayer and went on to Kiowa arriving there about eight-thirty that evening. She spent the night at the home of a friend and the next morning she drove to Mr. Dobson's place of business. With her "smashers" in the crook of her left arm, she accosted Mr. Dobson at the counter saying: "Mr. Dobson, I told you last spring to close this place, you did not do it, now I have come down with another remonstrance, get out of the way, I do not want to strike you, but I am

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

going to break this place up."<sup>1</sup> This she proceeded to do with much dispatch, smashing bottles, glasses and mirrors with her rocks. She relates that she felt "invincible" and that her "strength was that of a giant".<sup>2</sup> The windows of the buildings were smashed to show that their owners were also responsible for the unlawful business.

While she was wrecking the saloon she had a "vision" of McKinley falling from a chair. This vision she interpreted as meaning that she had struck a blow at the head of the nation--the government.<sup>3</sup>

Before Kiowa fully realized what had happened, Carry Nation wrecked three of its saloons.<sup>4</sup> The news quickly spread and a large crowd had gathered in the street when she emerged triumphant from the Bill Lewis place. She addressed the crowd as follows:<sup>5</sup>

I have destroyed three of your places of business, and if I have broken a statute of Kansas, put me in jail; if I am not a law-breaker your mayor and councilmen are. You must arrest one of us, for if I am not a criminal, they are.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 133-34. Mr. Dobson's brother was county sheriff at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> In the account in The Barber County Index for June 6, 1900, four saloons are listed as being "visited", while Mrs. Nation gives the number as three, op. cit., p. 135. Asbury gives the number as three also, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Nation, op. cit., p. 135.

Finishing her speech she climbed in her buggy and would have gone home but the marshal held her horse while the mayor demanded that she pay for the broken windows. She refused and after much consultation they allowed her to proceed. As Carry Nation drove through the streets she stood up in the buggy twice and shouted: "Peace on earth, good will to men."

The news had been telegraphed ahead of her, and when she reached Medicine Lodge the whole town was agog. Mrs. Nation spoke later<sup>1</sup> from the postoffice corner telling the people of the conditions and of her unsuccessful efforts to arouse the officials to action. The people were so stirred that public opinion forced the officers to action. A number of jointists were arrested and taken before Mose E. Wright, a prohibition judge, and were found guilty.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the W. C. T. U. heartily approved of Carry Nation's unique method as it had brought the most gratifying results in effectively closing the joints of Barber County.<sup>3</sup> The state officers of the organization, however, were quite willing that Carry Nation should have all the credit for the smashing. Mrs. Hutchinson, state president, went to Mrs.

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<sup>1</sup>In his suit for slander filed June 14, 1900, Mr. Griffen gives the date as June 2, 1900, The Barber County Index, June 20, 1900.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>3</sup>Letters from ten Medicine Lodge residents who knew her at that time give the general reaction to her smashing.

Nation and asked her to tell the convention (held a few weeks after her Kiowa raid) that the W. C. T. U. were not responsible for the smashing. Her statement was characteristic: ". . . the honor of smashing the saloons at Kiowa [will] have to be ascribed to me alone, as the W. C. T. U. do not wish any of it."<sup>1</sup> She finished by expressing her admiration and friendship for Mrs. Hutchinson, but added that she was handicapped by her husband's political appointment.<sup>2</sup>

In her autobiography Carry Nation says that she did not tell of her divine guidance in the Kiowa raid "for I tried to shield myself from the almost universal opinion that I was partially insane".<sup>3</sup> She adds significantly that few seemed to see the merit of the crusade.

Meanwhile Mr. Griffen brought suit for slander against Mrs. Nation because she had publicly accused him of taking bribes as well as drinking and gambling in the Kiowa dives. At the trial about the second week in October<sup>4</sup> Carry Nation was found guilty and fined one dollar and costs.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>2</sup>Her husband was the physician in the State Reformatory.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>4</sup>Mrs. Nation speaks of her trial as coming early in December, but record of it in The Barber County Index, October 17, 1900, indicates that it was about October 10th.

<sup>5</sup>Mrs. Nation states that her trial was grossly unfair. The account of it in The Barber County Index tells that much of her defense testimony was thrown out.

The dollar was paid to Mr. Griffen but the costs amounting to about two hundred dollars were placed as a judgment against her property and were later paid off by the sale of her little hatchets and lectures.

Thus began Carry Nation's saloon smashings and legal trials which were destined to make her famous and bring far-reaching results.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ANTI-SALOON CRUSADE IN WICHITA

Wichita was one of a score of towns located throughout Kansas which refused to comply with the law and abolish the saloons. Situated as it is in the south central part of the state it was an ideal distributing point for southwestern Kansas and Oklahoma Territory. There were approximately forty saloons and five wholesale houses operating more or less openly.<sup>1</sup> The saloons were managed under the system of "high license", and they were so very remunerative that in general the public sentiment was against prohibition. According to Mr. David Leahy about seventy-five percent of the people were advocates of the saloons, perhaps fifteen percent were indifferent, and the remainder were active temperance workers.<sup>2</sup> The fines from the saloons, gambling houses and a "number of other houses of ill fame" amounted yearly to over thirty-one thousand dollars.<sup>3</sup> As a result

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<sup>1</sup>The exact figures are difficult to determine, but these numbers are found in Reverend Lucy D. Wilhoite, The Hatchet Crusade, Upland, California: 1928, p. 13. Nearly the same figures are given by Asbury, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with David Leahy, Wichita, Kansas, April 25, 1929.

<sup>3</sup>These figures were given by Reverend Bruce Griffith, The Wichita Beacon, February 18, 1901, p. 1.

people were loath to increase their taxes by abolishing the high license fee; since they believed that more strict enforcement of the law would only result in "blind tigers", "blind pigs" and the drug store bootlegger who would defeat their prohibiting purpose and also deprive them of their revenue.

For some years the temperance organizations had been concentrating their efforts on Wichita. They realized that if they would be able to overthrow this liquor stronghold practically all of southern Kansas would be dry, at least until the breweries could make new wholesaling arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after she had been found guilty of slandering the county attorney, Carry Nation "resolved" that she would go to Wichita and "break up some of the bold outlawed murder-mills there".<sup>2</sup> The opportunity came late in December when Mr. Nation went to visit his brother in eastern Kansas. Carry Nation was not seeking notoriety by transferring her activities to a larger field.<sup>3</sup> Her mission was sincere and she firmly believed that perhaps it was God's will to sacrifice her as He had John Brown.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>3</sup>Asbury makes such an implication, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 142.

At the time she left Medicine Lodge, Mrs Nation was fifty-four years old. In spite of the fact that she appeared rather dumpy she was almost six feet tall and weighed nearly one hundred eighty pounds. Her nose was flat and thick, and her lips were thin, and tightly compressed, while her small black eyes were set beneath bushy brows. Her countenance was calm and motherly in repose, but when she was angry her face became distorted and her eyes blazed.

She wore . . . a black alpaca dress fastened by a row of dark pearl buttons extending up the left side from hem to yoke; a bow of white ribbon at her throat; heavy, square-toed shoes; . . . a black poke-bonnet with a silk ribbon tied under her chin; and a heavy cape of navy blue cloth, which was replaced in warm weather by a linen duster or a long crash coat<sup>1</sup>.

This costume was worn almost continually during her public career. The black dress was later discarded in favor of a similar one in white when she was lecturing.

Carry Nation arrived in Wichita on the evening of December 26, 1900. Before commencing her Wichita campaign she decided to visit several of the "murder-mills" to see where it would be best to begin.

After visiting about fourteen such places she came to the Carey Hotel Annex or Bar which was the "swell" saloon of the town. A painting called "Cleopatra at the Roman Bath"

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury has given an excellent picture of Mrs. Nation; he seems to have summarized the many descriptions found in the various newspapers at that time, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

had been given to the saloon by the artist, John Noble, in exchange for "unlimited credit" at the bar.<sup>1</sup> When Mrs. Nation saw this picture she informed the bartender, Ed Parker, that it was an insult to his mother and that he should "be behind prison bars instead of saloon bars".<sup>2</sup> Mr. Parker did not reply to these charges but merely walked to the back of the saloon, and Carry Nation left having fully decided which of the saloons most needed her efforts.

The following morning, armed with the cane and iron rod she had brought from home and some rocks picked up in an alley, and with her implements of destruction concealed by a very large cape, Mrs. Nation proceeded to the Carey Annex. There were few people in the barroom at this time of day and Ed Parker was peacefully reading the morning paper when Carry Nation walked in and without any words, threw two rocks at the picture, smashed the mirror behind the bar and with one sweep of her iron rod and cane swept the decanters from the bar. The few men there rushed out, and when Carry Nation had finished she calmly walked away. Detective Park Massey was found by the bar porter and took charge of

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<sup>1</sup>The opinion seemed to be general that the picture was loaned to the bar as it was unlawful for it to own such a picture, The Wichita Beacon, January 8, 1901. See also Charles B. Driscoll, "Kansas in Labor", The American Mercury, XVI (March, 1929), 344.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 144.

her. On their way to the police station, she lectured on temperance, addressing several verbal blows to her escort. At the station she talked for some time on the same subject to the officers and police clerk. The Chief of Police, Mr. G. T. Cubbon, treated her nicely, taking her into his private office to await developments.<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Beacon of December 28, 1900, quotes her as saying:

I find that something like I have done is necessary to arouse public indignation against the joints. I am a law abiding citizen and have not gone out of bounds of the law. My husband is a lawyer and he says they cannot prosecute me for this. I am a personal friend of Jerry Simpson. I hate Governor Stanley because he claims to be a temperance man yet allows the joints to run wide open.

It seems that she had not yet conceived her state-wide campaign for she denied such a plan to the Beacon reporter who described her as being a "large red-faced woman whose sole purpose is to run down liquor sellers".

City Marshal Schad served a warrant on her for "deliberate destruction of property" and took her to the county jail. At the police station she had dared them to put her in a cell, threatening if they did to sue the city for false imprisonment. In her autobiography she gives the impression that she was the victim of the Republicans, the Democrats and politics in general. She wrote:

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<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Eagle, December 28, 1901, p. 5, gives a very good account of the smashing.

The Legislature was to convene in a few days and it was understood that the question of resubmitting the Prohibition amendment should be submitted to the people. Being a part of the constitution, the people had to vote on it, and it was frustrating their plans to have such agitation at this time, and the Republican leaders were determined to make a quietus of me, if possible. The scheme was to get me in an insane asylum, and they wished to increase my insanity as they called my zeal, so as to have me out of their way for I was calling too much attention to their lawlessness at this time when it might prove disasterous to their plots.<sup>1</sup>

Her bravado deserted her upon being locked in jail, but not her spirit for she turned upon her jailers with the cry: "Never mind, you put me in here a cub, but I will get out a roaring lion and will make all hell howl."<sup>2</sup>

There is an interesting story of Carry Nation's sudden fame. Mr. Leahy was at that time telegraph editor of The Wichita Eagle, and realizing the story's value as "news" he tried to get it to the Associated Press, but with no luck as all wires were being held because of the approaching death of Queen Victoria.<sup>3</sup> At last Mr. Leahy resorted to subterfuge and getting permission for a story of fifteen words, he wired that Carry Nation had asked William Jennings Bryan and Jerry Simpson to defend her. This was true only in part for she had appealed to Jerry Simpson. The story,

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 46. Mr. David Leahy denied that they were trying to get her in an insane asylum in an interview on April 25, 1929.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>3</sup>Queen Victoria did not die until the last part of January.

nevertheless, "made" Carry Nation; the next morning editors were besieging Mr. Leahy by private wire for the story.<sup>1</sup>

The court room was crowded the next day to hear Carry Nation answer the charges of malicious destruction of property. There was an unusually large representation of W. C. T. U. members who seemed to be in sympathy with her.<sup>2</sup> Judge Kirk called the case. Mrs. Nation stated she was not ready for trial, naming two reasons; she objected that the complaint did not specify that she destroyed liquor and she wanted an attorney.<sup>3</sup> When the case was set for trial on Friday, she objected because of the Lord's Crucifixion. The date was then fixed for Saturday, January fifth. Sam Amidon appeared as attorney for the state. Mrs. Nation refused to give bail saying that she was perfectly willing to remain in jail "for the cause we women represent."<sup>4</sup>

A number of the W. C. T. U. members who were most friendly toward the smasher accompanied her back to jail. There she conducted a prayer meeting in which she was joined by the other women.

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<sup>1</sup>Many others have smashed saloons before and since but none received the prolonged publicity of Carry Nation.

<sup>2</sup>Interviews on March 13, 1930, with Miss Mary E. Dobbs, State Secretary of the W. C. T. U., and Mrs. H. L. Resing, member of the Wichita Chapter, disclosed that their organization was in sympathy with Mrs. Nation.

<sup>3</sup>She had changed her mind as she did not want one at first.

<sup>4</sup>The Wichita Eagle, December 29, 1900, p. 6.

Mrs. Isabel Brown, Vice-President of the local W. C. T. U. at that time, took a special interest in Mrs. Nation. It was she who procured the lawyers, Messrs. Ray and Keith, also Mr. W. S. Allen of Newton, as well as her husband, Mr. Brown, and requested in return that Mrs. Nation should do nothing without consulting her. This later led to a breach and Carry Nation accused her of intercepting letters, appropriating funds sent her, and in general being too meddlesome.<sup>1</sup>

In the meanwhile, David Nation came to his wife's aid but was able to do very little since she was in jail and likely to stay for some time as the jail had been quarantined for small-pox. Charles Driscoll cleverly explains that the jail was quarantined by a "jolly sheriff who thought ordinary imprisonment much too good for a woman who would wilfully waste good beer and smash lovely pictures".<sup>2</sup> Public sentiment was evidently behind him as the quarantine

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Leahy, Interview, April 25, 1929, states that Mrs. Brown was only trying to keep Carry Nation from the publicity which the latter sought. Ray and Keith were "scalawags" and only took the case for the money, while Mr. Brown was not a lawyer by profession. Mrs. Nation later realized that she was mistaken about Mrs. Brown and the revised edition of her autobiography contains no reference to this breach.

<sup>2</sup>Driscoll, op. cit., p. 344.

stuck in spite of its being an "imaginary" one.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Nation had, from her point of view, a very bad time in jail.<sup>2</sup> The prisoners seemed to have been grouped together and most of them were heavy smokers, encouraged, so Carry Nation said, by Sheriff Simmons, her jailer.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless she was correct in her surmise that she might have been more segregated,<sup>4</sup> but the statements which she made denying the possession of the ordinary necessities were probably exaggerated.

Just as exaggerated are her statements accusing The Wichita Eagle of being the "rum-bought sheet that has made Wichita one of the most lawless places in Kansas".<sup>5</sup> She calls its owners the "Murderous Murdochs" and goes on to quote statements made by them about her state of insanity.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>David Leahy applies the term "imaginary" in an interview, April 25, 1929. Mr. Cubbon frankly admits that: "There wasn't any small-pox there at all. That was just the way I kept her there." Interview, March 12, 1930.

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. H. L. Resing stated that Carry Nation was too old to stand the coarse food of the jail, and that she was not so well treated. Interview, March 13, 1930.

<sup>3</sup>Carry Nation had a particular distaste for tobacco, believing that it was poison to her, op. cit., p. 148

<sup>4</sup>An article in The Wichita Eagle, December 28, 1900, remarks upon the "improved moral conditions" of the city and the few people in jail.

<sup>5</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>6</sup>The author has read The Wichita Eagles of this period and was unable to find statements to substantiate this.

Confinement was most galling under the quarantine as she was not allowed visitors. Although her lawyers had procured her bond, she was unable to appear at the preliminary hearing on January fifth.<sup>1</sup> There waged a legal battle over habeas corpus proceedings and the quarantine, and having no success in the Wichita courts, Mr. W. S. Allen, attorney for the defense, presented his petition for a writ of habeas corpus before the Supreme Court at Topeka and it was granted. Money for her defense was supplied by individual donations.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Amidon appeared at Topeka on behalf of the county officials, and the decision was that the case must come before the city court by January 15, 1901, but if quarantine was still in effect, renewal of application might be made by January 16, 1901.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Her bond was signed by Mr. C. Q. Chandler whom she had known in Medicine Lodge. Judge Kirk refused to allow the prisoner to come in since the quarantine had been upheld by Judge Dale.

<sup>2</sup>According to Miss Mary E. Dobbs, the W. C. T. U. raised about four hundred dollars at various times, "but as individuals and not as an organization". The organization did not wish to put its stamp of approval on her activities, Interview, March 13, 1930. The Wichita Eagle, January 12, 1901, p. 6, states that some of the money came from "prominent men" in the East. The author, however, has found no other record of such a source.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Beacon, January 14, 1901, p. 5. The account is impartial and technical.

On January fifteenth, however, Mrs. Nation was duly fumigated and presented to the crowded court, even though the quarantine was not yet lifted. The trial was set for Monday at the request of the defense, and she was released on bail of two hundred dollars. Her jailer, Sheriff Simmons, expressed profound relief that she was free since so many people wanted to see her and it was "inconvenient to allow these persons in".<sup>1</sup>

There was much hand shaking and many congratulations by friends. Upon leaving the court room, she accompanied her husband to their lodging. Later she spoke at a W. C. T. U. meeting and attended prayer meeting. The following day she visited Mrs. Simmons, who made her home at the jail with her husband, to thank her for her kind treatment, and visited Judge Kirk to please the innocence of one of the prisoners.<sup>2</sup>

Three days later the new county attorney, James F. Conley, appeared before the court with a motion to dismiss the case. This, he maintained, was not because he could not secure a conviction, but because he firmly believed that: The mind of the defendant is very much impaired and that she is laboring under a delusion to such an extent that she is not responsible for her acts, and that a further confinement

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Beacon, January 15, 1901, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Carry Nation was most kind to the unfortunate ones in jail, and shared her money with them.

in jail, should she be convicted, would in no manner improve her weakened condition of mind.<sup>1</sup>

The impression seemed to be general that Carry Nation believed herself commissioned by God to destroy the saloons. The defense was much surprised that the dismissal of the case was accepted, for they were prepared to fight it to the Supreme Court. The act seemed to meet with general approval, and the people felt the incident was closed and that the crusader would go home.

Shortly after her release from jail, Mrs. Nation decided to attend Mass at the Cathedral. Father Tihen was officiating, and upon the arrival of Carry Nation, who walked to a prominent pew in the church, he became very nervous. Her activities, however, were confined to punctuating the sermon with loud amens. She afterwards confided to Father Tihen that she had come with the intention of smashing the window donated by Mr. Carey, owner of the hotel which harbored the "Hell hole".<sup>2</sup>

The Wichita Eagle office was another place visited upon her release. There she lectured Victor Murdock and David Leahy on the evils of tobacco, and spent two hours with the latter, reading clippings about her activities.

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Beacon, January 18, 1901, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>This story is substantiated by David Leahy, Mrs. Lula Carey Dowden, Interview, May 11, 1929, and Extension for January, 1929.

This publicity pleased her greatly.<sup>1</sup>

To Carry Nation the smashing of only one saloon in Wichita was far from satisfactory. At a W. C. T. U. meeting, where she was the honor guest, she urged every woman present to go with her and wipe out all the saloons in town. Only three women, Mrs. Lucy Wilhoite, Mrs. Julia Evans and Miss Lydia Muntz, were willing to accompany her.<sup>2</sup> They left the meeting amid the tears and entreaties of the others and proceeded to Mrs. Evans' apartment where they procured the weapons and had a short prayer.<sup>3</sup>

Between four thirty and five o'clock in the afternoon of January 21, 1901, four determined women were marching down the street. Mrs. Lucy Wilhoite carried a heavy stick, Miss Lydia Muntz a cane, Mrs. Julia Evans a large wrench, and Mrs. Nation was armed with a large hatchet.<sup>4</sup> They arrived at John Burns' place and began breaking the plate glass front. They climbed through the broken door and started smashing the furniture and fixtures in connection with the saloon. While the others were busy inside, Mrs. Wilhoite

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<sup>1</sup>This story is told by David Leahy himself, Interview, April 25, 1930.

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Evans and Miss Muntz had both suffered from the effect of drink on their homes.

<sup>3</sup>Wilhoite, op. cit., pp. 12-19.

<sup>4</sup>This is the first time that Carry Nation used a hatchet to smash a saloon.

was talking to the people outside. When they had finished, the women started east on Douglas. Coming to Herrig and Taylor's place of business and finding the door locked, they smashed the glass and rushed in to repeat the destruction. Here Mrs. Evans' hand was badly cut by the broken glass, but it did not hinder her work. After wrecking the front room, they tried to enter the barroom in the back, but they were unable to open the door. Carry Nation knocked out a panel of the door and found Herrig behind it armed with a gun. Undaunted she began talking to him, all the while trying to enter the room. Mr. Herrig, however, finally threatened to shoot and the threat so astounded the women that they left.<sup>1</sup>

Followed by the crowd they had attracted, these women started for the Carey Annex where they met Detective Harry Sutton and officers Pryor and Fox. Then began a fight. Carry Nation tried to use her hatchet and an unknown young man came to the women's aid. When the officers succeeded in getting the culprits to the police station, they were taken to Chief Cubbon's private office where he talked to them. The women were released upon their promise to do no more damage for twenty-four hours. During the time they were at the police station, the crusaders held a prayer meeting and song service before the officers and spectators in the room.

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<sup>1</sup>This was merely a bluff according to The Wichita Beacon, January 22, 1901, p. 1.

Mrs. Nation states in her book that "this was one of the glorious, heavenly and refreshing times".<sup>1</sup>

Upon their release, the women started east again on Douglas Avenue followed by a large crowd. Carry Nation climbed to the back of a dray wagon and made a speech, but she scarcely could be heard above the din of the crowd. Shaking her fist, she said, "This is the right arm of God and will be used to demolish such places."<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Wilhoite spoke after her leader, but she too could scarcely be heard. The other women had left, and later Mrs. Nation went to Mrs. Evans' rooms. This was evidently part of their plan for the others had preceded her there and the rooms were crowded. There were flowers and friendly congratulations. Mrs. Nation left for the Santa Fe depot where she joined Mr. Nation, who had been waiting for her all afternoon. They were planning to go north on the evening train, but when Carry Nation stepped up to the ticket window, Sheriff Simmons arrested her. Since Mr. Simmons could produce no warrant for her arrest, she resisted vigorously and gave him a resounding slap.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Beacon, January 21, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Peoria Journal, February 28, 1901. Account of story by Carry Nation herself whereby she explains she slapped the sheriff because he "made a motion to take my pocket book". The Wichita Eagle of January 24, 1901, represents her as apologizing to him, saying she only wanted to knock the devil out.

The other women were arrested at their homes with the exception of Miss Lydia Muntz, who evaded arrest for several days. Mrs. Nation and the others were released the next day on bonds of one thousand dollars each paid by W. R. Smith and W. R. Jones.<sup>1</sup> They were charged with "malicious destruction of property" for the wrecking of each saloon.<sup>2</sup> The people were all greatly excited and stayed on the streets until late that night.<sup>3</sup> Mr. John Burns capitalized on his wreckage by opening his door and selling drinks to a throng of persons curious to see the damage. The Beacon not only printed extras an hour after the smashing, but put the story on the front page with that of Queen Victoria's death.

Upon her release from jail, Carry Nation left Wichita to begin a state-wide campaign. She visited Enterprise, Hope and Topeka, and even went as far as Chicago on a lecture tour.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile in Wichita her attorneys were working hard to win her case. They filed a motion to quash and set aside the information, while Mr. Amidon, hired by County

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Cubbon states that Mr. Chandler backed Mr. Jones, Interview, March 12, 1930.

<sup>2</sup>The damage estimated by The Wichita Eagle of January 23, 1901, was six hundred dollars.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Beacon, January 22, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 81-84

Attorney Conley to assist him, made an additional charge of "malicious trespassing". Judge Dale handed down the decision that the raiders would be held responsible for destroying the saloon property; so the defense failed in their effort to quash the information.<sup>1</sup> The case was to be tried the ninth or tenth of March. About five days before that date, a motion of change of venue was made by Messrs. Ray and Keith wherein they declared Judge Dale was disqualified from presiding because of prejudice and cited the history of the trial to prove their point.<sup>2</sup> The petition also stated that the four women would demand a joint trial. Judge Dale, however, denied the charge, intimating that the counsel for the defense was seeking notoriety and stated that he was unprejudiced.<sup>3</sup>

The date of the trial was set for March eighth and the morning was spent in selecting the jury. The twelve men chosen were mostly farmers living outside the city. Carry Nation's absence was most conspicuous.<sup>4</sup> The charge

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<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Beacon, February 20, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Court Records, #21459.

<sup>3</sup> Court Records, #21459. Also The Wichita Beacon, March 7, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Failure to appear was not serious unless she was found guilty whereupon she forfeited her bond. She was being held in the Topeka jail without bond at this time.

of malicious destruction of property belonging to John Herrig and his two daughters was brought against the four women.<sup>1</sup> The debatable points were the interpretation of the words "window" and "malicious".<sup>2</sup> In questioning every witness for the state, the defense tried to make them use the words "saloon" or "joint" but with no success as the attorneys for the state always objected and their objections were sustained. Although Mr. Herrig's brother testified to seeing a large number of bottles broken and their contents poured out, he professed absolute ignorance as to the nature of the liquid. Much of the testimony for the defense was ruled out and most of the objections of the state were sustained; consequently the counsel for the defense was hampered in getting its testimony before the jury.<sup>3</sup> Ray, in summing up the case, stated that the women had a right to abolish a public nuisance. Judge Dale gave his instructions to the jury on March tenth, and two days later, the jury was dismissed as they could not reach a verdict, standing seven to five for guilty. The case was carried over to the May term.

The politics connected with the spring elections felt

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Burns did not appear against the women or bring suit.

<sup>2</sup>The defense claimed it a "front" and the women had no malice in the act.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Eagle, March 9, 1901, p. 6.

the newly aroused interest in prohibition perhaps most of all. With two exceptions the preachers were strongly in favor of Carry Nation's work, while not endorsing her method.<sup>1</sup> The temperance workers were at a high point of excitement, although the W. C. T. U. did not officially recognize Carry Nation's methods. The business men were organizing the opposition. The news of the progress of these organizations occupied a prominent place in The Wichita Beacon during the few weeks preceding the election. The prohibition sentiment was so strong, working as it did through the churches, that a general order was issued by Chief Cubbon putting the following rules into effect:<sup>2</sup>

1. All places where intoxicating liquors are sold as a beverage must close at 12 P.M. and not open until 6 P.M. and be closed on Sunday.
2. No liquors may be sold to minors, persons intoxicated or habitual drunkards.
3. All above mentioned persons must be kept out of such places.
4. There shall be no gambling games nor loafing, and chairs, tables and any device for seating purposes shall be excluded.
5. No signs nor bottles of anything which might advertise the liquor business may be used.
6. All free lunches are prohibited.
7. Any drug store, grocery, etc. selling liquors must comply with these laws.

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 18, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 19, 1901, p. 5.

8. All officers must notify owners of these laws.

9. All officers shall prevent all lawlessness, violence and destruction of property and all attempts to enforce the laws or regulate affairs of the city by force, mobs, or violence or in any way except by regular forms of law and government and through constituted authority.

Although both the clergy and W. C. T. U. denied that they had accepted any compromise, it was generally reported to have satisfied all elements.<sup>1</sup>

While the election was a defeat for the prohibitionists, Carry Nation had, nevertheless, stirred the people to action against a situation which had long been tolerated. During the years that followed the steps to strengthen prohibition were backed by a growing public sentiment, and twenty-five years later the W. C. T. U. members of Kansas erected a fountain in Wichita to the memory of a woman who dared to close the saloons.<sup>2</sup>

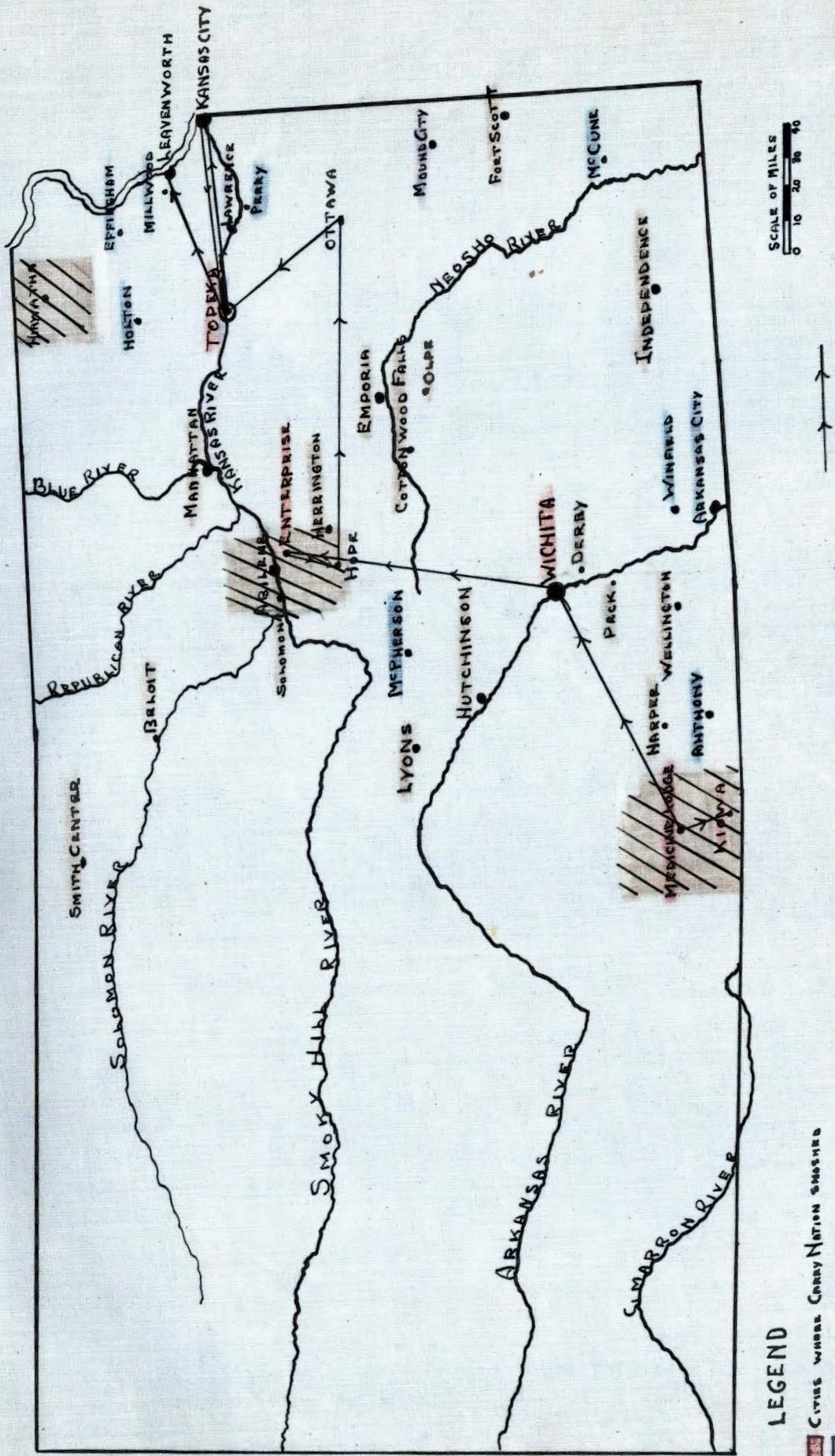
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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Brown, Vice-President of the W. C. T. U., states: "We cannot compromise crime.". The Wichita Beacon, February 19, 1901, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>The drinking fountain of red granite stands in front of the Union Station.

ROUTE CARRY NATION TOOK ON HER FIRST TRAVELS

## MAP OF KANSAS



## CHAPTER IV

### THE CRUSADE SPREADS: ENTERPRISE AND HOPE

Early on the morning of January 23, 1901, Carry Nation arrived at Enterprise. She went immediately to the C. B. Hoffman home, but Mr. Hoffman, a well known Populist leader and father of the mayor, was out of town. Mrs. Hoffman, however, welcomed their guest and called a temperance meeting at her house for two o'clock. After prayers and a song service Carry Nation announced her intention of smashing the town's joints. This caused great excitement among the women. Plans were perfected and at three o'clock Mrs. Nation, Mrs. Hoffman, Mrs. L. A. Case, who was a leading W. C. T. U. worker, and another lady who was heavily veiled, had started on their smashing tour.<sup>1</sup>

The two saloon keepers had been warned of Carry's intention and had locked their doors<sup>2</sup> and become part of the crowd that had gathered on the other side of the street to

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<sup>1</sup>The name of the woman is not given. N. O. Nelson from Enterprise in his letter to The Outlook, LXVII (February 9, 1901), 371, states that she was neither a church member nor a W. C. T. U. member. Asbury refers to the same article but gives the wrong date, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>2</sup>Carry Nation states that the saloons were closed because the owners had gone to a baseball game, op. cit., p. 160.

watch the excitement. For many years the saloons had been running wide open and fully equipped, "paying twenty-five dollars a month so-called fine in lieu of a license".<sup>1</sup>

The women stopped in front of Schilling's place,<sup>2</sup> and finding it locked Carry Nation smashed its glass doors and climbed in,<sup>3</sup> while the other women remained outside. The mirror behind the bar was first to feel the blows of her hatchet; next she began chopping on the bar itself and smashing all the bottles and glasses on the shelves. Going to the refrigerator, she brought out cases of beer. "She handled them easily, and lifting them high in the air dropped them on the floor, deftly cracking each bottle left solid after the fall."<sup>4</sup> The floor was soon covered, but the smash-er worked on until Marshal W. R. Benham appeared and ordered her to stop. She turned upon him and demanded: "What are you? . . . but a murderer and perjurer and protecting this unholy traffic. Either let me alone or take off your star."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>N. O. Nelson, "Carry Nation and the Saloons", The Outlook, LXVII (February 9, 1901), 371.

<sup>2</sup>Carry Nation spells the name "Stillings", op. cit., p. 160, but all newspapers as well as Asbury spell the name "Schilling".

<sup>3</sup>Asbury states that the doors were of wood, op. cit., p. 130. The newspaper accounts refer to them as glass.

<sup>4</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 24, 1901, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup>The Wichita Beacon, January 24, 1901, p. 1. The Kansas City Star sent a reporter to cover the story, and The Wichita Beacon received dispatches from them.

Nevertheless she followed the marshal out to the sidewalk. Her black alpaca dress was "perfumed" with odors of whisky and beer. Calling to her companions to follow she proceeded to the other saloon. Approaching it they were met by the marshal who was determined to keep them back. A torrent of words flowed from Carry's tongue sprinkled liberally with quotations from the Scriptures. The marshal retaliated with remarks about law breakers and hoodlumism; all of which greatly amused the crowd.

Realizing her defeat, Carry Nation returned home with Mrs. Hoffman declaring that she had only begun her work, and that she expected to clean out more joints.<sup>1</sup> She had expected to be arrested, but several hours passed and no such action was taken by the authorities.

About eight-thirty that evening Carry Nation again ventured to the business section of town where she began lecturing on the street. She had not been talking long when Schilling appeared cursing and shaking his fist at her saying, "My wife will settle you."<sup>2</sup> Just then a furious woman rushed around the corner and coming up to Mrs. Nation struck her a hard blow in the eye. The undaunted crusader

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 24, 1901, p. 5

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 161.

stopped speaking long enough to purchase some raw beef to bandage her eye which was swelling and painful. The crowd became noisy and she retired to a church where a revival was in process. There she gave a long talk on temperance, and won many friends to her cause.

The following morning Carry Nation was on the streets again accompanied by Mrs. Hoffman and a dozen or so temperance workers. The original plan had been to smash William Shook's saloon, but upon reconsidering they decided to use more peaceful means. Mrs. Nation entered a store a few doors away from the "hell-hole" and sent for Mr. Shook. They had exchanged only a few words when several women led by Mrs. Schilling rushed upon her, beating her with their fists and pulling her hair; one of the women began using a rawhide. They were finally stopped by the police, but Mrs. Nation was badly bruised, and as Herbert Asbury so vividly describes her:

She was a sorry spectacle. Her hair was down and some of it was missing, her poke bonnet had been trampled in the dust, . . . . Her face was cut in half a dozen places, and the eye which Mrs. Schilling had struck the day before, and which had been responding satisfactorily to the curative influence of the raw beef, was again puffed and purpled, . . . . She was dazed and weak and would have fallen again had not friends helped her into a buggy.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Nation and her assailants were arrested; the former for disturbing the peace, and the latter on warrants

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 135. In comparison with newspaper accounts, Asbury's appears somewhat exaggerated.

sworn out by Carry Nation charging them with assault. Later she was going to swear out additional warrants charging them with intent to kill, as there had been cries of "Kill her! Kill her!", heard during the attack. The culprits were arraigned before Judge E. B. Holt. Mrs. Nation was found "not guilty", and the other women were released on bond, their cases to be continued until the next day.<sup>1</sup>

The local temperance workers, under Carry's guidance, organized the Mothers' and Sisters' Aid Society, electing Mrs. Hoffman president. Its purpose according to Carry Nation was "to suppress saloons by law if possible, but by force if necessary".<sup>2</sup> Her plan was to organize volunteer workers throughout the state as she went from town to town, who would close the saloons as they reopened. In return she wanted money for transportation, hotel bills, and fines. With such an organization Carry Nation believed she could close all the saloons of the United States by the end of the year. She pointed with pride to the result of her activities in Wichita. "Women in Wichita are organizing, and are demanding the closing of the saloons there. If it is not done they will smash them worse than I did."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Schilling and her friends were each fined one dollar without costs.

<sup>2</sup> The Wichita Eagle, January 25, 1901, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

Mrs. Nation received invitations from many towns asking her aid in closing the joints. She was much encouraged with the results of her work, and disdainfully rejected an offer of seventy-five dollars a week to go on the stage in Chicago in Ten Nights in a Barroom.<sup>1</sup> Both Mr. and Mrs. Hoffman upheld the smasher. The latter accompanied her everywhere and declared: "She is like John Brown and doing the same work for good."<sup>2</sup> Had it not been for their protection Carry Nation would have fared much worse. The Hoffman family owned the town's chief industry, and had lived there for three generations. They had always been active in civic affairs, and were well known prohibitionists. The elder Hoffman had been mayor many years and had tried to enforce the prohibitory law. He finally had to admit his failure, for he was unable to stop the sale of liquor which had only gone to "private rooms, pockets, and bootlegs".<sup>3</sup> Since then the saloons had been running openly for a monthly fine. The present mayor was his grandson. The latter found the same conditions, and warned Mrs. Nation it would do no good to close the saloons as long as men wanted to drink.

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<sup>1</sup>Carry Nation had an aversion to the stage at first, but later considered it an excellent missionary field, op. cit., pp. 176-7.

<sup>2</sup>The Kansas City Journal, January 25, 1901, also The Wichita Eagle of the same date.

<sup>3</sup>Nelson, op. cit., p. 372.

"Enterprise was a typical country town with one thousand population, largely German and Swedish",<sup>1</sup> but prohibition had broken down in towns both small and large. Its failure was admitted even by its friends for there were only a few places where it was enforced effectively. Mr. Nelson of Enterprise in a letter to The Outlook for February 9, 1901, said: "The early repeal of the law is a certainty; only for political reasons has it remained so long."

Arguments for the saloon were advanced by some of the good citizens who feared that trade might be diverted to other towns were the saloons closed. The social side of the saloon was also stressed picturing it as the poor man's club.

Among the many telegrams received by Carry Nation, was one from Hope begging her to come there. Hope, Kansas, is a small town about sixteen miles south of Enterprise,<sup>2</sup> and the crusader decided to go there in place of to Abilene where she had originally intended to go. On her way to the station that evening rotten eggs were thrown at her and many broke on her dress.

Mrs. Nation arrived at Hope the night of the twenty-

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> It is sixteen miles by railroad. Asbury states that the distance is twelve miles, and The Wichita Eagle gives twenty.

fourth of January, but found no one to meet her. This made her suspicious, and she began to fear that everything was not as it should be. A room was obtained at the hotel without difficulty, but she was awakened a few hours later by cigarette smoke being blown into her room. Then someone knocked at her door and asked to speak to her. She described the incident as follows:

God showed me in a vision two men crouched on each side of the door ready to either catch or slug me, if the door was opened.

"I see you sluggers on each side of the door. You villains, you have tried to murder me by throwing poison in my room and now you are trying something else."

Not even the threat of a mob after her would make her open her door, and the men soon left trying to make enough noise for the crowd. From her window Mrs. Nation saw two men leave the hotel.

The next morning she refused breakfast there for fear of being poisoned.<sup>2</sup> On the street she announced her intention of holding a meeting in front of the hotel where she had stopped. When a crowd had assembled she told of the telegram, and her treatment of the night before. The two saloon keepers were present, and when they inquired as to whether she intended smashing their saloons she replied:

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>2</sup>The Kansas City Star, January 25, 1901, also The Wichita Beacon of the same date.

"Of course, I did not come to Holt to do anything else."<sup>1</sup>

One of the men threatened to kill her if she came to his saloon. Mrs. Nation was undaunted and replied that perhaps it would be as well if she were made a martyr to the cause. Good feeling was restored upon the man's promise to quit his business. The crowd escorted her to the station, while she marched between the two jointists.

Mrs. Nation took the train for Ottawa to rest before going on to Topeka where she was to speak Sunday night. Friday evening, January 25, 1901, she spoke at the First Baptist Church telling of her experiences during the last few days. She praised Ottawa for its freedom from saloons, and outlined her plans for a woman's organization to effectively close the joints. From now on she would do no smashing by herself but only in company with others. Carry Nation showed the effects of her experiences at Enterprise; her eye was badly swollen and her dress was spotted with the eggs.

In spite of the rough treatment received at the hands of the liquor element in Enterprise, Carry Nation was the victor. Mr. Schilling's saloon was necessarily put out of business for she had left him neither stock nor serving

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 164. Her spelling of Hope is incorrect.

appliances,<sup>1</sup> and the other one was closed by the authorities.<sup>2</sup> The women, quick to follow up their advantage, furnished a reading room in one of the buildings which had previously housed a bar. The room was put in the care of the W. C. T. U. and was free to all young men.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>2</sup>Carry Nation Scrapbook, clipping dated February 9, 1901. Mr. Nelson's opinion like that of the public was that she could do no permanent good, op. cit., p. 372.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 10, 1901, p. 1.

## CHAPTER V

### STORMING THE CAPITOL ..

By the time Carry Nation decided to center her activities at the state's capitol city, she had already attained national fame. Beginning her saloon-smashing at Kiowa where it was passed over as an amusing incident, Carry Nation advanced to Wichita where she achieved fame over night. In spite of the high sounding names of the towns of Enterprise and Hope she fared badly at the hands of the anti-prohibition element.

In Topeka, despite the powerful influence of the "Beer-Ring" in politics, there was a strong temperance faction who for some years had elected officers in sympathy with their ideas.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the "high license" system was not in force, and the saloons paid no money into the city treasury.<sup>2</sup> The prohibitory amendment was better enforced than in most other towns, and although there were probably forty joints operating, few had the conventional

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Thomas A. McNeal, Topeka, Kansas, August 6, 1929.

<sup>2</sup>This fact is important since the money factor being eliminated, the people were interested only in the prohibition question.

bar and none were running openly.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the fact that Topeka was seemingly the logical distributing point for the breweries of St. Louis and the east, there were actually fewer storage and wholesale houses than in Wichita.<sup>2</sup>

On the evening of January 26, 1901, Carry Nation reached Topeka. She was met at the Santa Fe station by a delegation headed by the Reverend S. C. Coblenz, minister of the United Bretheren Church, at whose home she was to stay.<sup>3</sup> After dinner, accompanied by several reporters, Mrs. Nation, heavily veiled, set out on a sight-seeing expedition of the town's saloons.

Starting down Kansas Avenue they came to Bert Russell's place between Fourth and Fifth Streets. In spite of her assurances that she had come only to talk and to warn them to close, the manager, Ed Ryan, pushed her bodily out of his place of business. Undaunted she delivered her temperance talk to the crowd that was fast gathering around her. Carry Nation then crossed the street to the Senate Saloon,

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 140. The Wichita Eagle for January 27, 1901, however, states there were 100 saloons operating in Topeka. Asbury's figures are more likely correct as Wichita would probably be glad to see Topeka represented in a bad light.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 142, states that besides the official welcoming committee at the station there was a crowd of several hundred persons mostly hostile in their attitude. Contemporary newspaper account, however, fail to mention anyone meeting her, and it is probable that she was met by Reverend Coblenz, since she was to be his guest.

but found it closed. Followed by the large crowd, she came to Ed Myer's place where the proprietor's wife, armed with a broomstick, rained blow after blow on Mrs. Nation's head and shoulders.<sup>1</sup> The crowd soon doubled but no one attempted to interfere. Unable to defend herself Carry had to retreat. When asked if she were hurt she replied: "What does a broomstick amount to, to one who has been so much used to rawhides, rocks, and rotten eggs?"<sup>2</sup> Declaring that the woman should be arrested, she called for an officer, and proceeded up the street amid the jeering of the saloon sympathizers. The crowd had now become so large and boisterous that it was necessary to escape, and she sought refuge in the editorial rooms of The Topeka Daily Capital. There she calmly told her story to the reporters while the mob outside was "hootng and howling". Escorted by Officer Luster who kept the crowd back with his revolver, Carry Nation went to the City Attorney's office to swear out a warrant for Mrs. Myers. To avoid the crowd, which was now unmanageable, the crusader had to be "spirited" out a back entrance and down side streets to the Coblenz residence.

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<sup>1</sup>Carry Nation relates the incident in her book, stating that her assailant was Myer's mistress and was later deserted by him and died a "miserable" death, op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 27, 1901, p. 1

The following day being Sunday the Reverend Coblenz opened his church to his distinguished guest who addressed two temperance meetings. David Nation, who in the meantime had come from Medicine Lodge, made a short speech before one of the meetings. He might have talked longer but his spouse, using her old tactics, plucked at his coat-tail, and told him he had said enough.<sup>1</sup>

The State Temperance Union was holding its convention at Topeka beginning Monday. When the more conservative officials learned of Mrs. Nation's intention of attending the meetings, they presumably settled her status by asserting that she would be given no place on their program.<sup>2</sup>

The meeting had not been in session long before Mrs. Nation appeared with the Reverend Coblenz. Mrs. Hoffman of Enterprise was talking, and upon seeing the famous smasher, plunged into an eulogy of her work. The audience cheered, and called on Carry Nation for a speech. Mrs. Thomas H. Bain, an influential worker in the organization, tried to stem their rising enthusiasm but was hissed from the stage. Mrs. Nation reached the platform and began to

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 147, also The Topeka Daily Capital, January 29, 1901.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 148.

deliver a "harangue urging the destruction of all the saloons in Christendom".<sup>1</sup> The delegates then adopted resolutions favoring the campaign and denouncing Governor Stanley for his attitude toward prohibition.<sup>2</sup> One admirer proposed a collection to buy a medal for "the bravest woman in Kansas, Carry Nation".<sup>3</sup> Between one hundred and one hundred twenty dollars were raised.<sup>4</sup> This tribute touched her greatly, but she protested that since she wore no ornaments, the money be used to pay her lawyer's fees. They over-rode her objections and the medal was made. Preliminary plans were made for a woman's organization, and a second meeting planned for the following Saturday.

Not satisfied with her triumph at the meeting of the State Temperance Union, Carry Nation went to the State House to interview Governor Stanley. The Topeka Daily Capital of January 29, 1901, describes the visit aptly. "It began in an argument, then developed into an angry controversy, and ended in a mutual laugh."<sup>5</sup> The newspaper reporters

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Nation, op. cit., pp. 164-65.

<sup>4</sup> The Kansas City Star, January 29, 1901, puts the amount at \$100, while The Topeka State Journal makes it \$117, and Carry Nation says in her book that \$120 was raised. Also The Topeka Daily Capital for January 29, 1901, states that the joint sympathizers were taking up a collection to buy Mrs. Myers a gold broom breast pin.

followed her into the governor's office where by turns he was given a "tongue lashing" for not enforcing the laws against the joints, and begged for aid to carry on her smashing crusade. When Mrs. Nation stopped for breath Governor Stanley admitted he had no better method of closing the saloons. Such a confession of defeat brought a tirade on his head that goaded him to shout at last: "You cannot come here and talk this way to me. . . . You are a woman, but I won't stand it."<sup>1</sup>

"The words flew back and forth with such fierceness that it was impossible to distinguish them."<sup>2</sup> He finally promised to keep the culprits in jail if Mrs. Nation would get them there and she went out smiling.

From the governor's office she forced her way into Attorney General Goddard's office where she demanded that the "murder shops" be closed. When he referred her to the county attorney's office, she accused him of dodging, and added, ". . . there is no dodging my hatchet".<sup>3</sup> At both County Attorney Nichol's office and that of Sheriff Cook, Mrs. Nation repeated her demands, much to the anger and embarrassment of these officials.

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 29, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

A few days later a large and enthusiastic temperance meeting was held at the Presbyterian Church with Carry Nation as the principal speaker. As a result about fifty women volunteered to work under her direction and rid Topeka of its saloons. Officers were elected, and this band of women became the nucleus of the Home Defenders, an organization which was soon to play such a prominent part in closing the city's joints.

The jointists were beginning to make serious preparations to resist attack from the prohibition camp. Negro guards were hired to protect their business places, and many rumors were circulating as to the possible treatment of Carry Nation or any woman attempting to enter the saloons.<sup>1</sup> The Missouri Brewers' Association was believed to have sent a sum of six hundred dollars to pay the wages of the guards, and offered more money as required.<sup>2</sup> Doors were barricaded, and bottles charged with seltzer water were kept on hand in case of the crusader's arrival. Such action on the part of the saloon-keepers only served to strengthen the temperance ranks. Chief of Police Stahl, an ardent temperance advocate, was anxious to make a test case of Carry Nation, for

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 154.

he believed that the joints had no legal recourse, but the prospect of the impending trouble alarmed the other authorities. Mrs. Nation, however, was quite calm, even pleased with the possibility of martyrdom.

After organizing her band of volunteer smashers, Carry Nation proceeded next day to visit the jointists in order to give them some "motherly advice". She had to content herself with the unsatisfactory method of talking through barricaded doors. Nevertheless, her earnest manner seemed to touch her listeners, and whatever else they thought they believed her sincere in her effort to do right. Failing in her attempt to talk to them face to face, she sent all the saloon keepers personal letters warning them to stop their business, and addressing the letters to "The Joint Keepers of Topeka: My Dear Hell-Bound Sinners".<sup>1</sup> She asked them to appoint a place of meeting where they could talk together, and intimated that more "forcible measures" would soon be taken if they did not heed her advice.

At the mass meeting held in the auditorium Saturday evening, the forty-six original Home Defenders grew to two hundred. Their plan was to parade the streets Monday, headed by a brass band, and stop in front of each prominent saloon. If this had no effect violent action would be taken.

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<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Eagle, February 2, 1901, p. 8.

This parade, however, was later postponed because of a heavy snow storm.<sup>1</sup>

Since the snow made the parade impractical Carry Nation decided to visit Sim's Drug Store where members of the Legislature were supposed to gather at noon for liquid refreshment. The wiley smasher gained the back room of the store where Mr. B. F. Sims kept his stock. While she laid in wait for his customers she sampled his liquors which she pronounced excellent. Senator Naftzger of Wichita was caught in the store, but hastily declared that he came to buy a cigar, and departed to warn the others. A crowd soon gathered and Mrs. Nation left after warning the druggist to dispose of his stock of liquors, in spite of his protestations that he sold nothing illegally.

Later that afternoon a few Home Defenders were buying some hatchets to be used in a wrecking campaign the next day when a mother began telling of her son who was buying the "hell-broth" at Murphy's place. Carry Nation, being a woman of action, decided that they should attack the place immediately, and started for the joint on East Sixth, which was a combination restaurant-saloon.

They had no sooner attempted an entrance when they were recognized and a struggle began between the women and

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 155.

a dozen men, mostly negroes hired by the jointists to watch their establishments. The police arrived and took the women to jail followed by the crowd that had gathered to watch the fray. There were sympathizers of both sides present and many fist fights occurred.

At the police station the women held an "impromptu prayer meeting",<sup>1</sup> and while they were thus engaged a drunkard was brought in. Carry Nation immediately went to him, offering her friendship, and turned on the police accusing them of being too cowardly to arrest any but women and drunkards. The prisoners were charged with disturbing the peace, and after their hatchets had been taken from them they were released on their own recognizance.

Upon her release some friends told Mrs. Nation that the boys of the Senior Class of the Topeka High School had offered their services for the cause. The crusader seemed quite pleased and declared there would be more smashing the next day.

Followed by the throng which had pressed around her, Mrs. Nation went to the Post Office for her mail, and then addressed the crowd from the steps of the federal building. She declared that she was unafraid of the "rummies" and would smash all of Topeka's joints if it took months. Before

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 5, 1901, p. 1.

the crowd could disperse a man from a nearby candy store thrust some little pewter hatchets into her hand telling her to sell them and pay her fines. The hatchets sold easily for ten cents apiece, and Carry Nation decided to incorporate the idea into her campaign. She arranged with a manufacturer in Providence, Rhode Island, for quantity production and thenceforward sold them wherever she went. These little hatchets used to sell for from twenty-five to fifty cents, and according to Carry Nation's own story were "a great financial aid" to her.<sup>1</sup>

Early the next morning Mrs. Nation accompanied by Miss Madeline Southard, Mrs. John White, and Mrs. F. M. Oldham started on a tour of destruction. Unhampered by crowds they were able to make surprise attacks. They came first to T. C. Russum's place but were repulsed by the negro guards. Rushing across the street to the "Senate" Saloon, so called because it was the resort of the Kansas legislators, they surprised the porter who was just opening up. There was a scuffle in which he took Carry Nation's hatchet from her, and firing two shots into the ceiling to scare the women, ran for help. The Home Defenders were not to be

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 179, also Asbury, op. cit., pp. 163-64, who places the incident after the "Senate" smashing, but as there is no account of the story in contemporary newspapers, and since she was mentioned as speaking from the federal building steps (from which Mr. Asbury states that she sold the hatchets) only at this time, I have followed her account the more closely.

daunted by such a bluff and lost no time in demolishing the barroom.<sup>1</sup> Just as they finished, a policeman arrived on the scene and good naturedly arrested them. A few men hearing the shooting, came upon the women while they were wrecking the saloon and witnessed the destruction of the finest bar in the city.

At the jail the women broke into hymns of praise, and were later joined by Mrs. Rose Crist, Mrs. Goodwin, Mrs. Crawford, and Mrs. Usher who had accompanied them the day before and brought their breakfast this morning.

When Mrs. Nation was told that the previous day's charges of disturbing the peace were dismissed against her, she objected. She rejoiced, however, upon learning that she had been arrested for smashing a joint since she felt that this would be the long sought test case. Again she was released from jail on her own recognizance.

Meanwhile at the wrecked saloon the supposed owner, Wagner, was capitalizing his misfortune by giving away souvenirs with each glass of beer, and selling broken bits of glass to persons who were abstainers but curious.<sup>2</sup> They had not enjoyed their prosperous business long before Chief

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury's account of this episode is grossly exaggerated. He writes that the beer and whisky were "ankle deep", a startling fact which the newspaper reporters failed to observe, op. cit., pp. 160-61.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 6, 1901, p. 5.

of Police Stahl closed the place along with other of the more prominent joints. These raids kept the police busy all day.

The erstwhile smasher spent the time in visiting the jails and praying with a few of the inmates. Later she was arrested the second time for the malicious destruction of property in the "Senate" on the warrant sworn out by "Sheep" Lytle. Her bond, placed at one hundred dollars, was paid by Dr. Eva Harding.

Then there followed alternate raids by the police and reopenings on the part of the saloons which had promised to close "until Mrs. Nation left the city".<sup>1</sup> On the third raid on the "Senate", "Sheep" Lytle was fined and jailed.<sup>2</sup>

Even though the temperance advocates as a whole did not approve of her violent methods, the prosecution of Carry Nation on the part of the jointists tended to create sympathy for her cause.<sup>3</sup> Many prominent and conservative business men began coming under her standards.<sup>4</sup> A new law was proposed in the Legislature to make smashing legal.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Kansas City Journal, February 7, 1901.

<sup>2</sup>The Topeka State Journal, February 6, 1901.

<sup>3</sup>Interview with Thomas A. McNeal, August 6, 1929.

<sup>4</sup>The Topeka Daily Capital, February 6, 1901.

<sup>5</sup>It later failed to advance to the third reading.

The Home Defenders held a meeting behind locked doors at the First Congregational Church, and attracted by the possibility of news, correspondents began to arrive from the larger cities. The charge of joint smashing was dismissed against her by City Attorney Gregg because there appeared to be no city ordinance under which she could be prosecuted. This left the prosecution to the county and state officials, and the date of the trial was fixed for February 14, 1901.

February seventh, Mrs. Nation made a second visit to the State House which proved to be an amusing interlude from her more serious business. Lieutenant Governor Richter had sent Carry Nation a pass to the Senate and she promptly put it to use. Upon her arrival she was greeted by Richter and asked him for permission to speak. When he told her she would have to wait, she strode to the platform and shouted, "All you people who want to hear me speak say 'Aye'". Nearly everyone voted for her, and she began her regular lecture which brought in the Sim's Drug Store episode.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving the Senate she proceeded to the House and spoke. Her nephew, J. M. Nation of Neosho County, was the first to greet her and he was followed by many others.

Another raid had been planned by the Home Defenders. They met the night of February seventh in the office of

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<sup>1</sup>The Kansas City Times, February 8, 1901.

Dr. Eva Harding, who had been an active temperance worker for many years. The raid had been planned for three o'clock the following morning, but the meeting was broken up by Mr. A. C. Rankin, a professional temperance orator, who was managing a lecture tour for Carry Nation. Mr. Rankin argued that the raid must be postponed. He maintained that it was both needless and dangerous for the men were organizing to rid the city of its joints, but had not yet completed their organization, and because Mrs. Nation might be hurt and so be unable to go ahead with her plans. These reasons readily convinced Carry Nation, but the other women were not so easily dissuaded. The most indignant called her a coward, and one woman put the blame on Mr. Rankin, saying that he only wanted to make an exhibition of their leader and to gain money from her notoriety. She added that she didn't believe Mrs. Nation would ever smash any more joints.<sup>1</sup>

This woman prophesied more clearly than she could have guessed at the time, because Carry Nation only went on one more real smashing. The notoriety seemed to go to her head, and soon the smashing became only secondary.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Nation, however, greatly enjoyed the indignation of the women, and seemed to think it indicated that the women would

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 9, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with Thomas A. McNeal, August 6, 1929.

continue to smash without her leadership.

The next day Carry Nation set out from Topeka on her first lecture tour. She was accompanied by Mr. Rankin, her manager, the Reverend F. W. Emerson, and five women.<sup>1</sup> David Nation would have gone along, but his now famous spouse informed him that he was too old for such a trip. Piqued by the affront, he returned to Medicine Lodge to ponder on his wife's sudden rise to glory.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The names of the women were: Mesdames White, Goodwin, Smith, Crist, and Miss Madeline Southard, The Topeka State Journal, February 9, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Asbury, op. cit., pp. 167-68.

## CHAPTER VI

### CARRY NATION TAKES THE PLATFORM

This first lecture tour was undertaken to provide funds for the "hatchet crusade", and in response to the many telegrams urging Carry Nation to speak. Mr. A. C. Rankin, a professional temperance lecturer, managed the tour. He agreed to pay the expenses of the troupe and seven hundred dollars besides.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Nation was scheduled to speak in Kansas City, Missouri, Muscatine, Iowa, Des Moines and Chicago. The first stop was Kansas City where she spoke before a "fair sized" audience at the Academy of Music. She was introduced as the "bravest and noblest woman in Kansas".<sup>2</sup> Her lecture was characteristic of her previous harangues. There was a liberal sprinkling of Bible quotations, showing her close familiarity with the Scriptures. Her fight with the Kansas saloons was vividly described, and she even went so far as

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<sup>1</sup>The Topeka Daily Capital, February 9, 1901, and Asbury, op. cit., p. 166. The Topeka State Journal, February 9, 1901, states that Carry Nation was to receive all the money clear of expenses. This would leave no possible reimbursement for Rankin, consequently the seven hundred dollars payment seems more probable. The Topeka Daily Capital, February 9, 1901, states that Dorothy Dix as well as several other prominent reporters accompanied the troupe.

<sup>2</sup>The Topeka State Journal, February 9, 1901.

to declare that she could destroy the Missouri saloons— quoting the Preamble of the Constitution as her authority.<sup>1</sup> She did not intend, however, to begin her anti-saloon crusade in Kansas City as it was too large to attack alone.<sup>2</sup>

Their progress through the western part of Iowa was a "triumphal tour". Carry Nation spoke from the platform wherever the train stopped, greeting the people like a true compaigner.<sup>3</sup> A huge crowd met her at the Des Moines station, and she lectured twice to two large audiences.

In the meantime the men were perfecting their organization in Topeka. At a mass meeting held February ninth it was agreed that the joints must go by peaceful means or by force. The importance of the meeting may be measured by the numbers and sentiment behind it.<sup>4</sup> A warning was sent to the saloon keepers to not only close their doors, but to move their furniture and fixtures out of town by February fifteenth. A Committee of Public Safety was appointed to see that the ultimatum was obeyed. The jointists were at last thoroughly frightened, and for the first time, all of the saloons of the town were closed.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"... the pursuit of happiness", The Topeka State Journal, February 9, 1901.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 9, 1901.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 10, 1901.

<sup>4</sup>The Topeka Daily Capital, February 9, 1901.

<sup>5</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 176.

At Muscatine a crowd of four thousand people greeted Carry Nation, but only five hundred were sufficiently interested to attend her lecture. At this point, too, Rankin and Mrs. Nation dissolved partnership, the former returning to Kansas.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Nation, however, continued on her way to Chicago in company with the Reverend Emerson and Mrs. White. The Wichita Eagle for February 12, 1901, quotes her as saying:

I am in the hands of the Lord . . . I will do no smashing in Iowa or any other state until all the hell-holes in my own state are wiped out of existence. Then I will organize a band of women who will smash all of the saloons in the world. The United States first, and Europe next.

Upon her arrival in Chicago she was taken immediately to lecture at Willard Hall where she found a small audience gathered under the auspices of the W. C. T. U. She denounced the sale of liquor in Chicago and urged the women to go out and smash. After her lecture she visited some of the saloons in the levee district. In one she found David Nation's grandson who greeted her with a cheery "How are you, Grandma?"<sup>2</sup>

A much larger crowd attended her second lecture in Chicago, and when she had finished this speech she paid a visit to Mayor Harrison's office followed by a large crowd.

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 12, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 13, 1901, p. 1.

Unfortunately, that gentleman was not in. The crowd would not be cheated and insisted upon a speech.

Upon her return to Topeka, Carry Nation was arraigned before the District Court for malicious and wilful destruction of property. The arguments of the case were set for the following Monday.

A large reception was held for Mrs. Nation at the United Presbyterian Church. She seemed much pleased with the men's organization, and spoke of her experiences in Chicago. She even stated that saloon keepers and harlots were better than church hypocrites.<sup>1</sup> Receipts from her lectures only paid expenses, but she received many large donations.<sup>2</sup>

Although she was pleased with the organization of the men, their peaceful methods irritated her militant spirit, and she urged the destruction of the liquor before it could be taken to some other place and sold. Since no one encouraged her attitude, she agreed to postpone any activity on her part. The survey of the Committee on Public Safety found Topeka practically "dry", but failed to assure itself that the saloon fixtures had been moved out of town. Carry Nation believed that a raid was justified, and plans were perfected by Saturday evening.

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<sup>1</sup> The Topeka Daily Capital, February 15, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., February 15, 1901.

Five o'clock Sunday morning saw an unusual gathering around the State House. An army of five hundred people, of whom probably one fifth were women, had organized quietly. Membership was proclaimed by a white handkerchief knotted around the throat. Their leader had overslept and appeared almost an hour late, but once there she immediately took command. Soon they were marching up the avenue, sweeping all resistance before them.

The Murphy joint on East Sixth, which had so successfully repulsed her first attack, fell under the battering ram in the hands of the Washburn boys, and the revengeful blows of the mob behind. Before their work was completed, their leader was seized by the police and taken to headquarters. She was soon released, and returned to lead the remaining crowd on an attack upon an old livery stable near the Santa Fe Hospital where they smashed three bars stored inside. Once more the police arrested her, and again she was freed. Gathering the small group that was left, they made an attempt to find the liquor supposed to be stored in the Moeser Cold Storage Plant. They had only succeeded in breaking the lock when the police arrested Mrs. Nation a third time. Release this time was not so easy, but finally Nick Chiles, a negro politician and jointist, was persuaded to pay her bond of five hundred dollars. In place of starting out for another raid upon release from jail, Mrs. Nation

went to the church where Mrs. Eva Shantz, a temperance lecturer, was holding a meeting, and upon her arrival was asked to speak by Mrs. Shantz. After church Mrs. Nation was arrested for the fourth time and released a second time on a bond signed by Nick Chiles.<sup>1</sup>

Carry Nation with her followers, C. R. McDowell,<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Rose Crist, Miss Madeline Southard, Frank Murphy, Dr. Eva Harding, Mrs. A. B. Chadwick and the Reverend F. W. Emerson, were arraigned before Judge Hazen's court for malicious trespassing. Charges were preferred against the first four by the Moeser Brothers for breaking into their storage plant. Peace bonds were fixed at two thousand dollars for Carry Nation, one thousand for McDowell, five hundred dollars each for Mrs. Crist and Miss Southard. Mr. J. M. Duminel was the lawyer for the defense who claimed his client's right to destroy a common nuisance; while W. I. Jameson, colored lawyer for the prosecution, declared that the charge was destruction of property.

Judge Hazen was greatly infuriated at Carry Nation's manner in court, as she insisted upon addressing him as "Your Dishonor". The case was to be tried in the April term

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<sup>1</sup>Carry Nation quite ungratefully warned her bondsman that his joints would be none the safer from her hatchet.

<sup>2</sup>Accounts name a C. R. McDonald interchangeably.

of court, and all except Mrs. Nation accepted bond.

After a few days the charge brought against Mrs. Nation for destroying the "Senate" Saloon was dismissed since Judge McCabe ruled that she held no malice, but destroyed the place as a public nuisance.

In spite of the offers of her brother, J. W. Moore of Kansas City, Missouri, to get her out of jail, Mrs. Nation refused bail. She declared the Lord wanted her to rest after her strenuous activities which she believed to be the "success of her life".<sup>1</sup> However she urged her followers to work. An offer of five hundred dollars a week failed to tempt her to appear on the stage in a temperance play. The "rest cure" she was taking in jail included writing for magazines and receiving a stream of visitors in her cell.<sup>2</sup>

Such a spirit as Carry Nation's soon grew restive under confinement, Sheriff Cook, whom she once liked, was upbraided and called a "wicked man" because he allowed the men to smoke cigarettes, called by Mrs. Nation "hell sticks", whose fumes were "hell fumes", and their smokers "hellions". She threatened to sue Shawnee County if she was kept in jail any longer, as she believed herself illegally held. Though at first she averred that the Lord placed her there

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 20, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>The articles written by her appeared in Leslies Weekly and The American.

for a rest, she no longer felt that she could do the Lord's work "penned up" in jail.

The real trouble lay in her agreement to edit The Peoria Journal for February twenty-sixth, and to lecture on the same date. At this time, too, she was formulating her plans for The Smasher's Mail, and she was hampered by her imprisonment.

At the last minute some of her friends signed her bond, and she fulfilled her contract with the paper. For her services of editing The Peoria Journal for February 26, 1901, she received one hundred fifty dollars.<sup>1</sup> This issue of the paper contained a three column picture of its editor, characteristic editorials, large whisky adds on the inside pages, and much appropriate advertising.<sup>2</sup>

In the test case of Balfe Stark, the defendant was found guilty of malicious trespassing in raiding the Murphy place. A number of Carry Nation's other followers were under bond charged with the same offense. In spite of the recent events, four or five saloons were running quietly without their expensive fixtures.

The Law Enforcement Army (men's organization) were holding secret meetings. As a probable consequence of such

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<sup>1</sup> The Topeka State Journal, February 25, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The Peoria Journal, February 26, 1901.

meetings a crowd of from thirty to sixty men, heavily armed, made a surprise attack during the night of February twenty-fifth on "Cash" Curtis' wholesale liquor house. One man was shot and wounded, and Dr. M. R. Mitchell and the Reverend Emerson were arrested. The men declared that the saloons had been unloading a car of beer all day.

Upon Carry Nation's return from Peoria, she visited her brothers in Kansas City between trains. They escorted her on a visit to some of Kansas City's saloons. Large crowds followed her everywhere and she spoke in one of the saloons, threatening to bring "several thousand of her Home Defenders" with her next time to help drive them out of business.<sup>1</sup>

When Mrs. Nation reached Topeka, she returned to her cell in the county jail. A little over a week later, the first issue of The Smasher's Mail appeared. There followed at less frequent intervals twelve other issues, but all were more or less alike. They contained principally letters "from Hell and Elsewhere Among the Wicked", those from "Honest People and Sympathizers",<sup>2</sup> editorials, poetry, and

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<sup>1</sup>The Kansas City Journal, March 1, 1901.

<sup>2</sup>The Smasher's Mail, March 9, 1901.

comments from journals. Nick Chiles published the first few copies, but he was found to be out of sympathy with the work. The Kansas Farmer was the next to edit the paper, but Mrs. Nation soon bought a hand press and proceeded to publish the paper herself. The effort to keep it going became too much, and after changing from a weekly to a bi-monthly and then to a monthly journal, the publication died.<sup>1</sup>

Finally she consented to accept her brother's offer to "renew the peace bond", and she was released again from jail on March 11, 1901. Limited in her scope of activities, she decided to begin her campaign on tobacco and Masonry. Although she was unable to take part, she urged immediate resumption of smashing. She called a meeting of the Home Defenders to make plans for another raid, and nominated the Reverend Emerson as independent candidate for mayor.<sup>2</sup> Failing to gain support from that source, she turned to the other temperance organizations. These refused assistance, declaring that their "crusade" had rid Topeka and almost the entire state of saloons, and that it was almost impossible to catch bootleggers. But Carry Nation only attributed their refusal to corruption by the liquor interests.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Nation states that the venture at least showed the public that she was not insane, Nation, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

The "magnitude of her victory" was beyond her comprehension, and Carry Nation could not understand the natural reaction against her methods which had begun. Her personal popularity, however, was still strong; so much so that James E. Furlong, a Lyceum manager, offered to book her for a lecture tour through the East.<sup>1</sup>

Bewildered by desertion of her many erstwhile supporters, . . . Carry Nation began her travels which, with interludes of imprisonment on old charges in Wichita and Topeka, took her into almost every state in the Union, and even into Canada and the British Isles, and made her one of the best known figures of her time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 177.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 222.

## CHAPTER VII

### CARRY NATION CARRIES ON

Being limited in her scope of activities in Topeka, Carry Nation started out for broader fields. On March 24, 1901, she paid her long expected visit to Leavenworth. She had been called there by a letter of an old soldier written over a month before. He begged her to come and smash the canteen at the Old Soldiers' Home which, he declared, sold over seventy half-barrels of whisky on pension day.<sup>1</sup> Upon her arrival she was taken into custody by four detectives, and was prevented from doing any damage either at the Home or in the town. Contrary to her expectations she was not even allowed to speak at the Home.<sup>2</sup>

Her plans in Leavenworth balked, Carry departed for St. Louis. The thirty minutes she spent there between trains furnished both amusement and "copy" to the newspaper reporters. They took her to a saloon near the station called The Carry Nation Bar. She was indignant that her name should be so used, and warned Joseph Sauerburger, the owner, to change it before her return.

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., pp. 223-24, also Nation, op. cit., pp. 102-103 (1904 edition).

<sup>2</sup>The Kansas City Times, March 24, 1901. Asbury gives a much more dramatic and quite different account, op. cit., pp. 223-25.

After lecturing in Cincinnati and other towns in Ohio and Kentucky, she returned to St. Louis and went immediately to Sauerburger's saloon. Seeing that he had not changed its name she would have wrecked it had not its owner prevented such action at the point of a pistol. The excitement had attracted a great crowd which hooted and jeered the smasher but did not deter her from entering another saloon. A squad of police escorted her to the station and she left for Mexico, Missouri.<sup>1</sup> There Mrs. Nation had a conference on prohibition with Harry C. Turner, editor of The State Leader.<sup>2</sup>

Carry Nation returned to Topeka, but she stayed there only long enough to attend to her correspondence and prepare some articles for The Smasher's Mail. She then went to visit her brother in Kansas City. On Sunday, the fourteenth of April,<sup>3</sup> she entered a saloon and instructed the barkeeper to take down a picture of nude women hanging on the wall.

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury, op. cit., pp. 225-26, gives the above account of Carry Nation's activities between her Leavenworth episode and the Kansas City one. The author has as yet found no other.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury says also that Mr. Turner later became Carry Nation's manager. This took place immediately following her St. Louis visit of April 2nd, and the next date given is her return to Topeka on April 14, 1901, op. cit., p. 226.

<sup>3</sup>From the account in The Wichita Eagle, April 16, 1901, it is evident that she was in Kansas City on April 14, 1901.

She had only begun to tell him of the evils of such a picture when a detective came in and arrested her. Mrs. Mary E. White of Topeka was with her and insisted upon being taken to the police station also. A crowd had gathered while they were waiting for the patrol wagon, and the technical charge brought against Mrs. Nation was that she was obstructing traffic.

Mr. Moore paid her bond, and she was released to appear in court the following morning. People crowded the court room the next day and Carry Nation pleaded "not guilty", saying that she was only waiting for a street car when she was arrested.<sup>1</sup> The judge, however, fined her five hundred dollars and ordered her to leave town before six o'clock that evening. There was much cheering when the sentence was given, but it was understood that the fine would be collected only in case Carry Nation returned to Kansas City. She was given permission, however, to pass through the town on her way to other points east, providing, of course, that she did not stay.

Upon her release Mrs. Nation left immediately on the street car for Kansas City, Kansas, and from there went to

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<sup>1</sup>While waiting for the patrol wagon she had begged the officer to let her take a street car and go to the home of a friend with whom the women were staying, The Wichita Eagle, April 16, 1901.

Wichita and Medicine Lodge. From a letter addressed to The Wichita Eagle it is evident that she did not intend to go to Wichita until later in the week.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Nation probably went directly to Medicine Lodge from Kansas City, Kansas, and arrived there shortly after Mr. Nation had left for Ohio to spend the summer. When she had finished her business at home she returned to Wichita,<sup>2</sup> Her return, however, was not too soon for her bondsman, Mr. Wilbur Jones, who was afraid that his bond would be forfeited, and had been appointed a deputy by Sheriff Simmons to bring his charge from Medicine Lodge.

Mrs. Nation, Mrs. Wilhoite, Mrs. Evans, and Miss Muntz appeared in court on April 24, 1901, and all failed or refused to renew their bonds.<sup>3</sup> Consequently they were sent to the county jail to remain there until the May term of court. Upon her return to jail Carry Nation began upbraiding Mrs. Simmons for standing in with the saloons and the bad element generally. This was rather ungrateful consider-

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<sup>1</sup> The letter from Carry Nation to The Wichita Eagle is undated and tells of her expectation to arrive in Wichita Friday on her way to Medicine Lodge. See Appendix, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> The Wichita Eagle of April 23, 1901, p. 6, tells of her unceremonious eviction of her tenant, the Baptist minister. It was given as evidence of her insanity, but Mrs. Nation denied the report.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Wilhoite explains that all the women except Mrs. Nation refused to accept bond in order to protect their leader in jail, op. cit., p. 41.

ing that Mrs. Simmons had previously given her many comforts not in the regular prison routine. A niece of Miss Muntz called on the prisoners, and she in her turn upbraided Mrs. Nation for influencing her aunt.<sup>1</sup>

The women had been in jail but a few days when a message came for Carry Nation saying that her brother, C. H. Moore, of Louisburg, Kansas, was very ill and not expected to live. Mr. Conley, the prosecuting attorney, refused to allow her to go to her brother. That evening, however, Mrs. Nation's friends met in her cell to sing and pray. The other prisoners joined in their songs and showed "profound respect" for their service.<sup>2</sup>

After the women had gone back to their cells a telegram came for Mrs. Nation telling of her brother's death. Mrs. Wilhoite sent for Mr. Conley and asked him to permit Mrs. Nation to go to her brother's funeral. He consented to her going on her own recognizance and she left early the next morning. Mrs. Wilhoite reports that Mr. Conley seemed deeply moved and urged her to accept bond and get out of the "wretched place".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, April 26, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Wilhoite, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

On May first Carry Nation returned to jail, and when Mr. Simmons answered her ring she greeted him with, "Glory to God! When old Carrie (sic) tells you she will come she comes."<sup>1</sup> She had not gone to the jail, however, until she had called at the Royal Saloon where she tried to talk to the "boys" about their "souls' salvation". The barkeeper assured her that he could tend to his own affairs and ejected her.<sup>2</sup>

Almost a week later the weather turned quite cool, and the prisoners were uncomfortably cold in their cells. Mrs. Nation had repeatedly insisted that they turn on the heat. She repeated her demands so vigorously that Mr. Dodd, the turnkey, rushed to her angrily declaring that he would put her in the crank cell. She protested, and when he tried to drag her from her cell, she resisted. A struggle ensued, and Dodd called to the "trusties" for aid. During the scuffle, Mrs. Wilhoite demanded her release that she might accept the bond awaiting her signature.<sup>3</sup> Before she left,

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, May 2, 1901, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Mrs. Wilhoite, Mrs. Evans and Miss Muntz had bonds awaiting their signatures, Wilhoite, op. cit. p. 46.

however, she admonished Mrs. Evans and Miss Muntz to stay with their leader until she was freed.<sup>1</sup>

Once out of jail Mrs. Wilhoite wired Mrs. Nation's brother in Kansas City to come to Wichita immediately. She also told Mr. Conley about the Dodd incident and he promised to attend to it.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime Mrs. Nation and Mrs. Evans had decided to dismiss their attorney to plead their own cases, but their decision was overruled, and Mr. Ray continued as their counsel. The latter was trying hard to get the arraignment of their cases postponed.<sup>3</sup>

When the story of her struggle with Dodd became known, it was rumored that the W. C. T. U. were holding secret meetings to decide what course to take in regard to this champion of their cause.<sup>4</sup> Many believed that charges of insanity would be preferred against her. The date of her trial had not been fixed, and the reaction of some persons

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<sup>1</sup>The story of this incident was taken from Wilhoite, op. cit., pp. 45-46. A different story is told by The Wichita Eagle, May 8, 1901, p. 6. Asbury also gives a widely different account, saying that Carry Nation had lost her mind and believed herself elected President of the United States, op. cit., p. 228.

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Wilhoite writes that he did nothing about the incident, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Eagle, May 7, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., May 8, 1901, p. 6.

was that she should not be punished if she were not in her right mind.<sup>1</sup>

On May ninth Carry Nation's brother, J. V. Moore, arrived from Kansas City, and put up a hundred dollar cash bond for his sister's release. She was very angry with the jailers and officers and proceeded to give them a severe lecture before she departed. It was rather late in the evening when they left the jail, but Mr. Wilbur Jones, the erstwhile bondsman, kindly drove them to a hotel and helped in transferring Mrs. Nation's trunk and bedding.<sup>2</sup>

Five days later Carry Nation appeared before the District Court at Topeka, and was found guilty of smashing Ed Murphy's place and inciting a riot in that city on February seventeenth.<sup>3</sup> Although the general impression was that she would be released on payment of the fine and costs, her sentence was deferred and she was released on bail. She did not deny the truth of the accusation, and for the first time in her career she pleaded insanity. The verdict of guilty was a great surprise for most of the people were expecting the jury to either acquit her or to be unable to

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., May 8, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., May 10, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Judge Dale had set her trial for May fourteenth, changing it from the September term of court. The Wichita Eagle, May 10, 1901.

reach a decision.<sup>1</sup>

The last of May she appeared at the Capitol with copies of The Smasher's Mail. Many officials were visited, among whom was Governor Stanley. To the latter she read several "hot shots" from her paper, but told him that, while she liked him personally, she did not approve of him politically and would oppose his election to the Senate.

Throughout June and the most part of July, Carry Nation spent her time lecturing. While she was in Indiana, she led about twenty small boys and girls on a raid. These youngsters soon wrecked the saloon, but as soon as the excitement had worn off, they scattered to their homes, Carry Nation stood her ground in front of the saloon challenging someone to arrest her, but the saloon keeper refused to punish her and the police ignored the incident.<sup>2</sup>

The crusader returned to Topeka the last of July, and on the twenty-third was arraigned before Judge Hazen for a sentence. It proved to be a harsh one. The prisoner was fined one hundred dollars and was given thirty days in jail. There was no appeal, and she had to serve her sentence. In her book she complains of the suffocating heat

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., May 15, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Asbury, op. cit., pp. 229-31.

and the lack of adequate ventilation.<sup>1</sup> The jail food nauseated her, but she was able to have the milkman bring her ten cents worth of bread and milk a day. This was her diet until she was released. Her funds were running low, and she received many bills which she was unable to pay, and which were a constant source of grief. With the "duns" came also offers of many kinds from "theatrical, circus and museum managers".<sup>2</sup>

At last, however, an offer came from James E. Furlong manager of the lyceum bureau of Rochester, New York, and former manager of Adelina Patti. He proposed to assist Mrs. Nation to get out of jail if she would give a series of lectures before audiences in the East. His proposition appealed to her, and the officials agreed to let her pay her fine in monthly installments of five dollars, and be released.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Eva Harding and Mrs. Goodwin signed her bond and also made up a purse of seventy dollars. She lacked just fifty cents of being able to buy her ticket to Clarksburg, Ohio,

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>3</sup>The date of her release is uncertain. Mr. Asbury gives it as being July 20, 1901, which is incorrect since she was not sentenced until July twenty-third. She states that her diet of bread and milk lasted eighteen days, which would make the date August tenth. She also states that David Nation's suit for divorce came while she was in jail, while Asbury places her in Columbus, Ohio, at that time.

where she was to make her first lecture. This sum she borrowed from the station fruit-stand keeper, and had it not been for the kindness of one of her fellow passengers she would have been without food also.

On August 9, 1901, David Nation brought suit through his attorney for a divorce from his now famous wife. In his suit he alleged that she "held him up to public ridicule, neglected her family duties and abandoned his home".<sup>1</sup>

Carry Nation states in her autobiography that the divorce was a great sorrow to her. While she realized they had disagreed on many things, she never felt that their differences would ever come to such an issue. She sincerely believed that her husband had been influenced by her enemies.<sup>2</sup> He once warned her that if she would not quit her public life and come home, he would divorce her, but her reply had been: "Mr. Nation, God has given me a mission, I dare not turn back. Shall I harken unto God or unto man? Judge ye."<sup>3</sup>

David Nation's suit for divorce was tried at Medicine Lodge late in November. He charged both cruelty and desertion. The decree was granted on the ground of desertion

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, August 10, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>David Leahy confirmed the belief that her enemies were thus seeking to discredit her, Interview, April 25, 1929.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 187.

and Carry Nation was exonerated of the charge of cruelty. She received the home which was later sold for eight hundred dollars, and desiring to "lay it up in heaven", she put the money in a fund which later bought the home for drunkard's wives.<sup>1</sup> Three years later David Nation died.

By this time Mrs. Nation had become a national figure. For many years after leaving Medicine Lodge she scarcely had a home, so busy was she spreading the doctrine of her crusade throughout the country.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

## CHAPTER VIII

### FROM SPOTLIGHT TO SHADOW

During the last part of August in 1901 she lectured in Atlantic City and Philadelphia under the auspices of the Furlong Lyceum Bureau. On the twenty-eighth she reached New York where she was greeted by a score of newspaper reporters. Her arrival was strangely ignored by the officials of the temperance organization, who had given but half-hearted endorsements of her work at best.<sup>1</sup> Although the crusader held the belief in common with many middle-westerners that New York was probably the wickedest city of the nation, she did not attempt to reform it by smashing its saloons. Most of the saloons had prepared for her coming by posting signs stating "All Nations Welcome But Carry".<sup>2</sup> The reporters advised her of the places worth visiting and so assured themselves of both an amusing time and excellent stories. Mr. Asbury relates many of these humorous episodes.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Asbury, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 239-47.

In New York Mrs. Nation lectured at Carnegie Hall before a large audience. The following week she lectured twice a day at Coney Island in Steeplechase Park. While there she smashed a show case displaying cigars, and was arrested. She was later released upon paying for the damage.

Mr. Asbury sums up Carry Nation's later activities as follows:

Carry Nation's travels and adventures during the remainder of her life differed only in detail from those of the six months which had followed her debut upon the lecture platform. She continued to attack Masonry and all its works; to snatch cigars and cigarettes and vehemently berate the debauched puffers of noxious hell-fumes; to condemn corsets and long skirts; to advocate equal suffrage, and to invade the strongholds of rum. Her onslaughts on the saloons, however, were mainly verbal, for bartenders had become thoroughly acquainted with her methods. . . . But time could not wither nor custom stale her infinite variety, and wherever she went and whatever she did she aroused excitement and commotion.

In the spring of 1902, Carry Nation lectured in Nebraska for the Red Ribbon Alliance, a militant temperance society which was active in the local option campaigns of Nebraska.<sup>2</sup> When the prohibitionists had lost by only sixty votes in Lincoln, the home of William Jennings Bryan, Carry Nation declared that "Bryan was for Bryan and what Bryan could get for Bryan."<sup>3</sup> It was in Nebraska, too, that she

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Nation, op. cit., p. 234.

first learned to recognize National prohibition as a remedy for the licensed saloon.<sup>1</sup>

From Nebraska she returned to Kansas. In Topeka she was on trial once more for her foray of February 1901. Again she was fined one hundred dollars and given a sentence of thirty days. This time she was pardoned by Governor Stanley and her fine remitted by the first of June.<sup>2</sup>

During the summer she was back on the lecture platform, this time under the management of Mrs. M. A. S.

Monegan.<sup>3</sup> Late in August she returned to New York and there told the newspapers she had decided to "concentrate upon the salvation of the boys in secular colleges and universities".<sup>4</sup>

Carry Nation visited Yale, Harvard, the Universities of Michigan, Missouri and Texas. The members of the Wooley Club at Ann Arbor became her pets, but her receptions at the other universities convinced her that both the faculty and student bodies of those institutions were almost hopelessly depraved. Yale especially piqued her. She had previously received a letter from one of its students who told

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>4</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 262.

of the quantities of liquor served with their meals.<sup>1</sup> The boys were quite indifferent as to their salvation and insisted upon cheering her whenever she tried to talk.

Back to New York she attended the Horse Show at Madison Square Garden and took it upon herself to rebuke the ladies in the Vanderbilt box for wearing such "disgraceful clothes" and demanded "how many of the Vanderbilt millions had been devoted to rescuing the slaves of the saloon".<sup>2</sup>

Carry Nation visited California during the winter and spring of 1903. She lectured in a Los Angeles amusement park called "The Chutes", and it was there that she began to see the stage as a real missionary field. In San Francisco a saloon keeper invited her to smash his new saloon as an advertisement. The crusader was too shrewd for him and although she accepted his invitation she smashed only one whisky bottle. After her lecture she added rather significantly, "the way I advertise has never done the whisky business any good".<sup>3</sup>

While she was in California she received a letter

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<sup>1</sup> These letters found in Carry Nation's autobiography (pp. 249-50) were probably written by one or more of the students as a joke. They seem to exaggerate the condition, and besides there is an undercurrent of humor.

<sup>2</sup> Asbury, op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Nation, op. cit., p. 244.

telling of liquor kept in certain rooms of the State Capitol. The State House was promptly visited, and the contents of the letter flaunted before the Legislature with a challenge to deny. This accusation only met with silence.

By the end of 1902 Mrs. Nation had saved five thousand dollars which she used to build a mission on Central Avenue in Kansas City, Kansas.<sup>1</sup> This she offered to the Salvation Army but they were unable to take it over. Soon after its erection a twenty room house with two acres of ground, situated on Reynolds and Grandview Avenues was offered to her. She bought this and sold the mission building. Since she was unable to handle the undertaking herself, she deeded it to the Associated Charities of Kansas City, Kansas, who operated the home from the last part of 1903 until 1910 when there was no longer anyone to occupy it.<sup>2</sup>

During the summer of 1903, Carry Nation visited Canada. The following winter she made a visit to Washington with the express purpose of interviewing President Roosevelt to tell him what she thought of him and his cigarette-smoking daughter. Carry Nation succeeded in getting no

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 234-36.

<sup>2</sup>The Kansas City Journal Post, June 19, 1927. In 1927 the house was being supported by the Kansas City Community Chest for old W. C. T. U. members. The latter pay five hundred dollars to enter and it was almost filled. The building had been vacant and in need of repair when they took it over.

nearer than the outer offices. There she accosted some distinguished looking visitors, demanding to be told the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties; they refused to give an adequate answer and she was arrested. She had sincerely hated McKinley<sup>1</sup> and now she transferred her animosity to Roosevelt.<sup>2</sup>

During the spring and summer of 1904 Mrs. Nation traveled the country lecturing. She appeared in Kentucky, Ohio, Canada, and Chicago. It was while registering in a Chicago hotel that she first signed her name as Carry A. Nation.<sup>3</sup> Previous to that time she had used the conventional spelling of Carrie.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of her many activities Mrs. Nation found time to publish her autobiography begun in The Smasher's Mail. The book appeared under the title, The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation. The first edition appeared during the last of August 1904. There was a revised edition the following year, and another in 1908.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., pp. 238-39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>3</sup>Asbury states that she signed her name thus upon her first visit to New York, op. cit., p. 239. The author, however, found no other record of such a spelling before she registered in Chicago in 1904. The Kansas City Star, December 14, 1904, supports the assertion.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. supra, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Asbury states that Mr. Steves published 56,000 copies of her book, op. cit., p. 257.

Early in the fall of 1904 Carry Nation received a letter from Mrs. Lucy Wilhoite, one of her trusted lieutenants at Wichita. Mrs. Wilhoite asserted that during a severe illness in the summer she had had a vision telling her to smash the Mahan Brothers wholesale liquor house.<sup>1</sup> She asked Mrs. Nation for help, and although the latter was reluctant to cancel her engagements, she wrote that she would come. The date was fixed for September twenty-eighth and the women of Kansas were invited to attend the smashing.

It was not until the afternoon of September 28, 1904, that Carry Nation arrived in Wichita. In place of finding the town crowded with followers which, she felt, the publicity would bring, there was only the W. C. T. U. holding its annual convention. The next day Mrs. Nation attended the W. C. T. U. meeting at the Methodist Church. The women applauded her speech deriding the liquor traffic, but not one volunteered to follow her except her old companions-in-arms: Mrs. Wilhoite, Mrs. Myra McHenry, Miss Lydia Muntz and Miss Blanch Boies.

These five women went quietly to the Mahan Supply Company on Rock Island Avenue. The wide publicity had ser-

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<sup>1</sup> Nation, op. cit., pp. 289-93.

ved to warn the saloon men, and there were four or five men on guard who prevented the women from entering the building. When Carry Nation found she could not get in she took two stones from her satchel and threw them at the windows breaking the glass. Mrs. McHenry, armed with a hatchet, tried to break down the window but failed. The guards held the women until the police arrived. They were bundled into the patrol wagon and a boisterous crowd followed them to the police station.<sup>1</sup>

They were taken to the city jail where they held prayer service followed by a hymn. Upon finishing these devotionals Carry Nation turned to the Eagle reporter and objected to the dampness of the cell.<sup>2</sup> There was such a crowd outside that the reporter suggested they might charge admission for people to see the prisoners. Mrs. Nation strongly objected, and stated that she was not in a menagerie.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless when she was asked concerning her smashing she maintained it was the only course opened to the women, as

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, October 1, 1904, p. 5. Similar accounts are given in Carry Nation's autobiography, pp. 292-93, and Asbury, op. cit., pp. 283-84. The latter account is very vivid and contains much material not found in any other source.

<sup>2</sup>The cell had previously been scrubbed in preparation for the expected guests, and consequently was a little damp, The Wichita Eagle, October 1, 1904, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., October 1, 1904, p. 5.

God had called them to the task. Mrs. Nation demanded the hatchet the police had taken from her, and that reminded Mrs. McHenry of her hammer which she had used to "clean out Derby".<sup>1</sup> All the prisoners with the exception of Miss Muntz were "jolly and talkative", and seemed pleased with their venture.<sup>2</sup> A man by the name of Charles Prince would have signed their bond, but the women were detained until warrants were issued in the city court. Then they were taken to the county jail.

In the meantime the building in Topeka which Carry Nation had generously offered to the W. C. T. U. was refused. The purpose for which the building was to be used was as a training school for workers, and the members considered that the cost would be too great.

Three days later the women were arraigned before the city court on the charge of malicious destruction of property. They pleaded not guilty and their bonds were fixed at five hundred dollars each. Mrs. Wilhoite let Mrs. C. E. Jones and Mrs. A. Anderson sign her bond. Carry Nation decided to act as attorney for all the women except Miss Boies who was to have a separate trial.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. McHenry was releas-

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<sup>1</sup>The Derby smashing occurred about August 10, 1904, and Mrs. McHenry helped in the raid.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, October 1, 1904, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>She was later sent back to Topeka for she had been released on parole, having been arrested for using a whip on Mayor Parker.

ed on bond signed by Mrs. Mary E. Stewart.

The trial was set for October sixth and the court room was crowded. Mr. Amidon appeared for the Mahan Brothers and Mr. Dill for the State. The defense failed utterly in pleading their case. They could not get the Mahans to state the nature of their business and Carry Nation insisted on quoting the Bible as law in place of referring to the Civil Code. They even accused Mr. Amidon of stealing some of their papers. Mis Muntz was the only quiet and orderly member of the group.<sup>1</sup>

The next day Judge Alexander fined each of the prisoners one hundred fifty dollars with the exception of Miss Muntz who was fined but fifty dollars. In addition to her fine Mrs. Nation was sentenced to thirty days in jail. The cases were all appealed to the district court. The women were released on bonds, but Carry Nation and Myra McHenry were soon back in jail, having been arrested that evening for disturbing the peace and obstructing the sidewalks-- they had been knocking cigars out of men's mouths.<sup>2</sup>

On the fourteenth of April the following year, the final verdict was given sentencing the women from two months

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<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Eagle, October 7, 1904, p. 6. This is the best and seemingly the truest account of the trial.

<sup>2</sup> The Wichita Eagle, October 8, 1904, p. 5.

to forty-five days in the jail and imposing fines of from two hundred fifty dollars to one hundred fifty dollars.<sup>1</sup> Judge Wilson, upon giving them a lecture, suspended the sentence in the case of good behavior. At the conclusion Mrs. Nation went to the city court to appear in her defence against Judge Ray who had brought suit for one hundred fifty dollars which he claimed she owned him from a previous contract. The court allowed him half of the sum.

In the spring of the same year Mrs. Nation moved to Oklahoma to help "that struggling state deliver itself from the clutches of the Roosevelt administration" which was opposed to its statehood as it was to have prohibition.<sup>2</sup> During this time she began to publish her magazine, The Hatchet, in Guthrie. This publication appeared monthly and consisted of sixteen pages and sold for three cents a copy. The October issue of 1905 was doubtless representative. It consisted of a letter to Roosevelt, a letter of a Catholic priest telling of his expose' of Catholic clerical corruption, much prohibition agitation, and many illustrations of the evils of drink.<sup>3</sup> One of the purposes of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., April 15, 1905, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Nation, op. cit., pp. 319-20.

<sup>3</sup>The Hatchet, I (October, 1905).

magazine was a call on the people to demand statehood.<sup>1</sup>

During this period Carry Nation's only child, Charlén, was taken to the insane asylum at San Antonio by her husband, Alexander McNabb. "Excessive child-bearing had weakened her so physically and mentally that she was adjudged insane in the fall of 1905".<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Nation was certain that her child was not insane, and was finally successful in getting her out of the asylum and putting her into a private sanitarium at Baltimore.<sup>3</sup> She brought her grandchildren to visit their mother, and in spite of the great expense she felt it was a consolation to so care for her child.

In the fall of 1906 Carry Nation again had a "vision". This time she was urged on to Washington. Leaving Guthrie, she arrived at Washington at the holiday season. This time she gained the support of the prohibition forces. With their help she hired Convention Hall and gave a lecture. The lecture proved a financial success, and a small sum of money

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<sup>1</sup>The July 1906 issue of The Hatchet had been denied mailing privileges because of Mrs. Nation's article to little boys on self-abuse. At her trial she proved her article was not obscene and was discharged.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Asbury states this as the cause of her breakdown, p. XX. She had eight children in fifteen years. There were undoubtedly other causes, probably hereditary, for the collapse.

<sup>3</sup>Nation, op. cit., pp. 325-27.

was left for Carry Nation after the expenses had been met. A Mr. Dan Sanford gave her his home free of rent, and she moved her publication, The Hatchet, to Washington. Her attempts to see Roosevelt were more futile than before, and this time she did not even get in the White House.

A year later she was arrested in Washington when she objected to some people smoking. She refused to pay a fine and was sent to the work house. There she tried to do some good among the prisoners but was soon released. Later money for the payment of her fine came from a Holiness Association in Evansville, Indiana.<sup>1</sup> During the last few years she had been arrested at Denver, Hot Springs and Pittsburg, as well as at Washington.<sup>2</sup>

Carry Nation visited Europe in the winter of 1908-09, accompanied by her niece, Miss Callie Moore. They sailed for Glasgow the last of November, toured Scotland, England and Ireland, lecturing in a number of places. Carry Nation was received with much curiosity and treated as a joke, especially by the press.<sup>3</sup>

The one thing which shocked her more than all else was the bar-maid. She also thoroughly disapproved of the tea

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<sup>1</sup>Nation, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 322-25, 348-52.

<sup>3</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 301.

drinking habit which she considered next to whisky.<sup>1</sup>

Upon her return to America the last of March, she bought three hundred acres of Arkansas farm land in Boone County, a few miles from Alpena Pass. Her brother, Campbell Moore, lived with her in a small cottage while Carry sought rest close to the nature she had loved as a girl.

The following summer she lectured for a chautauqua circuit during July and August. Then she returned to the East for the last time, visiting New York and Washington. At Washington she began to wreck the station bar in her old time manner, but was arrested and released.<sup>2</sup>

So Carry Nation returned to her farm, and although she realized that her time was short, she gave several lectures in northern Arkansas towns. Her last appearance was at Eureka Springs, January 13, 1911, when she collapsed.<sup>3</sup> On January twenty-second she was taken to Evergreen Hospital at Leavenworth suffering from a nervous breakdown brought on by worry over some lawsuits. She became increasingly worse, and upon seeing one of the physicians smoking she only smiled and said she had done what she could to "eradicate the evil".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Kansas City Star, December 25, 1908.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 306.

<sup>4</sup>The Kansas City Star, June, 1911.

She died June 9, 1911,<sup>1</sup> with only the physician and a nurse by her side. Her sister-in-law, Mrs. R. G. Moore, and niece, Mrs. George Shubert, arrived a half hour later. She was buried at Belton, Missouri, beside her parents.<sup>2</sup>

Her grave remained unmarked until a monument was erected by popular subscription in 1924. On it was inscribed:<sup>3</sup>

Carry A. Nation

Faithful to the Cause of Prohibition

"She Hath Done What She Could"

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<sup>1</sup>According to the records as well as the contemporary accounts the immediate cause of her death was paresis.

<sup>2</sup>Carry Nation left a ten thousand dollar estate. Her will made in Washington and dated 1907 provided for the care of her daughter, and the proceeds of her book was to go to the W. C. T. U.

<sup>3</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 307.

## CHAPTER IX

### OTHER SMASHERS AND SMASHINGS

Carry Nation did not inaugurate the smashing of saloons as an effective prohibition measure, nor was she the first to use a hatchet in their destruction. The thirteen saloons of Rockport, Massachusetts, were destroyed July 8, 1856, by a band of citizens composed mostly of women. Public sentiment was evidently back of them, for after much costly litigation they were acquitted, and the town has been a temperance one since.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Topeka, however, had been aroused to action against the saloons a year earlier. They met in May 1855 and formed a Temperance League adopting resolutions and accepting the Maine Anti-Liquor Law. Such action failed to stop the sale of liquors, and after a fourth of July celebration the citizens held a mass meeting. Having congregated, they determined on immediate and united action. They went to the proprietor of the saloon and demanded his stock of goods. He effected a compromise and agreed to give up all

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<sup>1</sup>The Topeka Daily Capital, 1901, also Asbury, op. cit., footnote on p. 197.

his liquor upon payment of a "certain sum by the citizens".<sup>1</sup> Andreas describes the raid as follows: "The barrels were rolled out, the heads knocked in, and a grand display of fireworks immediately followed, worthy of the young town and its staunch temperance pioneers".<sup>2</sup> Two years later the temperance people were again aroused.<sup>3</sup> This time they destroyed fifteen hundred dollars worth of liquor at the various places, and some of the most prominent citizens of the town participated in the event.<sup>4</sup> The local paper of that date deplored the use of violence but equally blamed the conditions which had made such violence necessary.<sup>5</sup>

In the Spring of 1856 a dram shop was opened by a Dr. Carter with three barrels of whisky brought in from Missouri. Thirty names were quickly signed to a protest circulated against the selling of liquor. The protest had little effect, however, and the next night forty men assembled in front of the saloon and demanded the whisky. One

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<sup>1</sup>A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, Chicago, 1883, p. 541.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 541.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 543-44.

<sup>4</sup>William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1918, II: 792-93.

<sup>5</sup>Andreas, op. cit., pp. 543-44, gives an excerpt from the from the Kansas Tribune, a local paper of Topeka, which told of the episode.

barrel was burned and stirring temperance speeches were made while many took the temperance pledge.<sup>1</sup>

There was strong anti-liquor sentiment in Lawrence from the time of its foundation. Sale of intoxicating drinks within the city limits was prohibited by the city constitution; nevertheless there were many violations, and lawlessness began with the slavery agitation. A temperance society had organized and held "spirited meetings" during the winter of 1855-1856. In the summer of 1856 an effort was made on the part of the women to buy out the stock of the saloon-men on condition that it would not be replenished. "Failing this they took up the hatchet in defense of their right to inhabit peaceful, quiet homes, and to destroy that which was destroying their sons."<sup>2</sup> The following winter saw an increasing number of saloons after a period of prohibition.<sup>3</sup> The ladies again took action, and organized a Temperance Vigilance Committee to prevent the further sale of intoxicants. There was great excitement, while their opponents visited Franklin and returned with a half barrel of whisky and with a red flag flying, paraded the street. In

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<sup>1</sup>Andreas, op. cit., p. 352.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 326. A slightly different account may be found in William Hutchinson, "Sketches of Kansas Pioneer Experience", Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1902, VII; 405.

<sup>3</sup>By the last of January 1857, there were seven saloons Andreas, op. cit., p. 326.

spite of such a demonstration, the vigorous action on the part of the women had its effect, as conditions improved for some time.<sup>1</sup>

At Mound City there had been an "unwritten law" that no saloons should operate there. In 1861, however, a saloon was opened for the soldiers who were stationed nearby. It soon became a nuisance, and since the men were at war the women took matters into their own hands. A wagon load of women came from the direction of Moneka armed with hatchets and axes, and joined the ladies of Mound City. These women went to the saloon and drove out the barkeepers and loungers and broke all the "bottles, kegs and decanters". Movement made to interfere with the smashing was stopped by a revolver in the hand of one of the bystanders. The result was effective prohibition for many years.<sup>2</sup>

When Colonel Montgomery took command of the army near Fort Scott in September 1861, he issued an order as a "military necessity" to destroy all intoxicating liquors on sale at the various saloons.<sup>3</sup> The same officer ordered the destruction of a large quantity of liquor which had been

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<sup>1</sup>Andreas states that it only made the liquor cause more despised by "all decent people", p. 326.

<sup>2</sup>Clara Francis, "The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas", Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1923, XV: 201.

<sup>3</sup>E. S. W. Drought, "James Montgomery", Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1900, VI: 342-43.

taken when his men captured Osceola.<sup>1</sup>

With the beginning of the new century Carry Nation had begun her fight against the demon rum. After almost forty years Kansas was again in the throes of spectacular saloon smashing crusades. But the towns visited by Mrs. Nation were not the only places where scenes of violence were enacted.

On January 30, 1901, Mrs. Mary Sheriff led the women of Anthony on a smashing raid of the town's joints, which would have done credit to her more famous rival. Mrs. Sheriff began her career in her home town of Danville six weeks before, and claimed to be the originator of the smashing idea.<sup>2</sup>

She came to Anthony the evening before the raid and spent the night enlisting her followers and procuring weapons. The women began their attack early in the morning, taking the saloon keepers as well as the city officials by surprise. They began by wrecking the bar in a drug store

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<sup>1</sup>Captain H. E. Palmer, "The Black-Flag Character of War on the Border", Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1906, IX: 457.

<sup>2</sup>While Carry Nation herself had not originated the idea, her smashing in Kiowa preceded Mrs. Sheriff's by several months. Asbury, op. cit., p. 197, The Wichita Eagle, January 31, 1901, p. 6, and The Kansas City Star, January 30, 1901.

with the aid of axes, hatchets, pick-axes and baseball bats.<sup>1</sup> Three other joints were demolished in quick succession. When one of the owners attempted to protect his property, he was struck on the head with a beer bottle in the hands of the husband of one of the women.<sup>2</sup>

Following their raid, the women held a prayer meeting on the sidewalk in sight of their triumph, singing Nearer My God to Thee with fervor and great unction.<sup>3</sup>

In their haste the women overlooked some of the liquor, and as a consequence a number of young men and two or three small boys became intoxicated during the excitement. The general opinion favored the raid, as the W. C. T. U. had often exhorted the saloon men to close their places, and had turned to such violence only as a last resort.<sup>4</sup> The smashers were among the "best people" in the city. No arrests were made, but the mayor swore in extra police and placed

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 31, 1901, p. 6; also The Wichita Beacon, January 30, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 31, 1901, p. 6, states that the husbands, sons and brothers accompanied the women but were unarmed, while The Wichita Beacon, January 30, 1901, asserts that the men were armed to protect the women. Mr. Asbury gives an exaggerated account of this episode saying that Mrs. Sheriff attacked a guard by name of James with a pick-ax, and that the drug store owner's name was Henley.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 31, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>As Mrs. Sheriff was a stranger in town many people thought that their leader was Carry Nation, The Wichita Beacon, January 30, 1901, p. 1.

the crusaders under strict surveillance. Two weeks later upon testimony of the W. C. T. U. members, the county attorney issued warrants for the arrest of the owners of the wrecked saloons.<sup>1</sup>

The wives of several of the prominent citizens of McCune held a short prayer service on the fourth of February and departed to wreck the town's saloons. Like the Anthony women, they also escaped arrest and prohibition was a result.<sup>2</sup>

The following Saturday the citizens of Holton decided to take the law into their own hands and close the joints.<sup>3</sup> The people gathered at the Methodist church in the afternoon where some evangelistic services were held. About three hundred left the church to smash, but their number was soon increased as their purpose became known.<sup>4</sup> The first saloon smashed was one of the most notorious in town and was owned

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<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Eagle, February 19, 1901, p. 2. As a climax to the case The Topeka Daily Capital, June 30, 1915, carries an account of the W. C. T. U. erecting a fountain with the money donated years before to fight the case.

<sup>2</sup> The Wichita Eagle, February 5, 1901, p. 1; also The Topeka State Journal, February 5, 1901, p. 1; and Asbury, op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> The following account was taken from The Wichita Eagle, February 10, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> According to The Wichita Eagle there were one thousand people in the raid. The Wichita Beacon, February 11, 1901, p. 2, states that search and seizure warrants had been issued before starting on the raid.

by a woman named Hicks.<sup>1</sup> The fixtures were wrecked and liquor poured into the street. The proprietors of the remaining joints had, by working very hard, been able to move out their stock of liquors and would soon have disposed of their fixtures. When the crowd swarmed upon them, one of the jointists by the name of Anderson<sup>2</sup> got down on his knees and begged them to spare his fixtures, promising to move them out of town within an hour. The citizens agreed to give the saloon keepers a few hours to leave town.

Newspaper accounts state that the crowd was composed of some of the most substantial and reputable business men in Holton as well as a number of the city officials.<sup>3</sup> After the smashing the crusaders held a "thanksgiving service" for their success. Later in the evening they met to organize a vigilance committee to see that no more joints opened for business. The citizens believed they had accomplished in two hours what the officers were unable to do in fifteen

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<sup>1</sup> Asbury, op. cit., p. 200, states that the owner was Edward Hicks, and The Wichita Beacon, February 11, 1901, p. 2, says the owner was Mrs. Hicks and family.

<sup>2</sup> Asbury also states that it was Edward Hicks who pleaded on his knees, but was pushed in the gutter by a woman, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Asbury gives a somewhat different impression of the action of the officials, op. cit., p. 200.

years.<sup>1</sup>

Anti-saloon sentiment had been running high in Winfield since a prohibition mass meeting was held on the evening of February fifth.<sup>2</sup> The following week a barrel of whisky was destroyed at the Santa Fe freight depot, and Mike Hahn, a temperance worker, and Joe Moncrief were suspected of the act. While most of the prohibitionists believed the act was a mistake, the spirit prompting the deed was defended. The same day Earnest,<sup>3</sup> brother of Mike Hahn, was assaulted by Chance Rhodes and Charles Schmidt in the latter's place of business.<sup>4</sup>

Upon the news of the assault, the leaders of the more radical group of the temperance advocates met secretly at the office of the Southwestern Advocate, and plans were made for immediate action. Those in sympathy with the movement were informed and a meeting was arranged to make the final preparations.

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<sup>1</sup>A similar account is to be found in The Topeka Daily Capital, February 10, 1901. The Wichita Beacon, February 11, 1901, p. 2, adds that a mass meeting was later held to nominate a temperance ticket for the coming city election.

<sup>2</sup>The Topeka Daily Capital, February 5, 1901.

<sup>3</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 203, states that Earnest Hahn was a student at Southwestern College and preparing for the ministry, but neither of the papers mention the fact.

<sup>4</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 13, 1901, p. 1, says that Hahn entered Schmidt's place and threatened to bring in a crowd and demolish it.

The Baptist Church was the scene of the meeting held early in the morning of February 13, 1901. It had been called without the sanction of the Baptist minister, the Reverend H. R. Best, who with two other pastors and some of the prominent citizens had been urging a mass meeting similar to that held at Topeka.<sup>1</sup> These ministers were sent for at the morning meeting in order that they might lead the crusade, but instead they opposed it and counseled moderation. The crowd insisted on action, and the ministers finally agreed to go along with the understanding that they would not take part, while the crusaders compromised also and promised to stop with the smashing of one saloon.

The people marched silently in double column, arriving at Henry Schmidt's saloon a few minutes before seven.<sup>2</sup> Stones were hurled through the windows and several shots were fired.<sup>3</sup> Miss Emma Denny was struck on her upper lip by either a bullet or piece of glass. Word was immediately passed along that Miss Denny had been shot,<sup>4</sup> and quickly

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the Baptist people resented such use of their church, The Wichita Eagle, February 14, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Wichita Eagle for February 14, 1901, gives the number as about two hundred men and women.

<sup>3</sup> Conflicting reports as to which side fired the shots are confusing; both sides deny firing, The Wichita Eagle, February 14, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The Wichita Eagle, February 14, 1901, p. 1, states: "The story of the shooting was probably a mistake. Miss Denny thinks she was struck by a piece of glass".

guns were pulled out and "a regular fusillade was poured into the building".<sup>1</sup> During the shooting the Schmidts escaped through the back door, while the crusaders pushed inside and the smashing commenced. The bar and mirror were wrecked as well as the pictures and liquors; bits of mirror were carried away as souvenirs. The money drawer was broken and its contents amounting to about seven dollars in change was taken along with a pair of new patent leather shoes and a pair of pants.

When the "Schmidt boys" appeared in front of their saloon, they were immediately assaulted by the mob, which was yelling, "Hang him! Hang him!".<sup>2</sup>

Mayor Albright appointed several special policemen to preserve order and prevent crowds from congregating on the street. A counter movement was feared as it was rumored that all revolvers and shotguns were bought up by the anti-prohibitionists.

Things were quiet the rest of the day, and that night a big mass meeting was held. The Reverend George Smith pre-

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 14, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Conflicting stories of the assault are given, however one of the Schmidts claimed to have been struck on the head with an ax by the Reverend Charles Lowther, Asbury, op. cit., p. 204.

sided. A resolution was adopted and nearly three hundred and fifty men and women pledged themselves to rid the city of joints and "kindred vice breeding shops". The jointists were given until Wednesday noon, February twentieth, to get their stock and fixtures out of town. A secret meeting was reported to have followed the general mass meeting at which stronger resolutions were adopted.

The situation had become more serious by morning, and The Wichita Eagle for February 15, 1901, reported that a "state of anarchy" existed in the city. Trouble was intensified when it was discovered that the front door and nearly every window of the United Brethren Church had been broken.<sup>1</sup> People were horrified by "this dastardly deed". The Reverend Hendershot, pastor of the church and one of the sympathizers of the smashers, received notice from three sources threatening his life if he appeared on Main Street. He appeared in the afternoon, and being well armed, no trouble resulted. There was also much talk of poisoning wells and setting houses on fire.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The congregation of this church sent Carry Nation \$7.38 while she was in jail in Wichita, Nation, op. cit., p. 152. Asbury, op. cit., p. 204, gives the amount as \$8.38.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 15, 1901, p. 1, reports a man drinking from Mrs. Hahn's well and becoming very ill; while Asbury writes that "several houses were set on fire" and "a half dozen men" were discovered throwing rat poison into wells, op. cit., p. 206. Asbury's account of the Winfield smashing is decidedly exaggerated. He also tells of two other women being shot and of the crusaders buying five hundred fire arms.

By the following day excitement had quieted somewhat and no violence was committed. Although there were several intoxicated men on the streets it was generally believed that they had obtained their liquor from bootleggers. The Reverend Smith, however, received the following note which he treated as a joke:

As you have notified us gentlemens to move our fixtures Wednesday we would advise you narrow minded people to tend strictly to your own business, as we will be here on earth doing business while the Devil will be holding Barbecue over your carcus.

Two days later printed circulars, signed, "Determined Women", warned the Winfield Commercial Club that they must stop their members from drinking, gambling and holding "liquor carnival" at their club. The warning went further and threatened to abolish the place if it were not stopped, adding that they could prosecute their mothers, wives and daughters if they chose.<sup>2</sup>

The mayor and a committee of business men, who had inspected the buildings, reported that the jointists had vacated their saloons by the allotted time.<sup>3</sup> The prohibition advocates had agreed that hostilities should cease "until the mayor proved himself capable of keeping the joints

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 17, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 19, 1901, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 16, 1901, p. 1, states that while the fixtures were moved out of the buildings they had not been moved out of town.

closed".<sup>1</sup> Two of the jointists were held on charge of assault and attempt to kill, and the county attorney demanded the assistance of the city officials in his enforcement of the law.

Just before the trouble started at Winfield a petition was presented to the mayor of Arkansas City by three of the ministers, requesting him to close the town's joints and "remove the occasion of saloon raiding by the citizens".<sup>2</sup> Mayor Hess at first avoided the issue saying that they had as much power as he to close such places, and later he issued a written refusal to do so.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after four o'clock on the morning of February sixteenth a group of men raided the "Last Chance" saloon located just across the Arkansas River and outside of the city limits. The "mob"<sup>4</sup> was reported to have been led by the

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 22, 1901, p. 8, states that Mayor Albright had aroused bitter feeling on the part of the temperance people by referring to them as "religious cranks". The Wichita Beacon, February 20, 1901, p. 1, states that the Millwood killing and the arrest and imprisonment of Carry Nation had the tendency to dampen the ardor of the prohibitionists.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 15, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 12, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1901, p. 1, as well as Asbury, op. cit., p. 200, state that there were seventy-five men in the crowd; while The Wichita Eagle, February 17, 1901, p. 1, says that seventy-five men were reported by the owner of the saloon but other sources placed the number at twenty-five.

ministers of Arkansas City, but as the men pulled their hats down over their eyes and their coat collars up, their faces were so concealed that the owner recognized only one man.<sup>1</sup>

A wave of prohibition sentiment swept the town. Two days later "The Second Regiment, Carrie Nation Home Defenders" was organized,<sup>2</sup> and the jointists were given a week to remove their fixtures and goods from the city. The women also pledged themselves to boycott the merchants not favoring "law and order".<sup>3</sup>

A lone woman wrecked a joint in McPherson,<sup>4</sup> while at Effingham the students of the county high school were led on a raid by some of their teachers, the objective being a barber shop which was believed to sell liquor. The crusaders, however, were disappointed to find only empty beer bottles.<sup>5</sup>

Peck, a small town near Wichita, was purged of its two joints by one hundred of the town's prohibitionists. When the jointists refused to move out, the crowd rushed in and carried their fixtures and stock to the freight depot

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 17, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 19, 1901, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., February 22, 1901, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., February 15, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 15, 1901, p. 6.

from where they were sent to Wichita the next day. An amusing feature of this crusade was the fact that the jointist accused one of the crusaders of owing him a twenty dollar bar bill and another of stealing some of the whisky.<sup>1</sup>

As a contrast to this fiasco some of the "best women" of Perry, led by the wife of the Methodist minister and that of the cashier of the bank, wrecked the three joints of the little town. The women were followed by a cheering crowd, and neither the county nor city authorities attempted to interfere.<sup>2</sup>

The smashings in Kansas culminated<sup>3</sup> with the tragic killing of the wife of the saloon keeper at Millwood.<sup>4</sup> The evening of February eighteenth twenty masked men, all armed, appeared at the saloon of John Hudson. Two men entered and ordered drinks. At a given signal the other rushed in, two guns were pointed at Hudson while the others fired into the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., February 15, 1901, p. 6, also Asbury, op. cit. p. 199, who gives an exaggerated account.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 16, 1901, p. 1. A similar account may be found in The Wichita Beacon of the same date.

<sup>3</sup>There were other smashings later. On May 16, 1901, at Wichita three young girls broke the windows of a reputed saloon, see The Wichita Eagle of May 17, 1901, p. 5. Other smashings at Derby and Wichita took place in 1904, cf. supra pp. 110-12.

<sup>4</sup>Millwood is located near Leavenworth.

ceiling. Mrs. Hudson, hearing the commotion, opened the door of their living quarters and was shot in the head. She fell to the floor and died almost instantly. One of the raiders had been accidentally shot in the arm, but his wound was never serious.

The saloon run by Mrs. Michael Lochner had been warned to close.<sup>1</sup> The trouble, however, was reported to have been the result of a feud, rather than temperance zeal.<sup>2</sup> Four young farmers living in the neighborhood were arrested and others were reputed to have been implicated.

Saloon smashing was not confined to Kansas, nor indeed, even to the Middle West. Imitators and disciples of Carry Nation were busy throughout the country. In all there were about fourteen such raids outside the state during the period of her greatest influence.<sup>3</sup>

Similar reform movements were taking place in all of

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<sup>1</sup>Asbury states that the saloon belonged to John Lochue and Mrs. Hudson was his daughter. Contemporary newspaper accounts agree on the saloon belonging to Hudson and represents Mrs. Lochner as running it. Asbury gives a different account from the newspapers, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>2</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 20, 1901, p. 1, also The Wichita Beacon, February 19, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Raids took place in Longview and Sioux City, Iowa; Dalton, Arkansas; Dawson, Minnesota; Buffalo and Binghampton, New York; Boston and Chicago, as well as two towns in Nebraska and one in Oklahoma Territory. References to these smashings may be found in The Wichita Eagle, The Wichita Beacon, The Topeka Daily Capital and The Kansas City Star of contemporary dates.

of the larger towns.<sup>1</sup> In many cases the temperance people were backed by the majority of the citizens of the town and their efforts were particularly effective. Not all of the struggle was directed against the saloons alone; in some instances gambling and slot machines were included in the campaigns.<sup>2</sup>

The wave of temperance sentiment which swept the country as a result of Carry Nation's activities<sup>3</sup> had other outlets than smashing raids.<sup>4</sup> Throughout Kansas there was a strengthening of prohibition forces evidenced by the demand for better law enforcement.<sup>5</sup> The county and city officials, swayed by public sentiment, began taking action against the joints. As a result the joints of

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<sup>1</sup> See map, p. 55-a, for the location of the towns. References to the temperance victories may be found in The Wichita Eagle, February 14, 19, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Scott and Independence waged a war against gambling and slot machines, The Wichita Eagle, February 22, 1901, p. 8; The Wichita Beacon, February 12, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Asbury mentions numerous other smashings but as the author was unable to find any other record of them she has ignored these, op. cit., pp. 198-99. As late as 1928, however, a woman smashed a "speakeasy" in Kansas City, The Kansas City Star, December 14, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> The state officials of the W. C. T. U. urged a general uprising in manifestos issued to the W. C. T. U. organizations in the state, and also urged Governor Stanley to enforce prohibition and stir up the people. See The Wichita Beacon, February 12, 1901, p. 6. Such an action is contrary to the attitude Miss Dobbs states the officers assumed, Interview, March 13, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> The Topeka Daily Capital, January 13, 1901.

Montgomery County were closed by the end of January.<sup>1</sup> Carry Nation's raid at Enterprise resulted in injunctions being served on all the saloons in that county.<sup>2</sup>

As a climax to this wave of anti-liquor sentiment, Senator Hurrel's Nuisance Bill was passed through the state legislature and signed by the governor.<sup>3</sup> This act was one of the most stringent temperance measures presented to the legislature in years, and met with much opposition. The bill made the places where liquor was manufactured, sold or kept, common nuisances, and the people handling it guilty of a misdemeanor.<sup>4</sup>

With the forces of public sentiment so stirred to the point of such action in favor of prohibition and reform, one could scarcely say that the smashers had smashed in vain.

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<sup>1</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 14, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 14, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Beacon, February 23, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>The Wichita Eagle, February 22, 1901, p. 8.

## CHAPTER X

### PLACE IN THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT

At the time when Carry Nation began her anti-saloon crusade, prohibition in Kansas had fallen into the discard. the corruption which was apparent in most of the larger cities of the state hurt the temperance cause considerably.<sup>1</sup> Conditions in Kansas were cited by the liquor forces as a prime example of the failure of prohibition. So firmly was the saloon entrenched in local and national politics that they only laughed at the thought of a woman trying to destroy them.<sup>2</sup> The temperance organizations had disturbed them but slightly with their prayers and exhortations.

In spite of its political strength the saloon was becoming unpopular. People had begun to resent their arrogant attitude in locating on the best business corners, and brazenly violating not only the law but common decency as well.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning with her spectacular joint-smashing in Wichita, Carry Nation became one of the most conspicuous per-

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<sup>1</sup>The Kansas City Journal, June 13, 1911.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>3</sup>They caused antagonism by ignoring the Sunday closing law and sale to habitual drunkards.

sons in the United States. The story of her exploits took a position on the front page of the newspapers with Queen Victoria's death.<sup>1</sup> Her great notoriety was due in part to the fact that the evil she attacked was of such magnitude and her method of attack so spectacular, but also because her personality was so extraordinarily "full of surprises".<sup>2</sup>

The opinions which Mrs. Nation's activities aroused were varied, but in the main antagonistic. Many persons believed her insane on the one subject of saloons, some thought her entirely mad, while a few believed her commissioned by God to destroy the liquor traffic.

The temperance organizations were sympathetic; while they neither approved nor endorsed her method officially, they stood loyally behind her, and individual members applauded her.<sup>3</sup> They were determined to see that she got a fair trial and to find out the exact status of the saloon-keeper's

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<sup>1</sup>The Kansas City Star, February 2, 1901, contains excerpts of stories about Carry Nation from the papers of the most important cities of the country.

<sup>2</sup>Anna L. Diggs, "A Study of Mrs. Nation", The New Republic Magazine, I (March 1901) 35-38.

<sup>3</sup>According to Miss Mary E. Dobbs, about four hundred dollars was raised by individual donations to pay Carry Nation's court expenses. The W. C. T. U. women also attended her trials and helped to get lawyers for her, Interview, March 13, 1930.

property under the law.<sup>1</sup> The national president of the W. C. T. U. even approved of her method when the existing laws could not be enforced.<sup>2</sup> At Indianapolis a Carry Nation Club was organized, backed by the ministers and prominent prohibition advocates.<sup>3</sup> Ex-governor John P. St. John, who signed the prohibitory amendment, compared her to John Brown and believed that the officials were at fault.<sup>4</sup>

The press for the most part was hostile. Editors commented on the fact that she was "unquestionably crazy" and was doing more harm than good to the temperance cause. They believed that "laws could not be enforced by lawlessness", and that mobs were more to be dreaded than saloons. Prohibition was considered ineffectual unless it was backed by an active and resolute majority.<sup>5</sup> The Lawrence Daily Journal, a prohibition paper, was quoted by The Wichita Eagle as stating that Carry Nation was the victim of a diseased mind and

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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. A. H. Hutchinson, state president of the W. C. T. U., was quoted as saying that it was the general opinion that justice on the temperance question could not be obtained in Wichita courts, The Wichita Beacon, January 24, 1901; also see Appendix, pp. 155-56.

<sup>2</sup>The Topeka Daily Capital, December 30, 1900.

<sup>3</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 29, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Carry Nation Scrapbook.

<sup>5</sup>The Wichita Eagle, January 30, 1901, p. 4. According to Mr. Leahy a majority of the people in Wichita were for saloons, Interview, April 25, 1929.

was playing her game for notoriety and that people should not encourage her by a show of interest. They considered that both she and the saloon-keeper were equally lawless and unjustified and that she was turning away many prohibition sympathizers by her violence.<sup>1</sup>

Current Literature for March 1901 states that while Mrs. Nation's "attitude and utterances have occasioned some ridicule, the press finds her crusade a good subject for ethical enquiry".<sup>2</sup> The Springfield Republican described Carry Nation as a temperance fanatic who had an "unerring instinct for moral law", and continued to say:

She is unquestionably a distinct moral force, since she stands for respect for law. Her methods may be anarchial in their operation, but a much worse kind of anarchy has been and is being fostered by those whose sworn duty it is to enforce the laws and preserve the constitution of Kansas from public shame.

The Rochester Democrat is of much the same opinion and believed that she had done much good "as a stirrer up of dry bones".<sup>4</sup>

It was only natural that there should be many varied and conflicting attitudes towards such a person as Carry

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<sup>1</sup> The Wichita Eagle, January 4 and 23, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> "Mrs. Nation's Onward March", Current Literature, XXX (March 1901) 259.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

Nation, for:

Reform pioneers are likely, as she did, to make themselves both ridiculous and disliked. Time may convert them into popular heroes, but while they are actively engaged in the work that is destined to make them blessed hereafter, they are considered demagoggs or fanatics, or at least public nuisances.<sup>1</sup>

As time went on Carry Nation's smashing became less, but she was always "news" albeit "more as a national curiosity than a public savior".<sup>2</sup>

The thirty years that have passed have seen much change in the prohibition status. How much of this change is due to Carry Nation is difficult to determine. Beyond doubt she, as no one else, opened the eyes of the people to the realization that prohibition was being almost wholly ignored. This led to the beginning of law enforcement which resulted in the closing of many joints throughout the state. The legislature was also aroused to pass more stringent laws against violators of the prohibitory amendment. These movements unquestionably gave encouragement to the disheartened temperance organizations. The publicity which was so much a part of her crusade kept the saloons constantly in the lime-light and this publicity was focused on the worst side of

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<sup>1</sup>"A Wreath For Carrie Nation, Pioneer in the Prohibition Movement", The Literary Digest, LX (February 15, 1919) 50.

<sup>2</sup>Donald Davidson, "Discussion of Herbert Asbury's Carry Nation", Creative Reading Discussions in Current Literature, November 1, 1929, p. 30.

the liquor traffic. People were awakened as never before to the crime, corruption, misery, and poverty that lay in the wake of the saloon.

James L. Dwyer in his article, "The Lady with the Hatchet", states that the cry, "The saloon must go!" was but the thin wedge whose broad base is the Eighteenth Amendment.<sup>1</sup> Herbert Asbury also believes that it was this unfavorable publicity to the saloon which gave real value to Carry Nation's activities and which was the beginning of its downfall.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the results of her anti-saloon crusade, the awakening of public opinion to better law enforcement, the enactment of more stringent regulatory statutes, and the adverse publicity which was given to the saloon, Carry Nation undoubtedly is one of the most important figures in the movement for national prohibition.

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<sup>1</sup>James L. Dwyer, "The Lady with the Hatchet", The American Mercury, VII (March 1926) 331.

<sup>2</sup>Asbury, op. cit., p. 213.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Most of the material concerning Carry Nation is to be found in contemporary newspapers and magazines. There are many people still living who knew her personally, and the author has interviewed and corresponded with as many such persons as possible. There have been only three books published which deal to any extent with her life. These are Carry Nation's autobiography, The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation, Herbert Asbury's Carry Nation, and Lucy D. Wilhoite's The Hatchet Crusade.

Carry Nation's autobiography contains much interesting material and is invaluable as a source. The reader should regard its contents critically, however, as she is apt to be ultra-religious and is often biased in her presentation of facts. Moreover her story is sometimes incoherent, and frequently inaccurate in regard to details. There are three editions of the book, and the author has used the most recent.

Mr. Asbury's account of her life and activities shows a considerable amount of research. He tends, however, to emphasize the dramatic and spectacular rather than to adhere strictly to the facts. He is particularly well informed on

her later life due, no doubt, to the fact that he had access to the files of New York papers. For his basic material he draws upon Mrs. Nation's autobiography, especially for that part concerning her life before she became famous.

The author of The Hatchet Crusade is one of the women who helped in the joint-smashing crusades in Wichita. Her account of their activities and life in jail is particularly valuable as documentary evidence. Her work must also be regarded critically for she too is prejudiced and ultra-religious.

The author has received two letters from Mrs. Wilhoite and answer to a questionnaire, as well as a letter from Mrs. Evans, another one of the smashers. Both the letters and questionnaire may be found in the Appendix.

Personal interviews with people who knew Carry Nation or remembered her at the time of her smashings have been most enlightening. Of especial interest and help were those with Mr. Thomas A. McNeal of The Topeka Daily Capital and Mr. David Leahy formerly of The Wichita Eagle, both veteran newspaper men who knew Carry Nation at the height of her career. Miss Mary E. Dobbs, secretary of the W. C. T. U., was able to give excellent information regarding the attitude of that organization towards Mrs. Nation. Of particular assistance was the interview with Mr. G. T. Cubbon who was chief of police at the time of Carry Nation's Wichita

raid. He helped to clarify the attitude of the city officials and the real status of the quarantine.

Questionnaires sent to old residents in Medicine Lodge were valuable in discerning the opinion of her fellow citizens before she became famous.

The files of The Wichita Beacon and The Wichita Eagle have been of invaluable service in supplying the details of her activities. The contemporary newspaper accounts are particularly vivid and quite accurate, and in some instances contain the most conservative information to be found. At the Kansas State Historical Library in Topeka the author was able to check the data found in the Wichita papers with that found in The Topeka Daily Capital, The Topeka State Journal, The Kansas City Star and The Kansas City Times. Clippings from these papers were found in Carry Nation Scrapbook and Mrs. Nation--Clippings 1900-1915. The latter was particularly helpful and was an important source for her later life.

Of especial interest was the complete files of Carry Nation's own paper, The Smasher's Mail, and one copy of her publication, The Hatchet, as well as a copy of The Peoria Journal which she edited. The accounts of the early saloon smashings may be found in various volumes of the Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, and in A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas.

Original sources have been used wherever possible.

When different accounts were found, the author has chosen the more conservative, for it usually proved to be nearer the truth.

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## APPENDIX A

Carry Nation to The Wichita Eagle, April 15 to 18 (?), 1901,  
Museum Collection of the University of Wichita.

An explanation of why I wrote this letter to sister Brown will set the public right as to the facts. It is true sister Brown came to my relief in jail. Mr. Brown appeared for me when I had no atty for which I am grateful. While in jail I wrote letters for publication for different papers as I saw fit. She, sister Brown, wrote me several times to keep quiet and wrote my husband to have me say nothing. I thought myself capable of attending to my own affairs and still wrote as the spirit gave me utterance. Four of these letters fell into sister B's hand on the way to the post office, she taking them from the one I sent them by and she told me herself she burned them up. I asked her why, and she said "the Lord told her to". I from that time asked her not to attend to my affairs for if her council was of that nature, which I know was not what God would do, I did not know what else she might do. Again when the medal was voted me I asked for a banner. Again she said my lawyers should have five hundred dollars. I said "that is too much". I did not like such a drain on my friends. She persisted. I gave her several amounts sent me. I told the convention to use the one hundred given me by the Temperance convention at Topeka to pay my lawyers. I have written to beg my lawyers to send in money to them. I wrote sister Brown that I had eleven dollars I would send when she gave me the names of those contributing to pay my lawyers and the amounts. This she refused twice. I wrote Mr. Ray and Keith the same and in this morning's mail I get these two letters. I have many lawyers who offer to defend me for nothing. Tom Duminel of this place has stood by me and I have not been able to pay him but five dollars for he never made a charge, but I shall see he is paid if I live or die. Now I am to have these men send me to jail because I have lost all my friends in Wichita, I think not! I will attend my institute in Medicine Lodge Friday or Saturday of this week and ask my kind friends to continue on my bond or meet me Friday morning on the train (Starting from here at 12-15 gets to Wichita at 6). I have also written my lawyers to meet me. I expect to be in Wichita the evening of Monday the 22nd and if my friends will get a place I will lecture, and ask that all school children be admitted free.

Carry Nation  
Your loving Defender.

APPENDIX B

Julia Hays Evans to author:

Dutch, West Va.  
Apr. 17, 1930.

Miss H. T. Null,

Dear Miss Null, I am very busy in my "Home Missionary Work", away from my stationery. Not long ago a supposed lady wrote me, saying she was a newspaper Reporter, would love to get the names and addresses of our Crusaders, etc. I spent time and money in sending them to her. She has quit writing has not answered my last letter. But I am not judging you by her for the "Good Book tells us not to Judge lest we be judged by the same Judgment". I have an inspired book written by the only minister of our Crusaders in Wichita. It is called "The Hatchet Crusade" and is as true and correct, I believe, as tho God's old Prophets would have written it. I will send you the book for one dollar, plus the postage, about 15¢. The first question you ask "How did you come to help in the smashing Crusades?". Because I saw and suffered the horrors of the saloons and the illegal sale of the poisons called liquors, etc.

Your seventh question is an unjust one to the memory of one of God's Saints. I do not believe you intended it that way but you have heard the misrepresentations of those who, likely have sacrificed nothing compared to the sufferings and persecutions Mrs. Myra McHenry has endured, to be true to God and His Cause, and obey his callings. I know Mrs. Myra McHenry played an important part with her paper called (she will tell the exact name), when the saloon men were determined to place a saloon in a suburban town, when the citizens objected to having the saloon in their midst and called upon Sister Myra McHenry to assist, she went to them in person, rendered such valuable service by assisting the women to pelt the saloon keeper and the most popular Lawyer of Wichita, who had accompanied the saloon keeper, by throwing many eggs at them and their car as they rushed towards Wichita. The men felt that they would be shot down, so the good women who the worst of men generally respect, took the law in their own hands. The citizens showed their appreciation of Sister Myra's assistance by donating her a house and lot, I believe or giving her a valuable piece of land. I remember in the early days of our Crusades,

of her making a speech against the saloons on the street. The policeman was for the saloons and did not reprove the young rascal who climbed on an adjoining building and began throwing eggs at Myra. I was with her at the time. She was very nimble and active then so she darted behind the policeman who received the eggs on his person, as he deserved for his treachery. She lives among you and is truthful and noble as God's true children are. She comes from an old respected family from Mo. My late Uncle J. W. Lewis, knew her people well. Some of her foes have been from her own household but that is according to God's Word. They who persecute God's Children for being true to His Cause will reap their punishment.

Now, dear friend, in Christ, I hope you will buy this book, "The Hatchet Crusade" after I am through here, I think I shall put in my time selling it, for it surely is inspired. I would give it to you freely but my money goes for the poor who have no gospel preached to them. Get some of your friends to give something so you all can read it. In the 9th Chap. of this book you will read of some of the persecutions our beloved Myra bore for Jesus' sake also read of my Beloved Annis Peebles,

from Julia Hays Evans

Inspired of God

Rev. Lucy D. Wilhoite now of Cali. wrote the book.

## APPENDIX C

Questionnaire sent to Lucy D. Wilhoite, Upland, California,  
March 15, 1930:

Q. How did you come to help in the smashing crusades?

A. The need of the hour demanded it.

Q. What was the W. C. T. U.'s attitude?

A. Favorably. a few were conservative.

Q. What was the people's attitude?

A. Indifferent at first, but aroused and stimulated to action finely.

Q. How did Mrs. Nation happen to use the hatchet?

A. When we went to Mrs. Dr. Julia Evans, apartment for some weapons to smash Saloons with on the 23rd of January 1901, She chose the Hatchet as her weapon.

Q. What kind of a woman was Mrs. Brown?

A. She was the President of Central W. C. T. U. of Wichita, Kansas at that time, but was petitioned to resign finely she organized the Frances Willard W. C. T. U. and was the President of that union.

Q. What kind of treatment did you receive while in jail?

A. The treatment one would expect from a wet administration, in keeping with their views.

Q. Did you consider that you were given a fair trial?

A. It was impossible to receive a fair trial from purgators and corrupt men.

Q. Do you remember the approximate date of the Derby smashing?

A. Some time in the month of September 1902 I believe.

Q. Did Myra McHenry play an important part in the later smashings?

A. She did.

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Q. Are there any others who took part in the work and with whom I might get in touch?

A. Mrs. Dr. Julia Evans of Glennville, West Virginia,  
Box 287.

