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A Rhetorical Analysis of Julia Strudwick Tutwiler's Reform Speeches: 1880-1900.

Robert Raymond Kunkel
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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KUNKEL, ROBERT RAYMOND
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF JULIA STRUDWICK TUTWILER'S REFORM SPEECHES: 1880-1900.

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A Rhetorical Analysis of
Julia Strudwick Tutwiler's
Reform Speeches: 1880-1900

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

Robert Raymond Kunkel
B.A., Illinois College, 1952
M.S., University of Wisconsin, 1956
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ABSTRACT

Julia Strudwick Tutwiler (1841-1916) affected the disposition of social issues, particularly in Alabama, during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Public speaking was one of the resources she employed to influence change in education for women and the treatment of prisoners. This study analyzes fifteen speeches presented between 1880 and 1900 and assesses her effectiveness as a public speaker.

Primary source materials for this study are the Julia Tutwiler Papers housed at the University of Alabama Library, the Journal of Proceedings and Addresses for both the Alabama and National Education Associations (1880-1910), the Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1882-1900), the Bicentennial Reports of the Alabama Board of Prison Inspectors (1880-1910), and a series of interviews with Tutwiler's relatives and former students.

Tutwiler was probably limited in her effectiveness as a speaker because of her loose organization, mixed speech purposes, unstructured arguments, minimal logical proofs, and the repeated use of the same illustrations and examples. In spite of these apparent limitations her effectiveness supports Aristotle's conclusion that "ethos is the most potent of all the means of persuasion." Her education, her selflessness, and her devout Christianity contributed to her excellent reputation. Her forthrightness, fearlessness, and ability to establish her good character, good will, and intelligence lessened the shock of a woman appearing on the public platform and
enhanced her posture as a speaker.

Her persistence brought most of her ideas to fruition. As a result of her efforts, the doors of the University of Alabama were opened to women, technical education for women became a reality with the establishment of the Alabama Girls' Industrial School, prison night schools were initiated, effective inspection of prisons was begun, reformatories were constructed for youths of both races, and a separate institution was provided for women prisoners.

Tutwiler emerges as a significant social reformer due, in part, to her speaking.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The political, social, and economic setting which provided the background for Julia Strudwick Tutwiler's attempts to effect social reform was fraught with obstacles impeding such reform. She returned to Alabama in 1876 after an extended tour of travel and study in Europe. She was thirty-five years old. She came home to a state which had overthrown Radical Reconstruction in the election of 1874, but which, like other Southern States, was suffering from severe financial hardship.

The South, its economic base virtually destroyed by the Civil War, was no recipient of largesse from the radically controlled Republican Congress nor did the Bourbon-Redeemer home governments invoke monetary policies fashioned to re-establish with any real effectiveness the South's economic structure. The retrenchment policies of the Bourbon-Redeemer governments, characterized by niggardliness, retarded rather than encouraged political, social and economic growth. This retrenchment policy shaped the modern South much more than did the policy of Radical Reconstruction. C. Vann Woodward said:

In no Southern state did Radical rule last so long as a decade. Apart from South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, where Radicals did manage to prolong a troubled and contested authority for nearly that long, the Radical regime in the average state . . . lasted less than three and a half years. The amount of good or evil the Radicals could accomplish was limited by this fact if by no other. . . . Radical Reconstruction, like the Confederacy, was an ephemeral experiment. By comparison the work of the Redemption was more enduring. For it was not the Radicals nor the Confederates but the Redeemers who laid the lasting foundation in the matters of race, politics, economics, and law.
for the modern South.¹

One of the most damaging policies of the Redeemers was that of an inequitable system of taxation in which special interests were shown favoritism by state legislatures. Woodward noted:

Apart from the amount of taxes, the systems of taxation resorted to were generally deplorable. The poll tax was regressive; general property taxes placed an unusual burden on owners of realty, while personalty easily escaped taxation; assessment and valuation laws encouraged dishonesty. Among those interests specially favored by Redemption tax policies were railroads, utilities, and insurance companies. They were frequently granted valuable franchises that escaped taxation, and assessments of their property, especially that of railroads, were generally far below their true values. Urged on by the dominant wing of Redeemers, several state legislatures and numerous municipalities adopted measures exempting from taxation new manufacturing capital entering the state or community.²

As state income from taxes ebbed, government spending was sharply reduced. The results of this economic policy of retrenchment were a diminished and restricted educational system, an enlarged and abused convict-lease system along with an inadequate number and type of prisons, and frugal spending for the maintainence and retention of eleemosynary institutions. Alabama was no exception. According to Francis Butler Simkins, the Redeemers simply resorted to a parsimonious approach to public and social services. He stated:

The Bourbons met a temporary loss of financial standing and the prevailing poverty of their constituencies by a policy of rigid economy, necessitating little credit and only the lightest of taxes. Economy became almost an obsession of the Bourbons, with salaries of public officials fixed at


²Ibid., p. 60
absurdly low figures. There was an uncritical reaction, against the expansion of governmental functions so characteristic of the radical period; social legislation was neglected; appropriations for higher education, if made at all, were not sufficient to restore state colleges to their ante-bellum level of usefulness; insane asylums and other charitable institutions were kept alive, but failed to obtain sufficient revenues.³

Had such policies of leadership gone unchallenged, reform would have been much longer coming to the South. However, in that section, as throughout the United States, the public conscience of concerned citizens was reawakened by individuals whose voices, often in the minority, profoundly affected educational and social reform in the late nineteenth century. Julia Strudwick Tutwiler was such a voice in Alabama. While many Southern speakers were engaged in glorifying the past or encouraging Northern capitalists to invest in the New South, Tutwiler spoke out in an effort to enlist public opinion and action against the policies of retrenchment. To this end, she advocated greater educational opportunities, especially for women, and humanitarian reform within the convict-lease and penal system of Alabama. In so doing she seemed an anomaly of nineteenth century Southern womanhood, for she spoke out at a time when prevailing Southern attitudes were opposed to women participating in public affairs, particularly toward women speaking in public.⁴ Tutwiler ignored time-honored tradition and spoke before


state, national, and international audiences. Thus, she attained a unique position among the reform voices of the South and gained for herself such titles as "The Leading Citizen of Alabama" and "The Angel of the Stockade."

Tutwiler delivered most of her reform speeches concerning education and the penal system of Alabama over a twenty year period (1880-1900). However, a few speeches were given after those years. During the fifteen years preceding her death she suffered several ailments which restricted her public appearances, although she diligently continued her visits to the prisons of Alabama. The scope of this study concentrated on the twenty year period during which she presented the majority of her reform speeches.

Beginning in 1880 with her pioneer paper prepared for the Alabama Educational Association, she delivered five addresses related to educational reform: "The Technical Education of Women," presented to the Alabama Educational Association, 1880; "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character," presented to the Alabama Educational Association, 1891; "A Year in a German Model School," presented to the National Educational Association, 1891; "Individualization by Grouping," presented to the Elementary Department of the National Educational Association, 1892; and "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?".

5. Specific ailments mentioned were sciatica and arthritis. Interviews were conducted with former students, Miss Geneva Mercer, Mrs. Hugh Wilburn, and Mrs. Susie Sledge Moon, May 2, 1974; and, the Misses Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler, nieces, October 3, 1972.

6. The famed Southern educator Jabez L. M. Curry included a copy of this speech among his pioneer papers. The Curry Papers are housed in the State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.
presented to the World Congress of Representative Women, 1893.

Most of her speeches on humanitarian reform of the convict-lease and penal system were presented as reports to the Annual Conventions of the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union, while she served as that organization's Superintendent of Prison and Jail Work. Ten such reports were presented between 1885 and 1899. Additionally, she focused national and international attention on Alabama's prison system in the following speeches: "Our Brothers in Stripes, in the Classroom," presented to the National Educational Association, 1890; and, "Alabama's Report to the International Historical Congress of Charities and Corrections," presented to that Congress, 1893.

A speech is a result of a speaker's experiences, conceived in language and related to the milieu of the time and conditions in which the speaker lived. Consequently, the first chapter considers Tutwiler's background and qualifications as an exponent of reform. It concentrates on those influences which significantly shaped her attitudes and ideas as they related to her advocacy of educational and humanitarian reforms.

Chapter III considers the status of education for women, particularly in the South and, since it is imperative that the critic study the setting in which the speaker functioned, it analyzes the audiences and occasions of Tutwiler's educational reform speeches.

Chapter IV considers the following aspects of Tutwiler's educational reform speeches: nature and problems; her ethos; purposes and goals; and, arguments and supports.

Chapter V considers the status of the penal and convict-lease systems in Alabama as well as the occasions and audiences of
Tutwiler's prison reform speeches. In addition the following aspects of those speeches are considered: nature and problems; her ethos; purposes and goals; and, arguments and supports.

Chapter VI considers Tutwiler's methods of speech preparation and delivery.

The final chapter assesses the effectiveness of her advocacy of reform, considering its immediate and long-range results.

Two previous studies were of considerable help in assessing Tutwiler's reform speaking. First, Anne Gary Pannell and Dorothea E. Wyatt's biography Julia S. Tutwiler and Social Progress in Alabama, published by the University of Alabama Press, 1961, provided insight into Tutwiler's life and education and her attempts to promote social reforms. Second, Mary Parnell Schultz's unpublished master's thesis "A Rhetorical Study of Selected Speeches of Julia Strudwick Tutwiler" completed at Auburn University, 1971, examined selected speeches on educational and prison reform and analyzed parts of Tutwiler's logical, ethical, and emotional appeals. Schultz neglected to consider the impact of Tutwiler's educational philosophy as it was woven into and made apparent in her attempts to effect social reform. Thus, the Schultz study considered Tutwiler as a speaker only and failed to consider Tutwiler, the person. In analyzing Tutwiler's speeches, it was apparent that most of her effectiveness as an advocate of reform resulted not so much from careful craftsmanship following the principles of speech construction and delivery as it did from her personality, reputation, and persistence. This study adds this dimension to that of Schultz. Then too, the Schultz study analyzed only nine of the fifteen extant speeches on educational and prison
This study enhances that of Schultz by the additional analysis of the other speeches.

In addition to Tutwiler's extant speeches, there were many speeches given about her that provided materials relevant to her background and educational training. Further, this study drew upon the manuscript collections at the Alabama Department of Archives and History and the University of Alabama. The following sources also yielded important materials: University of Montevallo Library; Livingston State University's Julia Tutwiler Library; the annual report to the Superintendent of Prisons of the State of Alabama; the Journal of the Alabama House and Senate; the Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of both the Alabama Educational Association and the National Educational Association; and the minutes of the state meetings of the Alabama Women's Christian Temperance Union. Finally, numerous pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers containing articles written by Tutwiler and biographical materials, as well as personal interviews with relatives and former students aided by enlarging Tutwiler's portrait.
Chapter II

TUTWILER'S BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS AS AN EXPONENT OF REFORM

Thonssen, Baird and Braden state "but to see a speech in its fullest context the critic must . . . seek to understand the utterance as an expression of the speaker's personality, as the culmination of his practical experience, reading, prior conditioning, aspirations, and goals."¹ Julia Strudwick Tutwiler (1841-1916) became a leading advocate of educational and institutional reform in the two decades, 1880-1900, in the South. What experience, training, conditioning, and aspirations led her to such a position? In assessing her background and qualifications as an exponent of reform three factors played a significant part in molding her personality: (1) her home life and preliminary education under the guiding influence of her father, (2) her extended education and travel, and (3) her keen observations of prevailing conditions related to those social institutions in which she sought change.

HOME LIFE AND PRELIMINARY EDUCATION

Miss Tutwiler's life was characterized by deep ethical and humanitarian convictions strongly implanted by her home life and preliminary education.

She was born to Henry and Julia Ashe Tutwiler on August 15, 1841, in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.² She was one of eleven children, all of


²Anne Gary Pannell and Dorothea E. Wyatt. Julia S. Tutwiler and
whom received their primary and secondary education under the tute-
riage of their father, one of Alabama's preeminent educators. A
Virginian by birth and a member of the first graduating class at
the University of Virginia, he gained his bachelor's degree in 1828
and received a Master of Arts degree soon thereafter, although the
degree was not formally conferred until July, 1835.\(^3\) He was ap-
pointed the Professor of Ancient Languages at the newly founded
University of Alabama.\(^4\) His teachers considered him a worthy
scholar of good moral character. John P. Emmet, who taught chemis-
try and natural history at the University of Virginia, said:

I have known this young gentleman [Mr. Henry Tutwiler] not
only as a pupil of others, but my own, and I can with confi-
dence speak of his assiduous and industrious habits. There
has never been, and probably there will not be for a great
length of time, a student of this institution so eminently
entitled to approbation of his professors, for no other indi-
vidual can ever so thoroughly enter upon the examinations. . . .
His general acquirements are more profound, his judgment riper,
and his mind altogether freer of conceit and prejudice than is
the case with any other young man of my acquaintance.\(^5\)

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Social Progress in Alabama (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press,
Tutwiler was on the staff of La Grange College, near Florence, at
the time, but Mrs. Tutwiler was visiting relatives in Tuscaloosa
which accounts for Julia being born there and not in Florence.

\(^3\) Thomas Chalmers McCorvey, Alabama Historical Sketches (Charlottes-
McCorvey: Sketches. Henry Tutwiler, Sketch of Greene Springs School
for Thirty Years (Greensboro, Alabama: Alex H. Williams, Job Printer,
1877). This small pamphlet is located in the Henry Tutwiler Folder
in the Alabama Room of the Birmingham Public Library. Hereafter cited
as H. Tutwiler: Sketch of G. S.

\(^4\) H. Tutwiler, Sketch of G. S. Tutwiler was elected to the chair
in 1830, but the University did not open its doors until 1831.

\(^5\) In a letter dated October 9, 1830. From the Henry Tutwiler Papers
(Accession 540), Manuscripts Department, University of Virginia
Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.
George Tucker, the first Professor of Philosophy at the University of Virginia, also recommended young Tutwiler for his scholarly ability:

Mr. Tutwiler has been a student of this University for five years, and in the whole time I know of no other whose conduct has been in all respects more praiseworthy and correct. He has invariably been among the foremost and sometimes the very first, in the several classes he has attended, at every examination, and he has obtained the rare [I think singular] distinction of graduating in six departments. . . . Besides his acquirements, which are very rarely equalled at his time of life, his moral character is irreproachable, his manners are conciliatory, and his methods of teaching judicious and successful.6

Professor Tutwiler's educational philosophy was progressive for the antebellum South, and was best evidenced in the general plan and purpose of the Greene Springs School as found in the catalog June 29, 1876, and extracted as follows:

To prepare young men for the business of life, or for the higher classes in our colleges and universities, was the object proposed at the foundation of the school, and this object has been, and will continue to be, kept steadily in view. There is no division of the whole body of students into classes, but each individual is placed in such classes in his various studies, as he may be prepared to join with benefit to himself. A prominent place is given to the studies of ancient languages and mathematics as those best calculated to promote sound and thorough intellectual training. . . . At the same time, we have long been impressed with the conviction that our ordinary system of education is defective in not calling the attention of the young. . . . to an observation of the phenomena around us; thus blunting, instead of stimulating, that curiosity which is part of our nature. It has been our constant aim, therefore, to interest our students in those sciences which have revolutionized the whole domain of industry, and diffused the comforts and luxuries of life among the mass of mankind. For this purpose, we have provided apparatus sufficient for illustrating the various branches of natural philosophy and chemistry. . . . to enable us to keep pace with the progress of those sciences. Besides having regular classes in these studies, lectures, accompanied by experiments, are delivered frequently to all students. . . .

6. In a letter dated October 11, 1830.
Ancient geography and history are taught in connection with the ancient languages. The mathematical course embraces not only the theory of the branches usually taught, but also the practical applications of trigonometry to heights, distances, field surveys, levelling, navigation, etc., and suitable instruments are provided for this purpose. English compositions are required weekly from all students, and a portion of Saturday is devoted to this purpose. A library of several thousand volumes is open to all students. Additions of new and valuable books are made several times a year. Books that have a tendency to corrupt the taste are carefully excluded. The school also is supplied with a fine telescope of high magnifying powers.

Thus, Henry Tutwiler strongly opposed rigid, formalized rote education, preferring in its stead individualization; he believed that natural sciences ought to be included in the curriculum, urging his students to be observant of the natural phenomena around them; he did not believe in corporal punishment, rather he ruled by "moral suasion"; and, he believed intensely in the right of girls to receive an education equal to that of males.

When he resigned his position at the University of Alabama in 1837, Professor Tutwiler accepted an appointment to the staff of Alabama Institute of Literature and Industry at Marion, Alabama, the forerunner of Howard College (now Samford University in Birmingham). In 1840, he resigned and accepted a position as professor of mathematics and chemistry at LaGrange College in Florence, Alabama (now the University of North Alabama).

The reason why Professor Tutwiler decided to open his own school is not clear. He probably did so because he desired to carry out his own ideas of education. Whatever the reason, he resigned

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7 Professor Tutwiler reiterated the essence of this plan and purpose in his Sketch of G. S.

8 McCorvey, Sketches, passim.
from LaGrange College and established the Greene Springs School in 1847. The impact of this decision was twofold: first, the school became so prominent it was referred to as the Rugby of the South, attracting students from the best families in Alabama and from surrounding states; second, it was at Greene Springs that Julia received her primary and secondary education and became imbued with a deep Christian ethic as well as much of her educational philosophy. She proved to be an adept student. According to a nephew, she was

possessed of a brilliant mind and being a most industrious student, she had great encouragement in her immediate home circle. When this young daughter of Dr. Tutwiler showed such marked ability as a student, her father took the greatest pride in tutoring her in the classics and he encouraged her in her ambition to become a great scholar and educator.¹⁰

Julia, her sisters, and a number of daughters of neighboring families attended classes with the male students and no favors were tendered them because of their sex for "the girls had the same assignments as the boys. . . and recited with them. . . . Such a procedure was rare in the United States in the 1840's and the 1850's, particularly so in the conservative Deep South."¹¹

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¹⁰ Gessner T. McCorvey, Untitled address given at Havana, Alabama, September 26, 1940. This address and another by Walter B. Jones is contained in a pamphlet published by the Hale County Historical Society, Havana, Alabama, 1947.

Clara L. Pitts cited one direct benefit of this coeducational training for Julia.

This procedure was very unusual for that time and it must have helped Miss Tutwiler develop a realization of her own ability to meet arguments presented by men. The constant association as an equal with men and boys enabled her to evaluate their contributions and prevented that feeling of awe and that respect for the decision of the male which prevailed among women at that time.12

Pannell and Wyatt indicated that Greene Springs "gave her direct evidence that girls as well as boys could benefit from education. It was an important influence later on encouraging her to work for co-education."13

The course of study probably influenced her in several other ways. She became aware of the value of individualized instruction since such instruction was intrinsic to Henry Tutwiler's philosophy of education, and she was introduced to concepts of industrial training as her father trained his students.

No mention was made of speech training at the school, but the emphasis placed on training in the classics and the school's library probably permitted Julia some acquaintance with the precepts of ancient oratory. She was reputed to be a constant reader.14

As a young girl, she manifested an inclination toward the dramatization of literature as several stories concerning her childhood attest. The most engaging of these occurred when she was seven years old and involved her sister Katherine. Pannell and

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Wyatt recounted it thus:

When she was seven her enthusiasm for William Collins' "The Passions: An Ode for Music" led her to direct her sister Katherine in a re-enactment of the poem. While Julia . . . recited the lines

Next Anger rush'd: his Eyes on fire,
In Lightnings own'd his secret Stings
In one rude Clash he struck the Lyre,
And swept with hurried Hand the Strings

Katherine was told to personify "Anger" and to run about the family garden and snatch a water dipper near their mother's flower bed. This spirited action led Mrs. Tutwiler, who was attempting to garden, to insist that the two girls go elsewhere to play.¹⁵

The oral presentation of literature was to become an important pedagogical device for Miss Tutwiler. She would often employ antiphonal speech to present Biblical parables to the student body at Livingston Female Academy (later Alabama Normal College).¹⁶

In addition to influencing her education, Henry Tutwiler instilled a strong Christian ethic in young Julia. He "believed fully in the validity of the Christian concept of the equal worth of every soul. He took seriously the basic precepts of Christianity and sought to combine religious teachings with character development."¹⁷ More specifically,

owing to the distance from churches Professor Tutwiler undertook more of the religious instruction of his students than he probably otherwise would have done, and it was his custom to meet the whole body of students three times on every Sunday—before breakfast, at noon, and after tea. He managed to make the instruction on these occasions of such a nature as not to be in the least irksome. On the other hand, even the most obdurate student looked forward with pleasure to the short moral lecture, or extract from some interesting sermon, or other exercises with which he was

¹⁵. Ibid., p. 8.


¹⁷. Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 10.
accustomed to vary these meetings. At the meeting after tea, it was his custom to call the roll, and every student was expected, though not required, to respond by reciting some stanza, or short poem conveying a moral or religious idea or sentiment, or, if he preferred, a quotation from the Bible. 18

Julia Tutwiler attempted to cultivate a strong Christian ethic in the lives of her students, just as her father had done before her. As a child and later as a mature woman, she befriended the Negroes who worked for her, especially one aged servant who had been her nurse. 19 Later, as president of Alabama Normal College, Miss Tutwiler held a chapel service each morning in which she often applied the stories of the Bible to the lessons of life. Then too, each Sunday, the students, accompanied by teacher-chaperones, walked to the church of their preference. 20 As to her own religious preference, "Aunt Jule 21 was reared a Methodist, became a Presbyterian, but taught the Episcopal ritual for she loved it the best." 22 Be that as it may, Julia reflected a deep religious, moral and humanitarian concept. Dr. Eoline Wallace Moore, one of her early biographers, stated:

Miss Tutwiler was deeply religious, but not narrow. To her, God was real and concerned with her plans and service. She never left Him out. While her idealistic nature found


20. Ibid. All interviewees told of this Sunday morning ritual.

21. Her family and students often used this shortened form of Julia.

22. Personal interview with Misses Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler, Greensboro, Alabama, October, 1972. This fact is also found in a letter from Mrs. George Kerr Little (a student of Miss Tutwiler from 1892 to 1900) to Anne Gary Pannell. See: Julia Tutwiler Papers, University of Alabama, Library, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Hereafter cited as: Tutwiler Papers.
deep joy in beauty of ritual and devotional reverence, she saw religion as service.\(^{23}\)

EXTENDED EDUCATION AND TRAVEL

Henry Tutwiler's decision to encourage his daughters to continue their education in Northern schools must have seemed heretical, for "few respectable southerners wished to risk sending a young woman to a northern place of learning where she might become infected with the radical vagaries such as feminism, liberalism, or humanitarianism."\(^ {24}\) Not only did Julia Strudwick Tutwiler seek training in the North, she sought it in Europe as well. It was this extensive educational training which both infected her with "liberalism and humanitarianism" and provided the experiences from which she drew her major arguments and evidence concerning female education.

There is some disagreement among her biographers concerning her first trip to Philadelphia to study in Madame Maroteau's School of English and French. Moore suggested that at sixteen "Julia was sent to a French boarding school in Philadelphia."\(^ {25}\) Pannell and Wyatt said, "for two winters just prior to the outbreak of the War, Julia attended a boarding school in Philadelphia conducted by a Madame Maroteau".\(^ {26}\) Whatever the case, Julia's affinity for modern languages was reason enough for her father's encouragement to attend


\(^{24}\)Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, pp. 11-12.

\(^{25}\)Moore: "Tutwiler", p. 5.

\(^{26}\)Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 12.
Madame Maroteau's school.

The threat of the approaching war caused her return to Greene Springs. She immediately sought her father's permission to become a nurse and thus serve the South. Henry Tutwiler, however, was adamant and refused to let her or any of her sisters serve as Confederate nurses. Instead, "Julia now entered for the first time upon her formal career as a teacher and taught the students still in residence. She also found time to give instruction to less favored white children in the neighborhood who could not afford to be regular students. Accompanied by a small brother, she often rode horseback as far as five miles into the countryside to help ambitious children learn to read and write." In a more humanitarian outreach she taught the children of the Tutwiler slaves to read and write although it was illegal to do so.

When hostilities concluded in 1865, she was almost twenty-four years old. Henry Tutwiler's personal wealth had not been dissipated by the war. The Green Springs School, untouched by advancing

27. Julia wrote a poem, "Let Me Go: The War Drum Soundeth", and placed it at her father's breakfast plate. The poem is located in the Tutwiler Papers, University of Alabama Library.

28. There is disagreement on this point. Misses Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler said it was her sister Katherine who rode with Julia, as they often heard Katherine recall the experience. Personal interview, October 3, 1972.


30. Her nieces, Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler, indicated that the Tutwiler family was upset because Julia taught the children of their slaves. Interview, Greensboro, Alabama, October 3, 1972. Also Birmingham Age-Herald, December 13, 1898.

31. McCorvey, Sketches, p. 29.
Northern forces, had continued in operation throughout the war. In addition, "there were funds he had earlier invested in Philadelphia that were available for use."\(^\text{32}\) With her father's encouragement, no doubt, she decided to continue her education, a decision important in her future. Dr. Lucille Griffith, an Alabama historian, said, "the eleven years from 1865 to 1876 were important to the young woman; in them she developed many of her ideas, interests, and ambitions."\(^\text{33}\)

Once more, she and a sister, Margaret, returned to Madame Maroteau's school and shortly thereafter Julia enrolled in the newly opened Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. She "entered Vassar College on January 29, 1866, at the age of 24, from Greene Springs, Alabama. She left June 27, 1866, so she was here only half a year."\(^\text{34}\) The short stay in Philadelphia and at Vassar College seemed to indicate that she was, as her biographers labeled her, a "restless searcher" during the years immediately following the war.

In the fall of 1866, Julia became a member of the faculty of Greensboro Female Academy in Greensboro, Alabama. The following summer the principal resigned and "the trustees elected Julia as his successor. This was a liberal step in the Deep South of this

\(^{32}\) Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 18.


\(^{34}\) From a letter to Professor Hallie Farmer, written by the recorder at Vassar College, Julia G. Bacon, December 16, 1932. See Tutwiler Papers.
The changes she effected in this post reflected the education she had received at Greene Springs. Pannell and Wyatt summarized them as follows:

During the two years from 1867 to 1869 that Julia Tutwiler held her first school administrative post, she proceeded to make a number of changes in accord with her views. Her interest in the teaching of foreign language is indicated by the fact that she cancelled the extra fee which had been previously charged for the study of Latin, French and German. She displayed a concern for the fundamentals. Students were not permitted to elect Latin until they had demonstrated a competence in the structure, history and practical use of English. She also endeavored to collect a special fee in order to build up the library and to obtain maps. There was no grading and in the academic department Julia taught all of the more advanced pupils.  

In 1869, resigning as principal of Greensboro Female Academy, Julia returned to Greene Springs to resume teaching in her father’s school. The reasons for her decision are difficult to determine. She may have been discouraged by the financial situation of the Greensboro Female Academy, or she may simply have desired to return to the pleasant environment of Greene Springs. Whatever the reasons, the change did not satisfy her restlessness; she taught only three years (1869-1872) for her father.

The final four years (1872-1876) of this period of education and travel were important in molding Julia’s educational and humanitarian outlook. In the fall of 1872 she accompanied her brother to Washington and Lee University where tradition prevented her from

35. Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 22.
36. Ibid.
37. Like most other Southern educational institutions, this academy was attempting to operate on minimum finances in a rather destitute physical plant. Private and public funds were difficult to obtain, and both C. Vann Woodward and Francis Simkins indicated that education was the first to suffer under the yoke of financial hardship.
enrolling in regular classes. She was, however, permitted to take private lessons in foreign languages from some of the professors, who helped her "to learn the latest and most improved methods of language instruction and pronunciation."38 The year at Washington and Lee University undoubtedly was important in shaping her ideas on co-education.

To expand her horizons in the summer of 1873, she toured Europe and decided to stay in Kaiserwerth, Germany, a village on the Rhine near Dusseldorf, for a period of study.39 Her German heritage as well as the advances that had been made in Prussian education probably influenced her to study in Germany. Instead of entering the competitive activity of the German University system, she chose the Diakonessen Anstalt, operated by an order of Protestant sisters of charity. She had neither letters of introduction or references; thus the deaconesses had to decide upon her request for admission. Not idling her time while waiting,

Julia became thoroughly familiar with the village. The institute consisted of several units, including a deaconess house, a hospital, an infant school, a training school for teachers, an asylum for the aged, the infirm, and the blind, and a retreat for retired deaconesses.40 During this interlude, she lived simply and frugally and her biographers continue,

The deaconesses, impressed by the simplicity and the selflessness of their applicant, accepted Julia as a student in their training school for teachers. On August 14, 1873, she entered the normal school and found herself closely associated with women who out of a deep sense of Christian love had

40. Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 25.
dedicated themselves to the alleviation of human suffering and to the advancement of mankind.41

Julia spent only one year at Kaiserwerth, but it was an important year to her growth as an advocate of reform because it provided her with experiences and observations that had direct bearing on the reforms she later expounded. She observed women being trained in vocational skills and as teachers. Further, she observed successful moral and vocational training for inmates in the female prisons and the humanitarian outreach of the deaconesses in their treatment of the aged and infirm. These programs were based on Christian ideas in action. In a speech given to the National Educational Association, she expressed her evaluation of the effectiveness of this Christian teaching as follows: "At the risk of being old-fashioned and unprogressive... I will say that I attribute the best results of this school to its Christian teaching."42

She spent two years (1874-1876) in and around Berlin. According to her letters43 and articles written for journals and newspapers44 she spent the time sightseeing, teaching, and attending universities around Berlin. Sometime during these years, she passed "two rigid German examinations, receiving after each a diploma from the Prussian Board of Education."45 This demand for excellence in

41. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
43. J. Tutwiler Papers. See folders #3 through #7.
44. She contributed articles to: St. Nicholas; Appleton's Weekly; The Churchman; The London Christian World; and the San Francisco Chronicle.
45. Helen Christine Bennett, American Women in Civic Work (New York:
teaching probably was responsible for her advocacy to upgrade certification regulations in the state of Alabama.\textsuperscript{46} She also found time to visit industrial schools, prisons, and reform schools.\textsuperscript{47}

In letters written to her sister Netta, Julia suggested her thriftiness as well as her deep dedication to education. In one letter, dated October 4, 1873, she talked of dyeing dresses to cut expenses, saying, "It would cost about one-half as much to dress a girl for four years in school in Germany as in America." In the same letter, she urged Netta to come to Germany and live with a pastor and his family in order to learn the language. In a letter dated December, 1874, she attempted to persuade Netta to assemble a group of students and accompany them to Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin, where they could enroll in a new boarding school opened by Madame Polenz (evidently Julia taught in this school).\textsuperscript{48} Because few jobs were open to women in the South other than "seamstressing" and teaching, Julia felt that her sisters could directly benefit from study abroad. Despite her pleas, none of her relatives joined her.

Sometime during her years in Germany, Julia authored her famous poem "Alabama." It was probably written as a result of her loneliness and reflects her love and dedication to her home state.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[47] Julia S. Tutwiler, "Defects of the State Examination Law and Remedy To Be Applied", Birmingham News, August 23, 1902.
\item[48] Bennett, American Women, p. 187.
\end{footnotes}
"Alabama" is now the official state song. As a result of her experiences and education abroad, Julia returned home in the spring of 1876, a mature woman, ready to make her imprint upon educational and social reform.

OBSERVATION OF CONDITIONS IN ALABAMA

Miss Tutwiler's observation of conditions related to education and prisoner treatment in her home state contributed to her advocacy of reform.

In assessing the needs of Alabama women, she became aware that educational opportunities were restricted and that there was a surplus of women. Because of men losing their lives in the Civil War, she estimated this surplus at 10,000 untrained and uneducated women, who were incapable of benefiting themselves or society. She drew upon her European experiences and observations to provide a solution to this problem. At the Diakonessen Anstalt she had witnessed technical training for young girls. As a correspondent for the National Journal of Education to the Paris Exposition in 1878, she was influenced by the philanthropic endeavors of two institutions for girls: the "Mission Home" of Ada Leigh, for unemployed English and American girls; and the Ecoles Professionnelles de Juenes Filles, a school for the vocational training of indigent Parisian girls.

49. The first authorized version of "Alabama" appeared in print in the Montgomery Advertiser, April 24, 1881. An earlier, and apparently unauthorized version appeared in the Tuscaloosa Times, January 27, 1875. See: Montgomery Advertiser, August 12, 1937. The legislature of Alabama adopted it as the official state song in 1931.


51. Ibid.
founded by Madame Elisa Lemonnier. Julia was especially impressed by the latter school's dual emphasis on technical and liberal education in a unified course of instruction. In 1880 she drew upon this first hand knowledge to support her appeal for technical education of women in the paper she prepared for the Alabama Educational Association.

Further, Miss Tutwiler observed that higher educational opportunities for women were severely limited in Alabama. The doors of the state university were closed to them, and teacher training for girls was available only at the Normal School in Florence and at her own Alabama Normal College. Julia had been denied admission to male classrooms at Washington and Lee University, but she had received her earliest education in co-educational classrooms. Thus, she knew that women were capable of benefiting from advanced educational training. Her opposition to the hard-bound tradition of separation of sexes in the classroom was a result of these experiences and observations.

Finally, her observation of prevailing conditions related to prisoner treatment and conditions acted as the impetus for her advocacy of penal reform. Julia habitually visited the jailhouse in Livingston each Sunday to bring food and spiritual enlightenment to the prisoners. Her observation of a female prisoner launched her crusade to ameliorate the physical discomforts of the jails. Mildred Fenner and Jean Soule described that occasion as follows:

A simple-minded girl, working at the home of one of Miss Tutwiler on these Sunday visits.

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52 All interviewees who were former students told of accompanying Miss Tutwiler on these Sunday visits.
Tutwiler's friends, had been arrested as a suspect in the murder of her illegitimate child. One midwinter day Miss Jule went to the prison to see if she could help the girl. To her horror, she found the building completely unheated, its inmates nearly frozen. This was her introduction to the appalling and inhumane conditions in the jails.

She immediately began a campaign for improved conditions in the jails.\textsuperscript{53}

It was, however, as the Superintendent of Prison and Jail Work for the Alabama Women's Christian Temperance Union, a post she held for thirty-one years, that Julia mounted her continuous campaign to alleviate suffering, secure prison inspectors, establish night schools and in other ways champion a more humane treatment of convicts.

From 1880 to 1910, Julia Strudwick Tutwiler, Alabama's leading exponent of reform, used the public platform and her literary talents to awaken public interest in seeking social change. The significant contributing factors which prepared her for this role were her educational training (she was remarkably well-educated for a woman of her era, yet held no degree except that of honorary doctor bestowed by the University of Alabama\textsuperscript{54}); her travel abroad and in the United States; her Christian ethic implanted by her homelife and nurtured by the Deaconesses of Kaiserwerth; and her personal observations of those conditions that limited and debilitated mankind.

\textsuperscript{53} Mildred S. Fenner and Jean C. Soule, "Julia Tutwiler--Southern Pioneer", National Educational Association Journal, November, 1946, pp. 498-499. Her nieces, Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler, related this story in an interview, October 3, 1972, but said the young accused was a servant of Miss Tutwiler.

\textsuperscript{54} Bestowed on the occasion of the University of Alabama's seventy-fifth anniversary, 1907. Miss Tutwiler was the first woman so honored.
Chapter III

THE STATUS OF WOMEN AND THEIR EDUCATION
IN THE POST-BELLUM SOUTH

"Since every judgment of a public speech contains a historical constituent, the critic is peculiarly concerned with determining the nature of the setting in which the speaker performed. . . . It cannot be overemphasized that speeches are events occurring in highly complex situations, that responsibility of critical appraisal depends heavily upon the critic's ability to understand the historical trends, the motivating forces, the immediate occasion, and most of all the composition and demands of the audience."1

This chapter summarizes the status of women and their education in the post-bellum South, with special emphasis on Alabama. To place the educational reform speeches of Julia Strudwick Tutwiler into the context of her time it provides insight into the occasions and audiences of her speeches and her motives.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN AND THEIR EDUCATION

In speaking of the paradox of progressive women in relation to the myth of southern women, Anne Firor Scott said:

I came to understand that southern women in the years before 1860 had been subjects--perhaps the victims--of an image of woman which was at odds with the reality of their lives. This image was weakened but not destroyed by the experiences of the Civil War and Reconstruction. It continued to shape the behavior of southern women and has never entirely disappeared. For this reason women in the progressive period carefully cherished a lady-like aspect and were modest about achievements. The power of the image also helped to explain

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the kinds of women who appeared in southern reform movements: those of impeccable antecedents and secure family position. ²

The antebellum image of southern woman was that of a young belle whose goal was marriage, "planned for from the cradle by interested relatives. When the holy estate had been entered, women glided gracefully into the position of the most honored occupant of the home. . . . making devoted wives and worshipful mothers." ³ Thomas Nelson Page provided a more idealistic description of the antebellum wife as follows:

"Her life was one long act of devotion,—devotion to God, . . . her husband, . . . her children, . . . her servants, . . . the poor, [and] to humanity. Nothing happened within the range of her knowledge that her sympathy did not reach and her charity did not ameliorate. She was the head and foot of the church. . . . The training of her children was her work. She watched over them, inspired them, led them, governed them; . . . her word to them was law. She reaped the reward. . . . their sympathy and tenderness were hers always, and they worshipped her." ⁴

This idealized portrait did not imply a life of leisure for southern housewives had to learn to be good managers, in order to make sure that the household ran smoothly. For example, each household had to have a garden. Food from it had to be canned, dried, preserved or stored in order to be available when needed. The milk had to be attended to. The cooking had to be done. Clothes for each member of the family had to be made and kept clean at home. The house furnishings as curtains, quilts, blankets, sheets, . . . had to be made and kept clean. . . . With so much to be done, it is no wonder a woman's place was in the home.⁵


⁵ Julia C. Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies
This paragon of virtue and work, though not peculiar to the
South, was thought to need male protection. St. Paul had advised
that "the head of the woman is man" and that "women keep silence
in church," as well as from the hierarchy of southern plantation
life. In short, southern girls "were trained to the ideals of
perfection and submission."

This idealized concept did not include women from "lesser
classes"—, the wife of the Appalachian mountaineer, women employed
in industry, and slave women since these were not part of the hierar­
chy of the plantation with its tendency to dignify the family.

The education of the antebellum woman was consistent with the
concept of their social status in a male-dominated society. It was
not neglected as female academies, seminaries, and colleges were
established as part of the southern educational system. However,
her education primarily augmented the social graces. Scott said,
"... boarding schools for young ladies emphasized correct female
behavior more than intellectual development." In evaluating fe­
male academies in Alabama, Albert B. Moore magnified this concept:

(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938), Chap­
ter IV, passim. Cited hereafter as Spruill, Women's Life.

6. Holy Bible, RSV, First Corinthians, 11:3 and 14:34.

7. Almost all writers of this period allude to the Pauline admoni­
tions and the cavalier life of plantations in accounting for the
status of southern women. See: Page Smith, Daughters of the Pro­
mised Land: Women in American History (Boston: Little, Brown and
Company, 1970), p. 216; Edward Ingle, Southern Sidelights (New York:
Thomas Y. Crowell and Company, 1896), p. 45; Scott, Southern Lady,
p. 7; and the many romantic novels portraying the antebellum South.


In the female academies instruction was given in . . . household arts and in calisthenics . . . designed to give ease, grace and elasticity of motion . . . . Self-control, obedience to authority, spirituality, mental discipline, and grace and refinement in conduct were objectives assiduously sought by the sponsors and faculties of the academies.10

The academies (secondary schools), both male and female, were a significant part of the educational system of the South prior to 1860. According to Moore, "not only the predilections of the people, but their psychology and social system were favorable to private schools and academies."11 Many of these academies were denominational because southerners felt that moral leadership could best be provided by religious institutions. In Alabama, according to Willis G. Clark,

[It was] felt that the state institution did not give sufficient attention to the religious training and welfare of the students. Perhaps this was why the Protestant denominations began early to open colleges for the young people of their faith . . . . Generally, a school for young women was established when one was chartered for young men. For instance, Howard College was established in Greensborough in 1834, then moved to Marion in 1841, where the Baptists had established Judson College for young women, in 1839. The Methodists, in 1856, founded the Alabama Conference Female College at Tuscaloosa and the Athens Female College and established the East Alabama Male College at Auburn and Southern University in Greensborough as ministerial training schools.12

Other well-known Alabama female schools were Livingston Female Academy, Tuscaloosa Female Seminary, Centenary Institute of Summerfield, Marengo Institute of Demopolis, Opelika Seminary, and the Young


11. Ibid., p. 335.

12. Willis G. Clark, History of Education in Alabama (United States Circular of Information, No. 3, 1889), pp. 72, 184-85. Howard College is now Samford University in Birmingham; Athens Female College is now Athens College; East Alabama Male College is now Auburn University; and Southern University is now Birmingham-Southern College in Birmingham.
Higher education, particularly at the University of Alabama, was for men only. James B. Sellers said:

The University was a man's world throughout the nineteenth century. The University student was thought of in the masculine gender and the life of the campus was geared to the needs of a young man. The University... was a man's school, furthermore, a military school. Girls had their place in the recreational schedules of the cadets, but not in the classroom.\(^{14}\)

Indeed, co-education was a rarity, "separation in the same school building being the rule even where public education was given both sexes."\(^{15}\) Exceptions in Alabama were the Greene Springs School and the Mount Sterling School under the direction of Seth Smith Mellen.\(^{16}\) However, separation of the sexes was not limited to the South. Like Julia Tutwiler, Hanna Adams, Sara Josepha Hale, Mary Lyon, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, northern feminists and educators, were tutored outside male classrooms.\(^{17}\)

Mabel Newcomer indicated that, both in the North and South, the majority of female academies stressed social rather than intellectual training, featuring "painting, musical performances, 

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 204.


\(^{15}\)Ingle, Southern Sidelights, p. 152.


elocution, the best drawing room manners, and at least a little French."\textsuperscript{18} She went on to say, however, that before the war northern girls were getting benefits of substantial education at such schools as Oxford Female College and Illinois Conference Female College that offered a four-year course leading to an A. B. degree. In addition, denominational colleges such as Oberlin and Antioch in Ohio, as well as two state universities, Utah and Iowa, admitted women prior to the Civil War.\textsuperscript{19} Similar opportunities did not exist below the Mason-Dixon line. Among the few Southerners bold enough to champion female education were Henry Tutwiler, who advocated training schools for teachers,\textsuperscript{20} and William Hooper, president of Wake Forest College, who championed a solid academic program for women.\textsuperscript{21}

Post-war education recovered much faster in the North than in the South, and with it came continuing benefits in education for northern females. Job opportunities opened to women during the war because of the absence of men, and the continuing advocacy of suffragists for equal political and legal rights were responsible for the increase in benefits.\textsuperscript{22}

In the South the slowness of educational resurgence affected all levels of education and left southern females in much the same

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., pp. 9-10.
\textsuperscript{19}'Ibid., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{20}Dabney, \textit{Universal Education}, p. 309.
position as that of pre-war times. There were a number of reasons for the lack of educational renaissance in the South. First, the foundation of the planter's wealth was destroyed and with it the tuition which would have sent his sons and daughters to school. Second, Bourbon governments did little to restore education. Third, the onset of industrial growth, albeit minimal when compared with that of the North, meant that many children, because of general poverty and depression, became part of the labor force. According to Edgar W. Knight,

... with the rise of cotton factories, boys and girls of school age quickly became a part of that pathetic industrial force known as child labor. Industrial reforms were needed as an essential part of necessary educational progress. In 1900 nearly thirty per cent of all the operatives in the cotton mills of Alabama were under sixteen, and in the entire South one fourth of them were under that age. ... probably 30,000 in the entire South were under fourteen years of age. The number of children under twelve in factories was probably 20,000.

Poor children worked rather than attending school, and the attitude of their parents toward taxation was a potent anti-educational force. Speaking of that attitude, Holland Thompson said:

Among these forces poverty was perhaps the strongest. It is difficult to convince a people who must struggle for the bare necessities of life that taxation for any purpose is a positive good; and a large proportion of the families of the rural South handled little money. ... It has sometimes seemed that the poorer a man and the larger the number of children, the greater his dread of taxes for education.


Yet another factor mitigating against educational development was the bias against racially mixed schools. Francis Butler Simkins said:

Opposition grew appreciably when it was suggested that this leveling [the condition under which desirable children must become companions of the less desirable] might include both races. Mixed schools were not to be tolerated; hence, if universal education were to be effective, two school systems would have to be established—one for whites, the other for blacks.26

Because of these reasons, southerners were not willing to underwrite the cost of public education. They preferred little or no government interference in their affairs. As Woodward said, "laissez faire became almost a test of Southern patriotism."27 Those Southerners who could afford an education for their sons and daughters conveniently turned to private and religious educational institutions such as those that thrived before the war.28 The effects of this policy were described by Simkins.

During the Bourbon period efforts of the common schools were supplemented by the academies and colleges which were revived or created in the post-bellum years of recovery. . . ., they had scant scientific apparatus and few books and were not well graded; their courses of study were limited and unconcerned with the actualities of contemporary life; their teachers were unacquainted with the concepts of progressive pedagogy. But many instructors developed a genuine passion for Latin, mathematics, and rhetoric, and sent to the colleges students who were thoroughly, if narrowly prepared.29


Post-bellum education for women differed little, if at all, from antebellum education except that fewer girls attended school because of economic deprivation. Curriculums continued to stress social rather than intellectual attainment. Young men of better families could seek work in order to meet educational expenses, but custom dictated against their sisters doing so. As Belle Kearney, a contemporary of Julia Tutwiler, said:

I have never heard of a woman working to pay her way through school. Numerous instances of men acquiring an education by hard labor had been related to me, but never a woman. All the women who were known to me personally, or through books, or tradition, had their bills paid by male relatives, and made fancy work, and visited, and danced, and played the piano, or did something else equally feminine... and all were contented... Industrial institutions and colleges where poor girls could work their way through were not in existence, and the doors of the State University, where tuition was free, were then only open to boys.30

One of the effects of the war upon the South was to leave many women ill-prepared for the demands of life which they faced. The slowness of educational progress presented them no means by which they might become better prepared. Scott said that "in Alabama alone there were eighty thousand widows."31 Belle Kearney lamented this condition:

Of all the unhappy sights, the most pitiable is that of a human life, rich in possibilities and strong with divine yearnings for better things than it has known, atrophying in the prison house of blind and palsied custom;--because there is no one in the passing through brave and great enough to break the bars and 'let the oppressed go free'. . .32

The lament was not entirely true. Southern women, like their

31. Scott, Southern Lady, p. 92.
32. Kearney, Slaveholder's Daughter, pp. 41-42.
northern counterparts, had undergone metamorphosis because of the war. They had entered into man's work; they had become nurses and hospital supervisors; they had become managers of businesses; as a result many were not content to fall back into the idealized image of antebellum days. One such woman was Julia Strudwick Tutwiler.

In 1876 she returned home to the educational conditions outlined above and played a significant role in altering the status of education for southern women.

**OCCASIONS, AUDIENCES, AND MOTIVES**

While speeches were primary means in her advocacy of educational change, Miss Tutwiler did not rely solely upon them. She also lobbied, encouraged philanthropy, and wrote newspaper articles.

She used the public platform on five different occasions to present ideas on educational reform. She spoke to her colleagues in education on four occasions; twice to the Alabama Educational Association and twice to members of the National Educational Association.

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36. An excellent example is Miss Tutwiler's, "Defects of the State Examination and Remedy to be Applied," *Birmingham News*, August 23, 1902.

37. In its formative years this was the title used. It is now the
On the fifth occasion she spoke to the World's Congress of Representative Women, meeting in Chicago.

Having become defunct in 1871, the Alabama Teacher's Association was not formally reorganized as the Alabama Educational Association until 1882. But at an interim meeting at East Lake, Miss Tutwiler presented a paper, a signal honor accorded no other woman at that time, because prejudice dictated against women speaking before a mixed audience. She was probably selected for several reasons. First, as the daughter of Henry Tutwiler and as a student and teacher at Greene Springs, she was acquainted with many persons prominent in Alabama education. In fact, three men, Alonzo Hill, Major James A. Wright, and Dr. Carlos Smith, all former Greene Springs teachers, played an important role in her career. Second, she had consistently built a reputation as an educator from the time she joined the faculty of Greensboro Academy (1866) to her subsequent appointment as the principal (1867)

37. McCorvey, Historical Sketches, p. 28.
38. Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 22. They wrote "this was a liberal step in the Deep South of this period and is evidence of
and as teacher at the Tuscaloosa Female Academy (1876-1880). Third, the National Journal of Education, Boston, selected her as its correspondent to the Paris Exposition (1878) and the article she wrote about that experience appeared in The Churchman, attracting national attention. Finally, concern for the technical education of women was displayed throughout the United States, the South not excluded. Julia's knowledge of technical education for women was foremost among Southerners.

Not much is known about the specific make-up of her first audience because the fledgling Association kept few records before 1882. Bessie Lee Wilhelm does not mention the 1880 convention in her Alabama Education Association Programs and Crumpton's unpublished manuscript Story of the Alabama Education Association also fails to include it. Further, Crumpton does not credit Tutwiler as

her ability and personality."

43. Ibid., p. 54. Also: Moore, "Tutwiler," p. 16.


46. Miss Tutwiler's work in modifying curriculums at Greensboro Academy and Tuscaloosa Female Academy evidenced this. Elsewhere in the South, a Grenada, Mississippi woman urged the establishment of a women's college prior to the war. See: Dabney, Universal Education, V. 2, p. 117.

47. Bessie Lee Wilhelm, Alabama Education Association Programs (Peabody Library, 1936).
a program participant until 1891. Membership and convention attendance was small during the first decades of the Association's existence. Then too, since "only thirty-six per cent of the teachers in Alabama were women as late as 1885-1886," and since her paper was read by the Superintendent of Education "because it was unseemly for a woman to stand before a large number of men and talk," it was probable that the majority of her first audience were men. Suggesting that she listened to her own paper, Julia said later, "I had to hear my own paper very badly read." Though dismayed by the event, she probably had friends in that audience who affirmatively related to her arguments. Writing forty-one years later, Anne Kennedy said "always in the Alabama Educational Association there were men and women who were warm advocates of Miss Tutwiler's ideas."

On this occasion, she chose the topic "The Technical Education of Women." It was considered a pioneer paper because it urged for the first time government support of technical training schools for

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48. The fourth Annual Convention, July 1885, Auburn, Alabama, lists a total of 52 members.

49. Crumpton, Story of A. E. A., p. 15. Through 1900 the greatest attendance was 264, in Birmingham, 1899.


51. Ibid., p. 56.


The motives which caused her to opt for such training were her experiences at the Diakonessen Anstalt; her witness of such institutions in Paris; and, her observations of the thousands of Alabama women, useless because of limited training. She strongly argued that this "vast capital of womanly intellect and energy" was a waste of human resources.

By 1891 Tutwiler had added to her reputation as an educator and administrator. In 1881 Carlos G. Smith selected her to be his co-principal at Livingston Female Academy. In 1883 the Alabama legislature budgeted $2000 for instructional costs and $500 for equipment to permit Livingston Female Academy to operate the Alabama Normal College for Girls. Having lobbied for such legislation, Julia said, "the State Legislature... made to the girls of Alabama the first and only gift which the women of this State... had received from the State or Federal Treasury..." In 1886

54. *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Ed. Marie Owen (Montgomery: Department of Archives and History, 1952), p. 93. Owen said, "Dr. J. L. M. Curry is authority for the statement that Miss Tutwiler's paper was the first one ever written in the United States advocating a school of this character, and had her paper filed among what he called his 'Pioneer Papers.'" Other sources confirm the newness of the idea. For instance, Milton L. Orr said, "such advocacy made Miss Tutwiler one of the very first in American to champion seriously the provision of technical training for women. This paper antedated by several years the establishment of the first state supported industrial school for women in America and by more than ten years the founding of such a school in Alabama." See: M. L. Orr, *State Supported Colleges for Women* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1930), pp. 131-32.

55. The schools were: Ada Leigh's School for English and American Girls; and, Madame Elisa Lemonnier's *Ecoles Professionnelles de Jeunes Filles*.


57. *Catalogue of Alabama Normal College for Girls*, 1895-1896. Lo-
In 1890 after serving with her brother-in-law, Captain J. W. A. Wright, as co-principal for two years, "the Livingston Trustees made Julia Tutwiler the president and sole principal" of Livingston Female Academy and Alabama Normal School for Girls. During these years she had built the reputation of the Alabama Normal School for Girls into one of the finest in the State, and she had participated in at least five National Educational Association conventions. She was, undoubtedly, one of the leading educators in Alabama, ergo her invitation to prepare a paper for the 1891 convention in East Lake. She chose as her topic "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character."

Co-education, particularly in higher education, was a much discussed subject in the late 1800's. Nationally, co-education began at Oberlin College (1833), and by 1870 both the University of Wisconsin and the University of Michigan had opened their doors to co-eds. In 1890, co-education was the concern of the Committee in the Education of Girls in its report to the National Educational

cated in the Alabama Room, Livingston University Library. The statement is not entirely true because the State had appropriated $5000 to the Normal School at Florence, 1873, which was co-educational.


59. Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 70.

60. Ibid., pp. 63-70.

61. Julia S. Tutwiler, "Our Brothers in Stripes, in the School-Room," a paper presented to the National Educational Association, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1890. In her introduction she said, "this is the fifth annual session. . . which I have had the pleasure of attending."
Convention. Tutwiler attended that convention and was aware co-educational progress was slower in the South than in the North.

In Alabama as early as 1870 a committee of Joseph Hodgson, Joseph H. Speed, and Thomas A. Cook grappled with the problem at the time the University of Alabama was to be re-opened. In a report to the Board of Regents they said: "Your committe find themselves face to face with the great question of the day. Why is not the State equally bound to provide University education for its women as for its men?" After praising the University of Missouri for its co-educational progress, the committee side-stepped its application in Alabama:

We are not prepared to meet this question fully; but while waiving it for the present, your committee asks for it the serious consideration of this Board and the people of Alabama. A host of our women, born in luxury, but growing up in poverty, stand ready to become Teachers in our Public Schools. Shall we not at least give them an opportunity to attend our Normal Department, and our theoretical and practical horticultural classes?

So the problem stood in 1891, the year Tutwiler prepared to meet it. Her early experience as a student at Greene Springs, the denial of access to classrooms at Washington and Lee University, and her introduction of new subjects and new methods of teaching

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62 In addition to this report see: Edgar B. Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years (Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1957), Chapter V. Wesley discusses the direction and extent of educators on the issue of co-education. Cited hereafter as Wesley, NEA.

63 Report of the Committee on the University to the Board of Regents, pp. 15-16. This report is located in the Alabama Collection, University of Alabama Library. There is no date on the pamphlet, but it is probable that the report was given in 1870 or 1871 as the University prepared to re-open its doors.
into the curriculum of Alabama Normal School for Girls\textsuperscript{64} motivated Julia to speak on "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character." As Eoline Wallace Moore said, "she was not willing to accept such rulings for the girls of her state and worked diligently for their entrance into the University which she considered to be the capstone of the state's educational system."\textsuperscript{65}

According to Ethel Crumpton, the Alabama Educational Association selected, for their convention programs, "subjects that were agitating the public."\textsuperscript{66} The 1891 convention was no exception; the \textit{Programme} for Thursday morning, July 2, included three papers on "Sex in Education," followed by a general discussion. The papers presented were:

1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Co-education  
   \textit{Professor S. L. Robertson}
2. Can Co-education Meet the Physical and Mental Requirements of the Sexes?  
   \textit{Professor O. D. Smith}
3. Influence of Co-education Upon Character  
   \textit{Miss Julia S. Tutwiler}

Once again a man, Professor J. W. A. Wright, read Tutwiler's paper but there was no evidence to suggest that she was in the audience. She might well have stayed in Livingston to finish preparation of the paper she was to present to the National Educational Association later in the month. The minutes suggest that the

\textsuperscript{64} She expanded the curriculum in all classes of the Collegiate Department, introducing standard works on education to the pedagogical classes in the junior and senior years. Miss Tutwiler taught four subjects in the collegiate department; Literature (English), German, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Normal Methods. See: \textit{Catalogue of Alabama Normal College For Girls}, 1895-96, pp. 16-17.

\textsuperscript{65} Moore, "Tutwiler," p. 17.

Thursday morning session was quite spirited:

Order was restored at 11:15 by Vice President N. T. Lupton. Miss B. A. Allen showed the "Lines of Progress in Educational Methods in the Next Decade." . . .

Professor S. L. Robertson spoke on his subject, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Co-education." His speech was brief and to the point.

Professor J. W. A. Wright read for Miss Julia S. Tutwiler her paper on "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character."

Professor O. D. Smith not having found time to prepare a written presentation on his subject "Can Co-education Meet the Physical and Mental Requirements of the Sexes," made a timely, forcible and spicy speech of twenty minutes. His speech was discussed by Professors M. G. Williams, J. H. Granberry, M. M. Russell, J. W. A. Wright, A. S. Andrews and W. S. Wyman.

Professor Smith's speech and the discussion were not part of the record; however, it indicated that Professor E. M. Shackleford offered a resolution "That the Higher Institutions of the State Throw Open Their Doors to Young Ladies," which was referred to the proper committee.67 The next day the Committee on Resolutions offered the following report which was adopted.

Your committee on resolutions beg leave to report that they had under consideration the following resolution offered by Professor E. M. Shackleford:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this Association that all of our higher institutions of learning should open their doors to young ladies," and submit as a substitute the following:

Resolved, That it is advisable that all our higher institutions of learning make, as soon as possible, suitable arrangements for the admission of young ladies.68

In her 1891 paper to the Alabama Educational Association, Tutwiler meant to assuage the fears of co-education existing among some of her male listeners. The fact that her ideas did not come

68. Ibid., p. 14.
under discussion, and the adoption of the modified resolution suggested that she met with some success.

Once again, there is only meagre evidence related to the specific make-up of the 1891 audience. The Programme lists 282 members within the State, most of whom were men, and the majority of papers presented were by males. Among the women present some were probably graduates of Alabama Normal School for Girls.69 There is no record of how many members actually attended the convention. At best, her paper was read to a mixed audience of educators, some of whom were friendly to her proposed arguments.

On two occasions, the annual conventions of the National Educational Association70 provided the forum for the extension of Tutwiler's ideas on education. In 1891 she spoke on "A Year in a German Model School," and was elected president of the Elementary Department which automatically placed her on the Board of Directors of the Association. She had served as vice-president of the Elementary Department in 1891. In 1892 from her position as president, she spoke to the elementary department on "Individualization by Grouping."

Prior to her speech in 1891, she had participated in at least five of the national conventions. Women had been admitted into

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69. The specific number of A. N. C. G. graduates who might have been in attendance cannot be determined. However, for the period 1883-1904 the total number of graduates from the normal department was 210. Cited in Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 82. Interviewees also stressed the fact that "Julia's teachers" were active in the Association.

70. The national organization was called the National Teacher's Association until 1870. From 1870 to 1906 it was called the National Educational Association; thereafter, the National Education Associa-
full membership in 1866, but she did not begin her active participation until 1882, following her appointment as co-principal to Livingston Female Academy. Perhaps she felt that such participation would expand her concept of education by giving her access to viewpoints discussed at the national level. In 1884 at the meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, Tutwiler was elected one of the national "counsellors of the Association." She also attended the convention held in Topeka, Kansas in 1886. However, her name did not appear on the membership roll of the Association until the convention held in Nashville, Tennessee, 1889. In 1890 she spoke to the Association membership, convened in St. Paul, Minnesota, on the topic "Our Brothers in Stripes, in the School Room." Her

71. Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession (New York: American Book Company, 1939), p. 265. The original constitution of the National Teacher's Association, provided that "ladies engaged in teaching may, on the recommendation of the Board of Directors, become honorary members, and shall thereby possess the right of presenting in the form of written essays (to be read by the Secretary or any other member whom they may select) their views upon the subject assigned for discussion." Quoted in Elsbree, The American Teacher, p. 266.


75. This speech will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.
continued participation in the Association, the honors accorded her by it, and the educational interest in the doctrines of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart\(^\text{76}\) probably accounted for her invitation to discuss her German experiences with the Association's membership, hence her choice of topic "A Year in a German Model School."

In that 1891 speech, Julia spoke enthusiastically of the Dionysian Anstalt, with emphasis upon the Froebel doctrine, and advocated the use of the Bible in the classroom, a subject of concern among educators.

Fervent and vehement speeches on the use of the Bible in schools were frequent during the first half-century (1857-1906). It was regarded as indispensable for the development of character, morals, citizenship and patriotism.\(^\text{77}\)

Her paper was presented to the General Assembly of the Association along with ten others as follows:

"The School of the Future," by Francis W. Parker, Cook County Normal School, Chicago;
"Teaching Patriotism," by J. R. Preston, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Jackson, Mississippi;
"Historical Sketch of the National Educational Association," by Z. Richards, Washington, D. C.;
"The Present Status of Education in the United States," by William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, United States;
"The Educational System of Ontario," by the Honorable George W. Ross, Minister of Education, Ontario, Canada;
"Spelling Reform," by H. W. Brewster, Minnesota;
"A Basis for Ethical Training in Elementary Schools," by President Charles DeGarmo, Swathmore College;
"The Profession of Teaching for Light and Power," by President Merrill E. Gates, Amherst College;
"Elementary Education in England," by Professor William Clark, Trinity University, Ontario;

\(^{76}\)Wesley, NEA, p. 186. The whole of Chapter 15 explores the discussions of American educators regarding Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart doctrines.

\(^{77}\)Ibid., p. 50.
"The Professional Training of Teachers," by D. J. Goggin, Winnipeg, Manitoba.78

Since her paper was the only one presented at the day session, Thursday, July 16, 1891, she probably commanded a sizeable audience of educators interested in current trends. Among her listeners were undoubtedly many women who constituted the major part of those attending NEA meetings as early as 1884. That year, May Wright Sewall humorously reminded the convention of that fact. She said:

Notwithstanding the fluttering of fans and the fluttering of ribbons, and the gay waving of plumes, and the glancing smiles, and the eloquent blushes from the audience, speakers have persisted in addressing their audiences as "gentlemen." Doubtless a preconceived supposition of who would be here has been more to them than the testimony of their eyes, ... notwithstanding the major part of every audience has been constituted of women, gentlemen have been absolutely enabled to see them, and have persistently addressed the remarks, which women were assiduously endeavoring to hear and profit by, to men.79

Although the membership was nearly 5000,80 available records do not indicate how many attended the Toronto Convention. Since business was conducted at the Thursday daytime session, the officers of the Association were present81 as well as other major contributors such as Francis W. Parker of Cook County Normal School, President Merrill E. Gates of Amherst College, J. R. Preston, State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Mississippi, and D. J. Goggin of

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81. The officers of the Association were: W. R. Garrett, President,
Winnepeg. This was, plausibly, one of the largest and most influential of all Tutwiler's audiences.

When the National Educational Association convened in Saratoga Springs, New York, 1892, Miss Tutwiler, as president of the Department of Elementary Instruction, chaired all the sessions of that department. At 3:30 p.m., on Thursday, July 14, she shared with them her ideas on "Individualization by Grouping."82 Other papers presented to the department were:


Again, the exact number of those in attendance at the convention was not indicated, but membership had grown to almost 5200 by 1892. Statistics from 1890 showed that 245,271 of a total of 341,952 teachers in the United States were women84 most of whom were teaching in elementary and secondary schools. Then too, the membership roll of the National Educational Association suggested

E. H. Cook, Secretary, and J. M. Greenwood, Treasurer.


83. Ibid.

that the Eastern and Midwestern states had a proportionately higher number of women teachers.\textsuperscript{85} It would seem, that since this convention was held in Saratoga Springs, a location geographically convenient to teachers from such states as Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Illinois, she addressed teachers whose interest was in elementary education, and that she spoke to an audience primarily composed of females on this occasion. It is probable that most of the persons presenting papers (see above) attended the opening session.

The occasion for Tutwiler's final speech regarding educational reform was the meeting of the International Congress of Women, the first of a series of special congresses held in connection with Chicago's \textit{Columbian Exposition}, 1893. As a spokeswoman for the congress, Susan B. Anthony said, "the Women's Congress this week will be one of the most notable ever held by women. Every department in which she has secured recognition and gained reputation for her will be represented."\textsuperscript{86} The Chicago \textit{Daily News} suggested that it was "the first congress of women known to history,"\textsuperscript{87} and stated that "a stranger appearing on the down town streets... would conclude that Chicago is populated by women alone."\textsuperscript{88} Headquarters for the Congress was the Palmer House, and Mrs. Potter Palmer, wife of the famed mercantilist and financier, presided over

\begin{footnotes}
\item[88] \textit{Chicago Daily News}, May 18, 1893, p. 2.
\end{footnotes}
the opening session at which foreign reports and the responses on behalf of the respective countries were given. The New York Times said:

Nearly seventy organizations, composed exclusively of women together with many hundreds of societies and associations, are represented in the congress, and the roll of those that will participate numbers 5000.

There will be as many as twenty of these congresses each day in addition to the meetings in the Halls of Columbus and Washington, which have a seating capacity of 3000 each, and every subject of interest to sex, from religion to marriage prospects is to be elaborately discussed.

Among the women attending the Congress were such notable Americans as Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, and May Wright Sewall, while Mary McDonald of Canada and Jane Cobden Unwin of England were distinguished foreigners present. According to the New York Times, "representatives from Russia, South America, and France, among other nations fraternized with stars of the theatrical world, women of the pulpit, suffragettes, and 'WCTU'ers'."

In the Assembly Hall of the Women's Building at the fairgrounds, Wednesday, May 16, at 3:00 p.m., Miss Tutwiler spoke on the subject, "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?" Drawing upon her personal experiences and observations, she spoke against the current practice that boasted "that certain pupils have paid all their expense during the year by work performed out of the school--so many hours

90. Ibid., p. 5.
91. Ibid. .
in the kitchen, laundry, or sewing rooms." She personally assisted many young girls in order that they might attend school without having to work for expenses. According to Helen Bennett, Tutwiler's "personal fortune... was spent generously in financing the student years of girls whose parents were unable to keep them in school." Tutwiler's own words suggested her strong motivation to seek a solution to the practice. She said:

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children should expostulate with the ill-judging managers... of these schools. There is not one girl in a thousand between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five who can do this without danger of becoming a permanent inmate of an insane asylum or a hospital.

Although the size of her audience was not mentioned, the newspapers stated that the sessions were well attended. Specifically, she spoke to the Congress of Education, one of the many associated congresses which were part of the larger Congress of Women, which suggested that most of her listeners were educators.

In her conclusion, Tutwiler spoke of the importance of the audience:

I cannot close without expressing my sense of the great blessing to womanhood of this wonderful opportunity of thus taking counsel together and unbosoming ourselves to each other. So many women have schemes for the helping of their sex, or still better, of the race, fermenting in their brains and hearts, and are brain-sick and heart-sick for the lack of advice and sympathy. Here for the first time, but not, thank God, for the last time, we have come together from the ends of the earth to this magic city to listen to each other's

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93. Bennett, American Women, p. 189.

94. J. Tutwiler, "Self-Support."
plans and hopes, and give wise warning or kindly encouragement. 95

Tutwiler advocated educational reforms on five different occasions: twice to the assembled conventions of the Alabama Educational Association, twice to the assembled conventions of the National Educational Association, and, once to the Congress of Women assembled in Chicago during that city's Columbian Exposition. In each instance, her audiences were composed of educators interested in discussions of controversial issues confronting society. She wisely examined educational themes suited to both her occasions and audiences as each of her topics related to controversial issues of the day. She argued for technical education for women at a time when the idea was relatively new; she urged that co-education be extended to all levels of education at a time when national and state attention was focused on the concept; she suggested that school children could gain more through individualized instruction when public education was, in her own words, becoming "a vast system of machine education;" she pleaded for the retention of the Bible in classrooms at a time when educators argued the pros and cons of its advisability; finally, she asked that a solution be found to the practice of having girls work in order to pay for their education, a practice prevalent when she spoke against it. In short, she was a practical educator speaking to her colleagues on the issues which agitated them in the late nineteenth century.

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95. Ibid.
Chapter IV

TUTWILER'S EDUCATIONAL REFORM SPEECHES

Pannell and Wyatt states, "it took faith and perserverance to advocate expansion of public education in the South in the 1880's and 1890's. The negative after effects of the Reconstruction period proved to be obstacles to those who advocated change or reform."^1 Other barriers such as parsimonious governments and the reigning negative attitude toward public education hindered reform. Added to these was still another obstacle standing in the way of Tutwiler's attempts to stir educational reform; the prevailing image of southern women which continued to operate in the late nineteenth century.

NATURE AND PROBLEMS OF THE SPEECHES

Post-bellum Southerners were reluctant to acquiesce in a new status of women and stubbornly held onto the antebellum image. In speaking of Miss Tutwiler, Anne Scott said:

Had she been born thirty years earlier, she might have lived her days as a maiden aunt or an unusually gifted governess for somebody's children. But growing up in the postwar years when the drive to educate children was taking shape and the barriers against career women were giving way, she found a field to develop her unusual capacities.^2

Although the war and the demand for labor had visibly altered the

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position of women in the South, the 'duty and influence' of the antebellum ideal were still operative concepts of women's self-image. Tutwiler was cognizant of the image's grip on southern thought. Consequently, she modified her ideas to coincide with it. She showed this adjustment most in the two papers that she prepared for the Alabama Educational Association; "The Technical Education of Women," 1880, and "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character," 1891. Her philosophy of reform was inclusive of all women. Yet she constantly referred to "gentle women," "southern women of culture," and the "careful protection and guidance of our girls," while at the same time speaking of "noblemen" and "other gentry reduced in fortune." Such calculated terms were meant to assuage the conscience of many of her auditors while she presented ideas contrary to the idealized image.

Then too, the omnipresent antebellum image dictated against the appearance of women as public speakers. Julia Spruill said, "no 'lady' would think of sitting upon a public platform much less standing on one to address a mixed audience." Tutwiler was abruptly faced with the reality of the existence of this custom when she was told that her 1880 paper would be read by a man. This may well be the reason she consented to have her second paper

3. Ibid., Chapters IV and V.
4. Ibid., 155-56.
(1891) read by her brother-in-law, Professor J. W. A. Wright. She had chosen such action in order to have time to polish the paper she was scheduled to present to the National Educational Association on July 16, in Toronto.7

The 1870's saw the rapid growth of missionary societies in the South, the 1880's the growth of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the 1890's the growth of women's clubs. Each provided an arena for southern women to express their ideas to one another regarding church affairs, temperance, philanthropy, and other social concerns. However, men still considered political and educational affairs as their prerogative.8

The genteel southern lady Julia Tutwiler, well educated for her time, was faced with this chauvinistic attitude when she chose to advocate her ideas publicly. Therefore the attitudes determined the nature of her oratory. Unlike Susan B. Anthony, May Wright Sewall, and Sarah Grimke, she was not a fiery advocate of reform. Instead she was a soft-spoken, persistent persuader who relied heavily upon personal observation as a means of sharing her ideas with the public. This approach resulted in speaking that was a "chatty", unoffensive presentation. She told stories; she reminisced; she narrated; she described. In general, she was conversational in her speeches. Her supporting materials, replete with an abundance of detail, generalizations, and figurative language instructed

7. The Alabama Educational Association meeting was held on July 1-3, 1891, thus it was not a conflict in dates which kept Tutwiler from attending it.

8. Scott, Southern Lady, Chapter VI, passim.
as well as persuaded. She spoke not as an orator, but as a "southern lady" testing and bending tradition. As a result, her speeches must be analyzed as conversational lectures and not as examples of speeches prepared by a practitioner skilled in the art of speech preparation. It can be added that her speeches launched her ideas, but it was her persistence in keeping her ideas before the public that brought them to fruition.

MISS TUTWILER'S ETHOS

In reference to Tutwiler, Marie Bankhead Owen said, "the whole scope of education for women in Alabama . . . has been colored and stamped by the influence of this great and good woman." In examining Tutwiler's speeches, it was apparent that her rhetorical craftsmanship was not the major source of her success. What then accounted for it? Probably a large part of her effectiveness resulted from her ethos.

Aristotle divided appeals into three kinds: logos, pathos, and ethos. Of the latter he said:

The character ethos of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely. . . . It is not true, as some writers on the art maintain, that the probity of the speaker contributes nothing to his persuasiveness; on the contrary, we might almost affirm that his character (ethos) is the most potent of all means of persuasion.

Winston Brembeck and William Howell recognized the antecedent

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impression of the speaker as an important part of ethos, thus, also, important to persuasive speaking. They said:

In the context of persuasive speech it includes two elements: (1) The reputation or prestige enjoyed by the speaker with respect to his particular audience and subject at the moment he begins to speak, and (2) the increasing or diminishing of that prestige as a result of what he says and does during the speech.\footnote{Winston L. Brembeck and William S. Howell, \textit{Persuasion: A Means of Social Control} (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 244.}

As a person Tutwiler was respected. She enjoyed an excellent reputation with her particular audiences. Three characteristics accounted for her prestige: (1) her humanitarian outreach; (2) her standing as an educator and author; and, (3) her knowledge of her subjects.

Tutwiler was moved by her humanitarian impulses and her strong belief in Christianity. One of her former students said:

\ldots In her deep spiritual life, love was the ruling element: love for her Master Jesus Christ and love for needy humanity filled her soul. Hers was a great and tender heart filled with sympathy for those who were distressed, poor, ignorant, wayward or suffering. She possessed gentle Christian courtesy, charity, sincerity, hospitality, faithfulness, \ldots and ability to accomplish the tasks set before her.\footnote{Henry Lee Hargrove, \textit{Julia S. Tutwiler of Alabama}, n. p., n. d. Mr. Hargrove was a graduate of Alabama Normal College and was one of Julia's eulogists. This publication is found in the \textit{Tutwiler Papers}, University of Alabama Library.}

Tutwiler demonstrated her Christianity in many ways. As a young girl she taught the children of the poor and the slaves who otherwise had no opportunity for education.\footnote{Pannell and Wyatt, \textit{Tutwiler}, 14.} She was concerned with the welfare of the destitute. Her biographers said:
Her former nurse who had been freed by her father. . . because the Alabama climate had been too severe for her asthma, . . . returned to the Tutwiler home as a last refuge before death. Julia faithfully cared for this old Negro, Aunt Amy. So, too, did she watch over another old servant who had no other person to take an interest in her welfare.14

According to Moore, Tutwiler displayed Christian concepts during her tenure as teacher and administrator at Livingston Female Academy. "When she had exhausted her own funds. . . she called upon friends. . . . She did this so well that no girl applying for whole or partial expenses was ever turned away from Livingston. . . . In . . . one year, 1908, fifty-six students were helped to attend the college."15

Tutwiler's attitudes were reflected in her gracious gift of time and energy to assist students with special talents. For instance,

Finding an orphan girl of unusual promise because of great musical ability, Miss Julia sought a foster father and mother for her. She found them in New York, people of wealth who took the girl abroad for study, helping her to win fame with her voice.

Another girl Geneva Mercer who came to the school had a talent for modeling in clay, and Miss Tutwiler found a way to help her to develop her art. Bending under the weight of a basket of heavy modeled pieces, this more-than-teacher went to . . . Birmingham and asked that the work be placed on display. . . . that some one seeing it might help the young artist. . . . An Italian sculptor Guiseppe Moretti who was then in Alabama became interested and volunteered to teach the gifted young woman.16


16. Ibid., 12-13. Miss Mercer, who now resides in Demopolis, spent many years living and studying with the Moretti's, and it was she who sculpted the memorial tablet honoring Miss Tutwiler that is now located in the Alabama Department of Archives and History. Mr. Moretti was in Alabama at the time to sculpt the now famous statue of Vulcan which overlooks the city of Birmingham. Miss Mercer
Colleagues and friends agreed that selflessness, modesty, and seriousness were Tutwiler's outstanding characteristics. Her self-abnegation won her admiration from Alabamians and "enshrined her in the hearts of the common people of the great South."

As an educator and author, Tutwiler was also respected. She was, perhaps, the best educated woman in the South. She enhanced this status through active participation in the state and national educational associations. In addition to delivering papers to the National Educational Association on three different occasions, 1891, 1892, and 1893, she was accorded the honor of being elected a national "counsellor" in 1884. She served as vice-president and president of that Association's Elementary Education Department. While serving in the latter office, she was a member of the Board of Directors. Then too, she became involved in the Chautauqua movement, becoming one of the first members of the Monteagle Sunday School Assembly, "The Chautauqua of the South", Monteagle, Tennessee, and served for many years as a member of its education staff.

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retold the story in a personal interview, May 2, 1974.

17. Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, 60.


19. The specific dates of these offices are provided in Chapter III of this study, pp. 44-45.

20. Bulletin of the Monteagle Summer Schools, 1886. Tutwiler is listed as instructor of History and Rhetoric, p. 50. A copy of this bulletin was made available to the author through the kindness of Mrs. Hugh Wilburn, Jefferson, Alabama. Two newspapers also carried articles on Tutwiler's work with the Chautauqua Movement: The Montgomery Advertiser, June 15, 1885, and the Livingston Journal, September 26, 1895.
Perhaps her work with the National Educational Association and the Chautauqua movement limited her activity in the Alabama Educational Association. She does not appear as an active member of that organization until 1907. She had, however, prepared two papers for the organization in 1880 and 1891, and she was listed as a member of a discussion panel in 1895. Her interest and work in these professional organizations enhanced her reputation among her educator-auditors.

As an author, she was remembered for her poem "Alabama", her article which appeared in *The Churchman* (1879), and the reprint of her paper on technical education in the *National Journal of Education* (1882). Marie Owens said: "Mr. Mallory, the editor of *The Churchman*, declared that her article describing the work of the Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth had attracted great attention throughout the country and had influenced very considerably the instituting of Deaconesses in the Episcopal Church." Owens also stated that "Dr. Philbrick, the United States Commissioner, spoke very highly of her work when Julia was selected by the *National Journal of Education*.


of Education as its reporter to the Paris Exposition in 1878."²⁵

Thus as an educator-journalist Tutwiler won some prestige.

Adding to her reputation was the fact that Tutwiler spoke on subjects that were timely and on which she was personally knowledgeable. When she discussed technical education, she did so from personal knowledge gained in Germany and France; when she considered co-education and character, she relied on her observations of existing conditions in the South and in foreign countries; when she spoke on the German model school, she talked as an authority; when she advocated self support for girls in secondary education, she found her proof in her own observations and experiences with prevailing conditions; finally, when she spoke on individualized instruction, she did so from her knowledge of and experiences with such training. Consequently her reputation as a person, an educator, and an author, as well as her knowledge of the subjects on which she spoke, created a favorable impression.

A favorable reputation does not, however, guarantee a speaker's success. In addition, a speaker must create belief among his auditors while speaking. As Giles W. Gray and Waldo W. Braden said, a speaker must "attempt during his speech to give the right impress of himself and by his appearance and manner... give evidence of his own merits, worth, and virtues."²⁶ According to Aristotle, this belief may be gained by establishing (1) good

²⁵-Ibid.

character, (2) good will, and (3) intelligence. Tutwiler created an impression of these three factors while speaking.

During the late nineteenth century, Christianity played an important role in southern life. It was a period of great growth among the Protestant churches, especially the Methodists and Baptists, and it was a time when there was an "unrelenting hold of 'old-time religion' upon Southerners." In several speeches, Tutwiler enhanced her good character by reference to the value of Christianity. In "A Year in a German Model School," she said:

But I did not attribute the characters developed by this school wholly, or even mostly, to the simplicity and thoroughness of its curriculum. At the risk of being old-fashioned and unprogressive, far behind the spirit of the age, I will say that I attribute the best results of this school to its distinctive Christian teaching. The truths of the Bible were taught.

Her strong desire to retain Christian teaching in the classroom was shown when she argued for the preservation of Bible teaching in that same speech. In "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character," her final argument was that co-education was ordained by God, and in the poem used to conclude "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?", she personified Eve as the great Mother who would "ope the gates of Elysian" to struggling womankind. By stressing her faith and humility in this manner, Tutwiler established her good character.


Her sense of justice also helped to establish her good character, as shown in "The Technical Education of Women." She asked nothing more for women than for men when she said:

But would it be unreasonable to ask the state or the Nation to assist in a work so much needed? In every State of the Union the State makes large provision for the literary education of its young men by means of State Universities. In not one does it make special provision for its young women; at most they are permitted, and this only in some states, to share in the advantages provided for the young men. Technical education for young men, in at least two pursuits, is provided by the Nation at immense cost in its naval and military academies. The State also provides for several kinds of technical education for young men by means of agricultural and mechanical colleges and normal schools. . . . Neither the Nation nor the State has made any special provision for either the literary or technical education of its women. There is a manifest injustice in this, in regard to those women who are, like men, expected to be self-supporting.30

In "A Year in a German Model School," Tutwiler described her "unannounced" and "unexpected" arrival at the Diokanessen Anstalt. Her courage and humility exhibited in this description helped to establish her good character as follows:

I smile now at the recollection of the simplicity with which, without the slightest dread or disbelief or even suspicion, the American informed them (the Deaconesses of Kaiserwerth) that she had come to study among them, because she thought they were such very good people, and that she had no letters of introduction. . . . She was, after much consultation, remanded for the night to the village inn, where she found herself the only guest. There she spent a quiet, restful week, . . . Every afternoon a gentle sister. . . . came in, ostensibly to visit the stranger and cheer her loneliness, but really, as I see it now, to find out whether she could with safety be admitted into the fold.31

By demonstrating that she possessed the virtues of faith, justice,


31. J. Tutwiler, "A Year in a German Model School."
courage, humility, and temperance, Tutwiler established her good character.

Gray and Braden suggest that, "good will and friendly disposition involve the speaker's attitude toward his listeners"—the speaker should "have the best interest of his listeners at heart." Because Tutwiler's educational speeches were replete with her desire to improve education, she indicated that she was thinking of education's best interests. Thereby she established her good will. Specifically, in "The Technical Education of Women," she achieved a friendly disposition toward her auditors by acquiescing to the idealized image of southern women in her introduction.

The true profession of every woman is that of Queen. For this she was created, to rule wisely and well over "A Woman's Kingdom", a well-ordered home. A wise Providence makes provision for carrying out this design of woman's creation by causing the number of births of males and females to be nearly equal in every land, with a small excess of male birth to allow for the more frequent deaths among men, owing to their exposed lives. Later in the same speech she told her auditors, "Just here let me say, that the wife who manages her husband's household, and the daughter who takes charge of a lonely father, are as truly producers . . . as the teacher or milliner." Such a statement let her audience know that she did not desire to make all women professional workers. But it was in stating her solution to the problem of surplus women that she most clearly indicated she had the best interests of her listeners at heart because it was a solution that would benefit society. She asserted that technical

32 Gray and Braden, Public Speaking, 268.
33 J. Tutwiler, "Technical Education."
education would not only make surplus women self-supporting but would make them "contributors to the general wealth of the community" as well.

The same technique, acquiescing to the idealized image of southern women in order to establish good will among her listeners, was apparent throughout "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character." In references to familial relationships she spoke to the type of families best known to her audience and she reminded them that "the loveliest women and the noblest men that I have known have been trained in families where brothers and sisters have grown up together . . . sweetening and strengthening each other's lives and characters." It is probable that most of her auditors recalled with her such families, perhaps their own. Then, after comparing European countries to the United States, she said:

Now I ask any American who has thoughtfully considered the national type of youthful character developed in those countries and compared it with that of our own land, is it not far higher and nobler here than in the countries where the doctrines of those who oppose co-education are logically and consistently carried out? The universal admiration excited in every country by the bright, frank, candid American girl is due in great part to the fact that in her own land she has enjoyed the advantages of co-education, if not in name yet in fact. . . .

Appeal to pride and intelligence is evident in that statement, but, overall, it was designed to evoke good will from her listeners.

Tutwiler specifically sought, and probably received, the good will of her Canadian auditors in "A Year in a German Model School" when she said:

... I had to admire very much the type of woman which it the Diakonessen Anstalt developed—gentle, thoughtful, intelligent women—clear-headed and open-minded, with the power to think accurately and express their thoughts plainly. There is nothing muddled in their brains; nothing that indicated a mind surcharged with more than it could digest, and consequently congested. I have seen something like this in the United States. I hope such a condition of mind is not unknown among your graduates in Canada.35

In "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?" Tutwiler attempted to gain the good will of her educator-auditors by setting forth her sincere feelings toward those who abuse education.

Some schools still make a boast in their annual reports that certain pupils have paid all their expenses during the year by work performed out of school—so many hours in the kitchen, laundry, or sewing room. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children should expostulate with the ill-judging managers, however well-intentioned, of these schools. There is not one girl in a thousand between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five who can do this without danger of becoming a permanent inmate of an insane asylum or a hospital.36

If her auditors were not counted among the "ill-judging managers," they surely felt good will toward her and satisfaction with themselves. In the conclusion to this speech, Tutwiler praised her listeners and exhibited her sincerity toward them. She said:

I cannot close without expressing my sense of the great blessing to womanhood of this wonderful opportunity of thus taking counsel together and unbosoming ourselves to each other. So many women have schemes for the helping of their sex, or still better, of their race, fermenting in their brains and hearts, and are brain-sick and heart-sick for the lack of advice and sympathy. Here for the first time . . . we have come together from the ends of the earth . . . to listen to each other's plans and hopes, and give wise warning

35. J. Tutwiler, "A Year in a German Model School."

This praise of her auditors added to their sense of importance and gained their good will toward Tutwiler.

A third aspect of ethos is intelligence. Gray and Braden explain:

Early in the speech, you must establish that (1) you are well informed on the immediate subject, (2) your experiences qualify you to speak, and (3) in general you possess sound judgment. A speaker may be sincere and virtuous, but if the audience is in doubt concerning his information, his cause is lost.

Tutwiler's educational reform speeches dealt only with subjects on which she was well-informed. She had a well-spring of personal knowledge concerning technical education, the consequences of co-educational training, the results of individualized instruction, the need for girls to support themselves while seeking further education, and the effects of training at the Diakonessen Anstalt. Her personal observations and experiences served as the means by which she developed her ideas. Thus, she established that she was (1) well informed on her subjects, and (2) well qualified to speak on them. Tutwiler demonstrated the third aspect of intelligence, sound judgment, by showing she was conversant with the trends of the time, by meeting opposing arguments, and by proposing change that was possible and desirable.

Her speech on self support for girls was an excellent example of her ability to establish her sound judgment. First, she indicted the contemporary trend which forced girls to work and attend school

37. Ibid.

38. Gray and Braden, Public Speaking, 269.
simultaneously. Second, she recognized the need for self support in many cases. Third, she wisely proposed a practical and desirable solution in which the girl, too young to be left unattended, would be under watchful guardianship and protection.

Now, suppose instead of closing the college buildings for these four months [summer] we were to keep them open, . . . at least, to keep the dormitory and refectory open. . . . Suppose a sufficient number of college officials be kept on duty for guardianship and protection, then let all the pupils who need self-support engage in some profitable industry in buildings belonging to the college and reserved for this purpose.39

She then met opposition arguments:

But the objection may be made that the capital invested in this industrial plant must lie idle for three-fourths of the year. Even if this should be the case, it would not be nearly such poor economy as the prevailing practice of letting thousands of college buildings remain unemployed for one-fourth of the year. . . . We will try to arrange our industrial plant so that there shall be no unnecessary lying idle of capital. There are several ways in which this can be done. I will not stop to enumerate them all. . . . However, there is one industry in which capital necessarily lies idle during the very months in which Katie [a universal example] has leisure. This is the canning factory.40

Finally, Tutwiler stated "the work is light and well suited to girls," and provided an example of a successful industrial plant which allowed girls to earn sufficient money to pay their next term's school expenses.

Tutwiler's sagacity was almost certainly established by following such procedure. The same plan of development was evident in "The Technical Education of Women," and "Individualization by Grouping." Because she was conversant with contemporary trends,


40. Ibid.
met opposition arguments effectively, and proposed practical and desirable solutions, Tutwiler confirmed her good sense among her auditors.

Tutwiler lived a life of Christian action and did not ask others to do what she was not willing to do. Moore said, "she was always gracious, never dictatorial, yet tremendously in earnest. Her efforts to enlist aid for her projects were the more effective because she always exhausted her own resources before asking the help of others."41 These virtues coupled with her reputation as an educator and author, along with her ability to establish her ethos accounted for much of Tutwiler's success as an orator.

PURPOSES AND GOALS

Aristotle divided rhetoric into three kinds, each having its several ends: deliberative speaking seeks to exhort or dissuade a course of action, forensic speaking seeks justice or injustice, and epideictic speaking seeks honor or dishonor.42 Elaborating upon Aristotle's division, Gray and Braden said:

The stimulating epideictic speech strives to strengthen the listeners' attitudes, opinions, or beliefs already present but ineffective or inactive. As a speaker you hope to rekindle or heighten appreciation for a principle, person, a group of persons, or an institution. In this type of speech you seek mainly covert response. . . . Probably you desire a sustained reaction.

Further,

persuasive speeches seek to change attitudes and beliefs and in some cases strive to move auditors to action. . . . A basic requirement of the persuasive speech then is that you. . . hold a position different from that held by a significant


42. Cooper, Aristotle, 17-18.
number of your listeners.

In the convincing speech you seek either an immediate or a delayed reaction. It may be momentary, but more frequently it is a sustained reaction.43

Even with these guidelines, it was difficult to categorize Tutwiler's speeches. She freely mixed the characteristics of stimulation and conviction; hence, her specific purposes were difficult to determine. For instance, her first speech "The Technical Education of Women" was consistent with the characteristics of the speech to convince. Since she desired to have her auditors react favorably toward the proposition that new educational opportunities be provided for women, she was seeking to change their opinions. And since she realized the State could not subsidize a training school for women in 1880, she sought a sustained response. However, she devoted fully three quarters of the speech to detailed description of the setting, curriculum, and results of Madame Lemonneir's Ecoles Professionelles de Juenes Filles, the school Tutwiler endorsed as being most suitable for the goal she sought. This description was probably meant to heighten her auditor's appreciation for such a school. Then too, Tutwiler's concluding Biblical quotation, "give her of the fruit of her hand, and let her own works praise her in the gates," has caused other writers to categorize the speech as one to actuate.44 But, by illustrating the relationship of women to work during biblical times, Tutwiler seemed to be attempting to inspire her listeners to accept what she

43 Gray and Braden, Public Speaking, 225-226.

was saying because God had approved her principle. In spite of the materials meant to heighten appreciation and her concluding statement, the specific purpose of "Technical Education of Women" may be paraphrased as follows:

To convince my auditors (educators) that education which combines general and technical studies, and which ought to be underwritten by government, is necessary if women are to become productive members of society.

Because Tutwiler did not call for active support of her idea this speech can best be classified as one to convince.

The speech "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?", abounds with the characteristics of the speech to stimulate. First, Tutwiler's introduction, couched in strong emotional language, attempted to dishonor the prevailing system of self support. Second, her rhetorical questions were used as restatement of her idea and to inspire her female auditors. For instance, after suggesting that there would be physical and mental injury to girls who "worked out of school" she said:

But what of the girl who will not accept this decision? Who says in answer to our remonstrances that she will gladly shorten her life, or even dedicate it to pain and suffering if she may but be permitted to enter upon her inheritance as the heir of all the ages, if we will but give into her hands the key that opens the Gate Beautiful of the wonderful Paradise of Culture? 45

Third, her conclusion praised and inspired her listeners in their efforts to better womankind. Despite these characteristics of stimulation, Tutwiler probably wanted to convince her auditors that some plan was required to assist young girls economically in gain-

45 J. Tutwiler, "Self Support."
ing more education. Further, the plan needed to be one capable of eliminating the mental and physical harassment inherent in the contemporary approach to self support. To that end, Tutwiler proposed a remedy that was desirable and workable.

In light of the above, the specific purpose of "Self Support" may be paraphrased as follows:

To convince my auditors (women) that it is possible for institutions of secondary learning to establish a plan of self support which is less damaging, physically and mentally, than those now in existence.

Again, Tutwiler stopped short of calling for specific action on the part of her audience. Rather, she stated simply, "Now, here are sisters from the East and the West, and the North and South, and I ask them to tell me whether such a plan has ever been attempted anywhere, and if so, with what success?" Consequently, "Self Support" may best be categorized as a speech to convince.

"Individualization by Grouping" at first appeared to be a speech to stimulate because Tutwiler condemned the existing "procrustean bed of learning," which in effect placed all children in the same mold. Realizing that she had to inspire her elementary-educator auditors to want to individualize the work of gifted children, Tutwiler then graphically and emotionally described the kinds of children she had in mind. She said:

Every primary teacher knows that she finds now and then . . . one whose deft fingers on the slate or blackboard move with almost magical touch, and produce practical results. . . . Again, she hears from another pure, cherubic notes . . . which touch the heart and bring tears to the eyes. . . . Have not some of you . . . received from the little ones . . . a little tale, infantile, it is true, but bearing traces of an imaginative and poetic faculty. . . . Another is a natural mechanician, and his frames, water
wheels, and windmills are a delight to his companions. But, Tutwiler was not satisfied that her auditors simply visualize the children she spoke of, she desired that they consider the feasibility of grouping them according to "their natural bent," and offered a plan of grouping that could be attempted. Inferably then, the specific purpose of "Individualization by Grouping" may be paraphrased as follows:

To convince my fellow colleagues that there are students in their classrooms so gifted that they can best be taught through some method of individualized instruction.

That Tutwiler desired a sustained covert response was suggested in her closing statement, "I wish you would consider them during the year, or two years, which must lapse before our next meeting, and see whether you can evolve from them something which may be put into practice." Therefore, "Individualization by Grouping" is best categorized as a speech to convince.

Tutwiler's remaining educational speeches, "The Influence of Co-education Upon Character," and "A Year in a German Model School," adhere closely to the characteristics of the speech to stimulate. Both sought to heighten auditor appreciation for beliefs, present but ineffective or inactive.

Tutwiler's remarks related to coeducation and character building were formulated for a southern audience. She might have chosen to convince them that institutions of higher learning were obligated to open their doors to women. Realizing, however, that the South adhered to a strong tradition of separation of sexes in the

46. J. Tutwiler, "Individualization by Grouping."
classroom,\textsuperscript{47} she chose to heighten their appreciation for the principle of coeducation. To that end, she praised those aspects of coeducational existence with which her listeners were familiar. Her specific purpose then, suggested throughout her development, may be paraphrased as follows:

To describe the desirable attributes of coeducational existence in the family, home, and nations in order to increase my auditors' appreciation for the value of it, thus inspiring them to desire to expand coeducation to all areas of life.

Tutwiler's statement, "that our personal observation of individuals, and families, our study of national character... and the statements of divine revelation, all tend to prove the same truth, let us accept it and no longer keep asunder what God hath meant to be joined together," suggested that she desired a covert response. Consequently, the speech should be thought of as one to stimulate.

In "A Year in a German Model School," Tutwiler wanted to accomplish two goals. First, she desired to develop appreciation for the German system of education, particularly that of the Diakonessen Anstalt. Second, she wanted to revitalize faith in the Bible. Therefore, her specific purpose may be paraphrased as follows:

To praise the setting, curriculum, and results of the Diakonessen Anstalt in such a way that my auditors will visualize and appreciate its efforts as well as to praise the teaching of Christian values in order to revitalize their faith in the worth of the Bible.

She concluded this speech by saying, "as Cato ended every speech... with his Carthago delenda est, I should like to end every paper I

write on education with the words, *Biblia conservanda sunt*--the story of the Bible must be preserved." Since she had earlier commended the Bible for its literary value, referring to it as "a storehouse of antiquities," her concluding statement implied that Tutwiler desired her auditors to actively support continued use of the Bible in classroom teaching.

Because she freely combined the characteristics of stimulation and conviction in her speeches on educational reform, Tutwiler was often confusing, and her speeches do not fit into the usual categories. Under careful examination, however, when she explored ideas that were novel she chose to convince her listeners that her proposals were worthwhile as was the case with the technical education for women, self support for girls, and individualization by grouping. On the other hand, when she addressed herself to known but dormant ideas, she chose to stimulate, as was the case with coeducation and character and the German school system.

ARGUMENTS AND SUPPORTING MATERIALS

In her speeches, "The Technical Education of Women," and "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?," Tutwiler followed a strategy that coincided with the purpose of convincing her audience to accept her underlying proposition that society ought effectively to provide greater educational opportunities for its women. Implied in that underlying proposition is a problem-solution arrangement.

The problem step of "Technical Education" was developed through causal reasoning. First, she argued that "an artificial civilization overrules the laws of nature" which "resulted in a
surplus of women". She asserted that surplus women must
either be consumers or producers, then argued that "to be self-supporting is not merely the preference of many women, but a stern necessity laid upon them"; however, the education they received failed to prepare them for this role.

The problem step of "Secondary Education for Girls" was developed around three propositions. The first was that young girls were physically and mentally abused when they were forced to work during the regular school session. She said:

Some schools still make a boast in their annual reports that certain pupils have paid all their expenses during the year by work performed out of school—so many hours in the kitchen, laundry or sewing room. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children should expostulate with the ill-judging managers, however well intentioned, of these schools. There is not one girl in a thousand between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five who can do this without danger of becoming a permanent inmate in an insane asylum or a hospital.

Second, she proposed that the mature generation bear the burdens of the young. She said, "let the mature generation bear the burdens of the rising one until it also is fully matured, thoroughly developed, and carefully trained."

Tutwiler then proposed that regardless of these existing factors there were many young girls who so fervently desired an education that they would gladly accept the conditions in order to achieve it, as follows:

But what of the young girl who will not accept this decision? who says in answer to our remonstrances that she will gladly shorten her life, or even dedicate it to pain and suffering if she may be permitted to enter upon her inheritance as the heir of all ages, if we will but give into her hands the key that opens the Gate Beautiful of the wonderful Paradise of Culture?
Thus she utilized several acceptable methods in developing the problem step of her educational speeches. In both instances her solution step was to provide young women with the kind of training which would enable them to become productive members of society. In the solution step to "Technical Education," she argued that the answer to the surplus of unused intellect was to provide technical education. She said:

What is the remedy for this state of things? In what way shall we make available the vast unused capital of womanly intellect and energy that now, in defiance of the precepts of political economy, is going to waste among us?

I answer, By (sic) the technical education of our surplus women. . . .

Her solution for providing "Secondary Education for Girls" was for colleges (secondary institutions/academies) to provide self-support for young women during the summer months. Specifically, she argued:

Now, suppose instead of closing the college buildings for these four months, we were to keep them open, . . . Suppose a sufficient number of college officials to be kept on duty for guardianship and protection, then let all the pupils who need self-support engage in some profitable industry in buildings belonging to the college and reserved for this purpose.

Gray and Braden said "the successful speaker highlights his important ideas and devotes sufficient time to each one to ensure immediate understanding." They indicate that

An idea may be dwelt upon in a variety of ways. In fact, any type of supporting material—testimony, examples, statistics—serves to amplify a thought expressed. If you prove an assertion by an extended illustration two or three minutes long, you have dwelled upon the thought long enough so that your listener should more readily comprehend it.48

48 Gray and Braden, Public Speaking, 309.
They go on to say, however, that "some stylistic devices, . . . serve little purpose except amplification" and list these devices as "(1) recasting the thought in different words, (2) giving a quotation which restates it, and (3) using rhetorical questions." Tutwiler relied primarily upon amplification to develop and support her thoughts concerning "Technical Education" and "Self Support for Girls." In "Technical Education," the argument "that artificial civilization overrules the laws of nature" was amplified through definition and restatement. She defined artificial civilization as "a tendency in the men of all civilized countries to seek new lands, less thickly populated than their own." She then amplified her definition through restatement as follows:

Women, not having the same liberty of action nor the same capacity for bearing hardships, leave the older lands in smaller numbers, and, consequently, among those left behind the majority are generally women. This migratory instinct plays a valuable part in filling with inhabitants the desolate regions of the earth, and will doubtless continue to act until all parts of the world are equally settled and equally fruitful.

Statistics were then applied to prove that the United States was no exception to the general trend. She said:

The United States, formed in earlier times an exception to this rule, and this country was consequently considered as the paradise of women; but at present, in all the States except those in the extreme West, the women outnumber the men. In Massachusetts the band of "forty thousand anxious and aimless women," mentioned in the address of a former governor, has become a by-word. Even in so new a state as Alabama there are said to be ten thousand more women than men.

It was interesting to note that the speaker chose not to mention war as a factor of artificial civilization which leads to a

49. Ibid., 310-312.
surplus of women. In 1880, many of the ten thousand more women in Alabama were widows and daughters or mothers and sisters of men killed in the Civil War. Perhaps Tutwiler felt that her auditors were sufficiently aware of this fact and needed no reference to it. Her support, then, of her first need step in "Technical Education" was minimal and general.

The argument that women desire to be self-supporting (producers) was amplified through the use of metaphor and Biblical quotation as follows:

Most of these women desire to be producers; they would prefer to feel that they are not mere drones in the social hive, living upon the honey gathered by their more fortunate comrades, but useful and necessary members of the community... This condition must be the happiest since one of the blessings promised to the righteous is, "Thou shalt eat and labor of thy hands," not that of another's hands.

Tutwiler then argued that "necessity dictates that women become self-supporting" and supported it with (1) explanation, (2) testimony, and (3) simile. She first explained that there were only two vocations open to southern women, teaching and sewing; consequently, both were "miserably overcrowded and wretchedly paid."

This thought was then restated through the use of testimony, thus:

"How I envy you the consciousness of leading a useful life," said a southern lady of culture and refinement to me the other day. "I can find nothing to do," she went on, "which will prevent my being a burden on others. I was not educated with the thoroughness required of teachers now-a-days, and, while I can sew as well as most ladies, the colored girl in the cabin across the road can do this so much better and more rapidly than I that I cannot compete with her, even in this so ill-paid an occupation. I would give all that I was taught in my school days in exchange for the knowledge of some one thing by which I could feel that I was self-supporting,—useful to myself and others."

Tutwiler amplified the futility of that testimony through the use of simile, as follows:
Sad enough words to come from one woman's lips, but when these are the unvoiced utterances of groups of unemployed girls in thousands of families who are withering away like clusters of sister-flowers on one stem, all the high possibilities which might have gladdened and enriched the world, unused and undeveloped with them,—how unutterably sad!

Her support of her second and third argument was more specific. However, the emotional appeal of the testimony and the simile probably weighed more heavily than the logical appeal.

In developing the problem step of "Technical Education," Tutwiler finally argued that education failed to prepare women for the role of producers, and supported it with a simple statement of fact. She said:

Even for these two occupations, of which public opinion has tacitly allowed her the freedom, there are no full opportunities for proper preparation. The normal schools profess to supply this preparation for teachers, but their number is deplorably insufficient, and their work often that of a mere high school or college, instead of being strictly technical.

Because her audience were cognizant of this fact, she felt it amply supported her argument.

In "Secondary Education for Girls," Tutwiler first argued that work during the school year was injurious to girls. She simply asserted this statement, offering no proof. Whether her international auditors concurred in this assertion seemed of little concern to her. She, no doubt, sincerely believed that work and study could not be combined. Her second argument that the mature generation bear the burdens of the rising one was supported by analogy, and its restatement as follows:

We do not allow even our baby rose-trees and infant geraniums to bear blossoms until they are well grown. We do not call on them for production until they have had their due period of nutrition from every kindly exterior influence that we can bring to bear upon them.
This argument was then concluded by restatement, "... it is not desirable that our girls should assume the burden of self-support during these years, with the accompanying dangers of physical and mental injury." Both the analogy and restatement were used to dwell upon the concept that the contemporary practice was inherently dangerous, thereby gaining listener comprehension.

Gray and Braden stated that the use of an extended illustration is a means of "dwelling upon an idea" in order to gain listener comprehension. Tutwiler utilized this technique to present her third argument that many girls would gladly accept these conditions in order to attain education. At the same time, the illustration amplified, through restatement, her previous argument. In the illustration, she used "Katie" as a universal example of all the girls she had in mind. She said:

Katie is a farmer's daughter. She has received all the elementary education which the little country school-house or the village academy can give her. If she lived in a city, she would now enter the High-school, but happily for her, she is a country lassie? She has a bright, eager intellect, whetted by the little it has received to an appetite for more. Her father has other children, and is one of that large class of worthy citizens who is just able to feed, clothe and physic his family and meet the necessary expenses of keeping up his farm or his business, and, at the end of the year, "owe no man anything, but to love one another." He has no money with which to pay board for Katie, even at the least expensive school or college. If she were living in the Arcadian days of factory life, ... she would probably take employment in one and earn the money for her further advancement in knowledge. But many things have changed since that time, and Katie's good parents would never consent to such an ordeal for her inexperienced youth. Katie must be carefully protected for some years to come. There is something even more important for her than culture, as her wise mother knows. If her brother Jack has the same ambitions, there is little trouble in his case. He has muscle and bone. These are not ill-paid in this favored land. There are railroads to build, mines to dig, crops to gather at all times. Jack can soon earn enough to take a course of instruction at one of the schools whose advantages have been made so inexpensive
by the beneficence of individuals or denominations. But Katie's wage earning powers are very small, even were there an opportunity for her to exercise them while remaining at home, and she is too young to go from home for the purpose of making larger gains unless she can have watchful guardianship and protection. Is it possible for her to attain this?

Overall, the support and development of Tutwiler's arguments in examining the problems of education as they related to female education did not constitute a prima-facie need. She assumed that her listeners would agree with her assertions, and she further assumed their willingness to accept the need. As a result, her use of examples, statistics, and specific authority was minimal when compared to her use of amplificatory materials. In most instances, her examples and authority (testimony) are best classified as materials to amplify. In addition, her amplification seemed more calculated to gain emotional acceptance than logical agreement.

The solution step occupied the greater part of both these speeches, particularly that of "Technical Education;" fully three-quarters of that speech was spent in developing the solution. Perhaps Tutwiler sensed the novelty of her proposal and thus felt her auditors needed as much information as possible before she could gain acceptance for her proposal. She began her solution to "Technical Education," by clarifying through definition, restatement and the use of a rhetorical question. She said:

"... by teaching them (the students of Ecoles Professionelles) thoroughly and well such arts and handicrafts as shall make them not only self-supporting, but contributors to the general wealth of the community. Let our girls who have no means begin life as cheerfully and hopefully as their brothers, feeling that avenues of honorable labor are open to them in many directions, that there is a suitable place and well-rewarded work for each of them in the big world. How shall this technical education be provided for our girls?"
She then proposed three ways in which such training could be obtained; apprenticeship; adult schools; and technical schools which also provided literary education. She defined and eliminated the first two types as possible approaches because of inherent objections to them as follows:

... the first and oldest is that of apprenticeship,—the young girl being placed for a certain term of years in an establishment where the handicraft... is pursued. ... The objection which thoughtful philanthropists have found to this plan is, that it produces a very one-sided development, preventing, almost necessarily, the acquirement of that general knowledge which is necessary to the ideal citizen. A second plan is to establish institutions where adult women... can, by study and practice in a few months, acquire certain handicrafts. The objection to this worthy mode of assisting women to be self supporting is, that what is rapidly learned never permeates and becomes a part of one's self as that which is more slowly learned.

Tutwiler immediately amplified this objection by applying an adage to restate it: "Pour water on the sand rapidly, and it runs off; pour slowly, and it soaks in." Since the speaker failed to identify "thoughtful philanthropists" much of her objection seemed based on her personal preference of the third plan exemplified by the Ecoles Professionelles which was then presented.

In presenting the third plan, Tutwiler amplified through detailed explanation the reasons for the Ecoles' existence; an explanation analogous to the need for such a school in the South.

During the revolution of 1848 thousands of workingmen of Paris, ... were thrown out of employment, owing to the cessation of many large and private enterprises. The mothers of the hungering children attempted to supply the necessity, but it was difficult for them to find the ill-paid labor for which they longed. ... Madame Lemonnier attempted to assist suffering mothers... by organizing... a Labor Bureau, where work... was given out to all women who applied for it, and a regular, if scanty, support supplied for them. Madame Lemonnier, ... was surprised and distressed to find how many of the women who applied to her for employment were as clumsy and awkward as if they were tools of which they had
never learned the skillful use. . . . Madame Lemonnier believed that she saw in this inability to perform any but the coarsest. . . work the reason, not only of much of the suffering and poverty of large cities, but of much of their degradation and vice.

Surely a group of southern educators who could recall the aristocratic antebellum way of life could readily visualize and empathize with those Parisian women not unlike the thousands of jobless and unskilled women in the post-bellum South.

At this point Tutwiler described Madame Lemonnier's motivation for involving herself in such work, motivation not unlike that which caused the speaker to assist the economically destitute women of the South.

Herself a happy wife and mother, her warm heart yearned over the comfortless homes and hapless lives of so many of her country-women. It seemed to her a duty laid upon those whose lives a good Providence had placed in shelter from want and care and degradation, to make some earnest effort to bring to their less fortunate sisters some of the same blessing.

Sensing that her fellow educators, many of them friends, found little reason to quarrel with selfless motivation, Tutwiler attempted to clinch her implied argument that this type of school had met a deep-seated need by giving a brief account of other Parisian Schools opened for the same purpose.

Her inclusion of the Notre Dame des Beaux Arts seemed calculated to have an exceptionally strong emotional appeal to gain approval for technical education from her southern audience.

But women feel the need of being self-supporting in the highest rank as well as in the lowest; and I have visited a very fine institution designed to supply this need. In the institution dedicated to "Notre Dame des Beaux Arts". . . the daughters of noblemen and government officials, reduced in fortune, and other decayed gentry, have the opportunity, among elegant and refined surroundings, to learn many beautiful and tasteful occupations by which they can afterwards
earn a comfortable support without going out from the shelter of their own homes. The painting of miniatures, china painting, carving in ivory, wood-engraving, artificial flower making, are some of the occupations which can be there pursued.

Those among her auditors who responded to the myth of the "Old South" and the "idealized image" of southern womanhood could have reacted favorably to the appeal.

However, Tutwiler was not satisfied with establishing an institution which offered only technical training. Returning immediately to the four schools under the direction of the "Society pour l'enseignement professional des femmes" (Association for the Promotion of the Technical Education of Women), she stated that such schools were more desirable because "the fundamental idea underlying the plan of these schools is that it is possible to teach a handicraft while giving the pupil a good general education," arguing that a combination of handicraft and educational training was needed for it "will make... a better workwoman." Tutwiler then provided an extended explanation of the curriculum, the professions or trades taught, and the results of the training. The description of the results was probably included to gain social approval for such training for, she argued, the result was more desirable. She said:

During a very interesting visit paid to one of these schools... the writer was shown many beautiful articles made by pupils. For instance, a silk fan, worth, perhaps, originally about fifty cents, had by an exquisite painting of nymphs and goddesses been transformed into an artistic of luxury worth from five to ten dollars... People who feel an interest in the noble work which these schools are doing often help them by giving orders to be filled by the more advanced pupils. The visitor was shown a set of window shades in Japanese style, which had been ordered by a prominent member of the Government for his own residence. These articles are usually much more artistic than those
furnished by the regular trade.

But, she continued, such artistic quality is the product of a carefully chosen faculty, and supported it with the factual statement that "the directors of this enterprise have found it the best policy to get the very best possible instruction for the pupils, no matter at what cost." She then amplified this thought by restatement, saying, "cheap instruction would necessarily be second-rate, and second-rate teachers would produce second-rate artisans."

At this point, Tutwiler's description of the schools, her choice of examples, her amplification of her ideas, and her description of the results of such training indicated a clear option for the kind of technical education for women that she desired. She did not seem, however, to be satisfied that her auditors would choose the same option. Therefore, she realized a need to meet the arguments of those who opposed technical training for women. To this end, Tutwiler argued that it was unjust for society to provide literary and technical education for its young men who were expected to be self-supporting and not for its young women. This argument was supported with examples and appealed to pride and compassion. Her examples included state universities, the naval and military academies, and agricultural and mechanical colleges and indicated that "neither the Nation nor the State has made any special provision for either the literary or technical education of its women," and called this neglect a "manifest injustice."

She immediately amplified this inequity through restatement, saying, Naturally less strong physically or mentally than men, they would be unable to compete with them in a race for a livelihood, even should they begin with the same previous preparation; with such odds against them as they have under
the present system, it is not strange that so many women
make failures when they attempt this competition.

Next, she argued that her proposition calling for national and
state support of technical education for women was not a new one,
and she supported it with an example that probably provided satis­
faction for her audience.

It should be a matter of pride to Alabama, that one who
belongs especially to us . . . our own senator, General
Morgan,—was the first man in the United States to raise
his voice in favor of this simple piece of justice to the
women of his country. No one had ever proposed before, . . .
that even a few of the crumbs that fall from the national
table should be thrown to woman. In an act brought forward
by him. . . it is proposed as a condition on which alone
the money obtained from the sales of the public lands shall
be given to the agricultural and mechanical colleges of the
land, that each of these shall be required to annex depart­
ments in which various branches of skilled labor may be
 taught to women.

By referring to Senator John T. Morgan's attempt to aid women, Tut­
wiler probably enhanced the acceptance of her proposition even
though Morgan's act was not passed. She reminded her listeners,
however, that "in this world, every failure is a step toward pro­
gress."

In her conclusion, Tutwiler appealed to the well-being of her
auditors and society. Through technical education for women, she
said, "we may hope to see the growth of a healthier state of feel­
ing not only among men, but among women themselves, in regard to
the nobility of labor." She amplified her position with a compari­
son.

An Englishman once said that the difference between the
Scotch and English universities is that the Scotch universi­
ties teach a young man how to make a thousand pounds a year,
and the English universities teach him how to spend that
amount. This is pretty much the difference between girls
schools as they now are and as they would be with these tech­
nical departments added. When this is done it is hoped that
a girl who saves her father every year a thousand dollars of salary paid to his bookkeeper will not be less esteemed than the young lady who spends for her father a thousand dollars a year.

In the South, where many males could no longer afford the expense of harboring the unmarried females of the family, the emotional appeal of the comparison credibly enhanced Tutwiler's position.

Finally, she turned to the Bible in an attempt to clinch her proposition. She reminded her audience that working women of ancient times were viewed with favor by God. Because of the South's religiosity, the use of God as an authority plausibly had a strong ethical-emotional appeal.

Tutwiler's entire solution step depended more for its support upon ethical and emotional proofs than on logical ones. She cast herself in the role of authority, and attempted to make it clear, through examples, illustrations, testimony, and amplification, that women who received technical and literary training "should become respected artisans not merely skilled mechanicians thus benefiting society as meaningful producers rather than consumers." If her educator-auditors agreed that a problem existed, then her more detailed and more adequately supported solution probably met acceptance, particularly among those men and women who were friends and advocates.

In the solution step to "Self Support for Girls," Tutwiler argued that there was a method of providing viable self-support for girls who desired and needed it in order to continue their education. She began the solution step by saying:

Here is the proposed solution of the difficulty, and I am glad to have the opportunity of telling it at this time and place, that I may learn from my sisters whether it has even
been practically carried out anywhere; and if not, whether there is any reason why it should not be.

By seeking her auditor's advice, she credibly established a bond of good will. However, at this point she explained how "Katie's" time (scholastic and non-scholastic) was budgeted in order to prepare her audience to accept her proposal.

Katie will spend one-third as much of the year out of college as in college. . . . She will have in some places even more than that proportion of leisure time during the year. In my own State, [sic] she will have thirty-six weeks in college and sixteen out of college. This is, nine school months of four weeks each at her studies, four months of the same length at home.

Establishing the fact that "Katie" had sufficient time "out of school" to use in working to support her education, Tutwiler then posited the idea that certain college buildings be kept open to provide summer employment. Since she had earlier stated that "Katie" was too young to be unprotected while not in school and that not all kinds of work were suitable to girls, Tutwiler countered opposing arguments by suggesting that some college officials be retained as supervisors of a canning factory, the kind of industry suited to young girls' ability to work. Before supporting her proposed solution, she countered the economic argument that the use of school buildings as an industrial plant would be wasteful. She said:

But the objection may be made that the capital invested in this industrial plant must lie idle for three-fourths of the year. Even if this should be the case, it would not be nearly such poor economy as the prevailing practice of letting thousands of college buildings remain unemployed for one-fourth of the year. Why have not our practical communities in all these years felt a little trouble at this great waste of the capital invested in that plant?

She then supported her proposition with explanation and example, thus:
there is one industry in which capital necessarily lies idle during the very months in which Katie has leisure. This is the canning factory. If I have been correctly informed but a small capital is needed to establish a canning factory which will employ twenty girls and have an output of five hundred cans daily. Twenty-five acres of tomatoes and a few acres of corn, strawberries and peas will keep this factory busy for four months. . . . In Michigan there are said to be two factories carried on entirely by women. . . .

The pay is much more than Katie could earn by housework or sewing. . . . In Michigan I learned that from one dollar to a dollar and a half per day is the usual wages for girls. If Katie can earn seventy-five dollars during the summer, and if the college is one where she is charged only the actual cost of food and fuel, tuition being free, she will be able to pay by far the greater part of her next term's school expenses.

This strategy was plausibly meant to assuage the fears that such a plan was impractical and it may have succeeded to an extent. However, it seemed clear that Tutwiler's proposed solution was one more applicable to rural than metropolitan areas where the twenty-five to thirty acres needed to produce garden goods would be more difficult to obtain. It seemed obvious, too, that she was thinking more in terms of her own locale and the prevailing system of education for southern women, because the secondary public school was becoming an integral part of the educational system in other areas of the United States. Nonetheless, the suggested solution was amplified by contrast and appeal to pride and independence as follows:

A benevolent man or woman is often reported to have given five thousand dollars to found two or three scholarships in some girl's colleges. The same amount invested in an industrial plant. . . would pay for the education of a hundred girls, or rather would enable them to pay for their own education, a much nobler form of benevolence.

Realizing both that she used the term college to mean secondary school or academy, and that she was speaking to an international audience of educators who were, for the most part, non-conversant
with conditions as she visualized them, Tutwiler probably failed to convince her auditors. Why? First, her development and support of her need and solution was limited and simplistic, couched in her personal frame of reference; second, public high schools, in other areas of the United States, had, by 1893, significantly more female than male students. Therefore, the need was not as great.

While she was president of the NEA's Department of Elementary Education (1892), Tutwiler attempted to convince her audience that they "consider the possibility of doing more to individualize the work of the public schools." She utilized a psychological arrangement for the distribution of her ideas. After gaining attention through her condemnatory introduction, she attempted to establish a need to individualize instruction because "God has fashioned every human soul and mind after a distinct and separate pattern" therefore "the ideal school would provide each child with a teacher and set of studies chosen with reference to his needs and capacities alone." Tutwiler wisely called this idea impractical and continued her attempt to establish need by condemning the roteness of contemporary instruction. She supported this condemnation with comparison and testimony as follows:

I have no doubt that the twentieth century will look back upon our vast system of machine education, in which, as President Harrison remarked to us the other day, the children are treated like pins in the same factory, with the same pity

50 Report of the Commissioner on Higher Education: 1892-93 (Washington: The Government Printing Press, 1895), V. 2, pp. 1816-81. For example, Alabama had 18 public high schools in which 615 white females were in attendance compared to 186 in Illinois with some 11,500 females in attendance. Most of the Eastern and Midwestern states as well as California show a significantly higher number of female students than male in attendance.
and surprise with which we look upon the crude institutions of medieval superstitution.

Such brief development and support did not logically establish a need. God was her authority for creating her "ideal school," and President Benjamin Harrison her authority on the mechanical routine of contemporary education. Although President Harrison's remark was hearsay, the fact that he had addressed the Women's Congress probably added credibility to Tutwiler's assertion. Then too, since most of her audience could agree that medieval institutions were crude, they were probably mentally prepared to listen to her proposal for reducing criticism of late nineteenth century education. Thus, her need was psychologically established.

Tutwiler endeavored to satisfy and visualize her need by employing examples of the gifted children that she envisioned. She said:

Have not some of you... received from the little ones... a story... bearing traces of an imaginative and poetic faculty... a child who can solve the problem of intellectual arithmetic more rapidly than his teacher can follow... a natural mechanician whose frames, water-wheels, and windmills are a delight to his companions?

The examples were then amplified with a Ciceronean observation and a reference to heredity studies as follows:

Cicero's keen powers of observation evolved the remark, that children seem to know many things which they have had no opportunity of acquiring, and which they may, therefore, be supposed to have learned in a previous state of existence;

and,

The wonderful discoveries made in the study of heredity confirm this bold doctrine... and show us that the child does actually bring into this world with him much that had been acquired not only in a previous life, but in a previous individuality.

Tutwiler assumed audience acceptance of her examples and amplificatory
evidence, though the latter was uncited, and continued her attempt to satisfy and visualize the need with the following proposal:

Is it not possible by the expenditure of additional money, to group the children... according to their natural bent... I should propose... the following groups: the musical, the artistic... the literary, the mathematical. Let the child for the first two years... be placed under the care and observation of a practical psychologist and teacher, and let her discover during this time to which group he should afterward be assigned.

She immediately amplified her proposal by using a figure of speech to warn that "many artists, musicians, and poets have been lost to mankind by the Procrustean bed on which we have stretched the short and lopped off the long."

Her development and support of her satisfaction-visualization step was generally assertive; her support weak. She may also have alienated some of her listeners by suggesting they were incapable of teaching the gifted child. Nonetheless, her position as president increased her ethos and probably caused most of her audience to consider her request.

Tutwiler's remaining educational speeches were meant to stimulate. "Co-education and Character" was designed to heighten appreciation for the value of co-education; "A Year in a German Model School" was designed to heighten appreciation for the value of teaching Christian concepts.

It is likely that Tutwiler realized that her southern audience, reared in the strong tradition of separated classrooms, would hesitate to accept co-education. Thus she wisely refrained from attempting to convince. Instead she asserted that co-education produced the most desirable character in (1) the life of the individual, (2) the life of the family, (3) the life of nations, and (4) that
God had ordained it. Each assertion was supported with generalized examples, following an effect-to-effect pattern of reasoning, and amplified with figures of speech.

To support her first assertion, she asked her audience to consider various families "they had known," and contrasted the type of character developed in a family of girls with that of a family of boys. Because the family of girls "lacked the companionship of brothers during the formative years of life" [effect], she implied that "their characters lack muscle and bone; . . . they have not that vigorous energy that can fearlessly do and endure" [effect]. Consequently, she continued, "the lack of all this has been a loss which can never be repaired [effect]. For amplification, Tutwiler quoted George Eliot, the English author. She said:

You felt how well it would have been for these gently, gracious ladies if they could have read as their own experience the exquisite poem of George Eliot's commemorating the early friendship between herself and her "big brother" which ends:

"So, were another life elsewhere my share,
I would be born a little sister there."

In contrast, the family of boys "were. . . fine, manly fellows, . . . true as steel to their friends, and firm as adamant against their foes" [effect]; however, "they lacked that gentleness--that velvet glove under a steel gauntlet--which is cultivated by the constant habit of protection and consideration for the weaker" [effect]. Tutwiler then cast herself in the role of authority, a pattern repeated throughout the speech, in a final attempt to induce appreciation for the type of character developed by co-educational existence. She said: "The loveliest women and the noblest men that I have known have been trained in families where brothers and sisters have
grown up together, in genial companionship, sweetening and strength­ening each other's lives and characters."

The development of her second assertion, that co-education developed the most desirable family character, differed little from that of her first. She inferred that "ennui and monotony" exist where women sit alone "pursuing their usual occupation and graceful recreations." This "ennui," however, was dispersed with the appearance of a "big brother" bringing "news from the great outside world" which gave "a new value to their gentle pursuits". Then, authoritatively, she said "I have searched in vain . . . to find a comparison which will express the completeness and perfection of the life of such a family." Tutwiler's support of her second assertion was brief. However, since her examples and amplification exemplified the "idealized image" of Southern life she assumed her audience could identify with them, thereby gaining a heightened appreciation for the value of co-educational family life.

Her third assertion, that co-educational existence developed the most desirable national character, was more adequately supported. Contrasting ancient national life (Grecian and Biblical) with contemporary national life (Asian and European), she declared the former superior because there was "no careful separation of the sexes." Amplification was provided by restatement: "the women of the Iliad and of the Bible do not seem to have been sequestered from the ordinary social life of their time . . ." To support further her contention, she applied examples as follows:

Rebecca and Zipporah watered the flocks of their fathers at the well. Deborah judged Israel under the palm tree.
Andromache and Helen stood on the walls of Troy and watched the movements of the besieging army questioning the sages of Troy... and receiving courteous answers...

At this point, however, Tutwiler weakened her contention because she returned to assertive development and support. She implied that as women lost the freedom to socialize there came a "great declension in morals and manners, which ended in a corruption so complete that ancient civilization had to be swept away... in order to prepare a fit soil for the implanting of the germs of the higher life which Christianity was to evolve." She provided no support, but evidenced some doubt of the acceptance of the assertion by prefacing it with these words: "it is not to my purpose to examine here, even were I competent to do so, how a change came about..." This humility regarding her lack of expertise may have lent credence to the assertion.

Two more unsupported assertions followed:

Unfortunately some traces of the thought that the separate life was the better life survived... and developed later the system of monastic and conventual life... falsely held up to all as a higher way;

and,

How long heresy survives in practice... may be seen from the fact that many of the school regulations of modern times are... inherited from the days when monks and nuns were the only teachers.

Her criticism of Catholicism may not have been purposeful, but in a South strongly oriented toward Protestantism her assertions reasonably met with agreement.

Tutwiler continued in an assertive manner while considering contemporary national life. She alleged, "in the Mohammetan [sic] countries, women are shut out from all share in social life;..."
and the isolation is even sterner. . ." The effect was that "in those lands both sexes have degenerated from a noble, manly ancestral type to a deteriorated and debased state of humanity." These were harsh allegations, but she was speaking of infidels to an audience who could think of themselves as "noble, manly, ancestral" persons; thus she little feared they would not agree with her.

Next, she condemned life in France and Germany from the role of an authority. They were, she said, "the only two countries of whose life I can speak from protracted residence and personal knowledge." She contended that "the old educational heresy of separate education" was forceful in both nations, and supported the contention with a single example and a statement of fact. She said:

In the public schools of the little town of Enghien, near Paris, I found the boys and girls. . . carefully separated, one end of the school building attached to the parish church being the residence and schoolroom of the master who taught the boys. . . and the other, with its separate playground, being assigned to the two quiet ladies who had charge of the girls;

and,

In Germany, in the schools for the upper classes of society, we find the same careful separation kept up.

Since she applied no other support, it was evident that Tutwiler assumed auditor acceptance of her authority.

Tutwiler expanded her position to include "separation of the sexes in post-graduate courses." The term, post-graduate courses, was contextually defined in her contrast of conditions in the United States with those in Germany and France.

In our country most boys and girls associate freely with each other. . . after the close of their school life. . . and on the 15th of June there was no impropriety whatever in . . . girls sitting in the parlor with. . . young men, giving and receiving lessons of various kinds.
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But in continental Europe, not only does this separation prevail during school life, but the valuable post-graduate course of social life. . . .

Why did she extend her analysis of co-education? The reason was obvious in the conclusion drawn from the extension. She said:

Now I ask any American who has thoughtfully considered the national type of youthful character developed in those countries and compared it with that of our own land, is it not far higher and nobler here than in the countries where the doctrines of those who oppose co-education are logically and consistently carried out?

This appeal to pride was amplified by restatement as follows:

I do not feel that there is any national vanity in the assertion that in the United States, where school and life have approached nearest to that of the family, . . . there has been developed the highest type of manhood and womanhood now known to the world.

Tutwiler relied heavily upon emotional and ethical proofs to develop and support her third contention. She desired to excite pride for the type of character found in the United States. Her demeaning of European national character and her repeated application of the adjectives "manly" and "noble" were probably instrumental in helping her achieve her desired end.

Her final contention, that God ordained co-education, was developed and supported through the application of a rhetorical question and a hypothetical syllogism. Asserting that "the first dictum" on co-education was spoken "by the highest authority," she sought tacit agreement by asking,

If man, sinless, fresh from the hand of his Creator, needed the companionship of a complementary being. . . how much more necessary is such companionship to man, a maimed and imperfect character. . . ?

She then recast her contention in the following syllogism:

If the great Framer of the laws of the universe had foreseen that it would be more conducive to the highest development of
the human race for the two sexes to grow up apart from each other, he could easily have arranged the order of creation so that boys only should have been born to one family and girls to another. . . But he has not so willed.

For Tutwiler, there was no higher authority than God. Many of her auditors, steeped in the Protestantism of the South, held God in that same respect. As a result, her final contention was, for this audience, effectively developed and supported.

In the late nineteenth century, many Southerners maintained their tenacious grip on traditions. One such tradition was that of separate educational instruction. Knowing this, Tutwiler sketched a series of positive character portraits and heightened their desirability by contrasting them with undesirable character portraits. This strategy probably helped her achieve her goal in spite of the fact that she did not, as she announced in her introduction, adhere completely to the inductive method of reasoning, as follows:

"Study nature," is the command of the inductive system of philosophy, that system which has given us all the real knowledge we possess. . . . Whatever has been true in millions of instances must universally be true.

Let us study the subject of co-education by this method. Tutwiler did not present a sufficient number of instances to support her contentions. Those she did present were, for the most part, generalized. Had she meant to persuade, this failure would be considered egregious; but, as she meant to stimulate, the strong emotional appeal of her language as well as the ethical appeal of God and her own authority ostensibly overcame this weakness.

In her final educational speech, "A Year in a German Model School," Tutwiler desired to stimulate her audience to appreciate the value of Christian teaching in education. To achieve this
end, she first described with detailed thoroughness a school whose effectiveness derived from its distinctive Christian teaching: the Diakonessen Anstalt. Second, she contended that teaching from the Bible familiarized students "with some of the noblest prose and poetry in all literature."

From her experience as a student in the Normal Training School of that Institute, she minutely described its setting and curriculum. She employed the awkward third person narrative to tell of her arrival and acceptance into the Institute. This usage was jarring to the modern ear. Perhaps Tutwiler felt this was the proper way to refer to herself before she was accepted as a student. When acceptance came she said, "and now I will leave the troublesome third person..." and continued in the first person narrative.

Another disturbing aspect of the speech was the lengthy illustration of her encounter with the nightingale. It seemed strangely out of place and was only minimally related to the discussion of the role of music at the Institute. The illustration was almost poetic and somewhat enlightening if it can be assumed her audience needed such information. Such an assumption does not appear to be valid. A safer assumption is that Tutwiler enjoyed the experience so much that she wanted to create a vicarious experience for her listeners. The illustration did, however, enhance the image of the quiet rural retreat she was presenting:

But we had also music even sweeter than the choral songs of trained German voices... for one whole season I have heard the song of the nightingale by day and night... often as I sat reading on the banks of the Rhine... I watched the little brown-hued singer warbling his very heart away not two yards above me... If I sat very still the little singer's curiosity was aroused, and he hopped lightly down from twig to twig until he was on the ground, then came
nearer and nearer, turning his little head inquisitively from side to side, his bright beadlike eyes fixed fearlessly on the intruder. If I could remain quite motionless he would come to my very feet, but if a breeze from the Rhine rustled the leaves of my book he would quickly lift his wings and seek a safe distance. Often at night when his song began I rose and knelt for hours at the window to listen to his music. In the dim moonlight of that northern land the shrubs and bowers below appeared dark, indistinguishable masses, and somewhere from them poured forth the enchanting strain. . . .

The passage continued in this reverential manner and almost certainly enraptured her audience.

Following this illustration, Tutwiler abruptly moved to her discussion of the curriculum. She said: "It [the nightingale's song] sounded like the voice of a weary innocent child. . . . "Oh! dear me! Oh! dear me!" The curriculum of the school. . . ."

The change, lacking transition, must have shocked her listeners.

Tutwiler did not digress in her discussion of the curriculum. She moved directly forward as follows:

There was no mathematics higher than arithmetic; no Latin; no Greek, of course, and hardly more of the natural sciences than might be taught in the object-lessons of an American kindergarten. What did they study then? Well, first, their own language, how to speak it with fluency and ease. . . . Their literature was studied with earnestness and enthusiasm. . . . One branch of literature which is little regarded in our land received much attention—the study of their hymnology. . . . Geography was studied in a delightful way, combining with it the history of countries studied and descriptions of their present customs and manners. The history of their own country was, of course, a speciality. . . .

Most of the pupils spoke, read and wrote French with ease; they also spoke English almost as well as I did . . . . In the normal school there were. . . lectures on Methods of Instruction and Child-training. . . . The pupils learned how to sew. . . . Housewifery was also taught, so far as practicable under the circumstances. . . .

She amplified each of the subject areas by explaining methods of training and study, some in greater detail than others. This was
particularly true of her discussion of the study of hymnology. Her reason for such a thorough analysis was not so much to increase auditor understanding as to seek tacit agreement with the following protest:

Here I would like to protest respectfully against the amount of time spent on this study [hymnology] in our schools. There seems to me something misleading in the manner in which this one act in that great drama, God's Education of Man, which we call history, is cut off and separated from its natural connections.

One doubts firm agreement among her listeners because the concept of teaching Christianity, as documented earlier, was controversial.

Since Tutwiler dwelt on the development of the curriculum for four and one half pages of printed text, she exhibited a sense of sagacity in presenting a summary before examining the result of the Institute's training; a result which she found admirable:

This is a meagre list of attainments compared to that of the sweet girl graduate in America; yet I had to admire very much the type of woman which it developed—gentle, thoughtful, intelligent women—clear-headed and open-minded, with the power to think accurately and express their thoughts plainly.

Her audience might have found this sufficient reason to appreciate the training of the Institute, but it was not sufficient for Tutwiler. She said:

But I did not attribute the characters developed by this school wholly, or even mostly, to the simplicity and thoroughness of its curriculum. . . I will say that I attribute the best results of this school to its distinctive Christian teaching. . . . Everywhere and in everything we saw and felt that all other teaching was based on this.

She had finally reached her objective, to have her audience appreciate the value of Christian teaching. To allay the fears of those who "hold that a school under state supervision cannot with propriety teach the Bible," she provided an illustration of
successful state supervision. It dealt with the public schools of London where "the School Board . . . had . . . marked out the course of Bible instruction with as much care as that of mathematics or the natural sciences." Wisely, she avoided some negative adjudication of her desired objective by saying:

"To avoid wounding the consciences of those who sincerely believe this study to be useless or injurious, any pupil is excused from this class whose parent or guardian makes a written request to this effect of the Board of Directors. . . . I was told in London that the requests for such excuses become every year less and less frequent, and are now too few to be of any importance."

Tutwiler felt the London illustration was an especially appropriate one for her Canadian and American audience and amplified it with the following appeal to pride:

"I stand before what I justly regard as the most important and influential assemblage upon earth. What comparison does the task of framing laws for the adult mind bear to that of framing the minds themselves which shall make laws for future generations—more especially when these generations belong to the two great English-speaking nations appointed by Heaven to lead the van of mankind's onward march?"

Even if her Toronto audience did respond favorably to that appeal, Tutwiler was not content to conclude her speech with it. She applied an historical analogy in a final effort to gain appreciation for Christian teaching. She said:

"When Julian the apostate [sic] forbade to the schools of Christians the writings of Homer, Virgil, and Horace. . . . it was accounted a malicious and tyrannical enactment. Yet this injury was a slight one compared to the forbidding, because of a small minority, the systematic school study of the sacred books of Christendom to the great majority of the youths of those lands.

This analogy demonstrated Tutwiler's historical knowledge and was, credibly, effectively chosen. However, her implication that those who opposed Biblical teaching were apostatic did little to increase
her ethos among the so-called "small minority."

In summary, Tutwiler relied much more upon ethical and emotional appeals than upon logical proofs to develop and support her educational arguments. Further, her materials amplified her contentions more often than they proved them. She assumed her word was sufficient proof of her arguments and her personal examples and illustrations were applied to that end. Her occasional references to historical events indicated her knowledge of history and probably increased her ethos among her educator-auditors. However, the ultimate proof, for Tutwiler, was God and Christianity. The consistent application of Christian concepts both in her speeches to convince and in those to stimulate suggest this conclusion. She was a devout Christian, and she probably felt the majority of her auditors were Christians as well. There is little doubt why she relied upon this ethical-emotional mode of appeal. Finally, she must have projected a sincere attitude in relation to her ideas because she intensely believed each of them would benefit education, hence society. As a result, her arguments and their support were sufficient for her audiences.
Chapter V

TUTWILER AS AN ADVOCATE OF PRISON REFORM

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. wrote that "the handling of convicts in the southern states was the issue which . . . brought two women into the ranks of social critics." One of these women was Julia Tutwiler, of whom Doherty said, "her educational career was as long and distinguished as her reform work, and part of that reform work included the initiation of night schools in prisons and the founding of a juvenile reform school."¹ C. Vann Woodward wrote "the lease system was under bitter attack . . . and repeated attempts were made to abolish or reform it. Julia Tutwiler of Alabama was a moving spirit in the reform movement."²

While both historians credited Tutwiler for her active work in prison reform, neither indicated what motivated her to begin that work. It was known that she had visited German jails and that "she remembered the fine work she had seen carried on . . . by the Institute of Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth. This organization had pioneered in extensive religious, charitable, and educational work among criminals. It had also established a reformatory school where women inmates had been treated more like penitents than prisoners."³

¹Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Voices of Protest from the New South 1875-1910", The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLII (June 1955), 50-51. Miss Tutwiler is credited with the agitation necessary to interest the women's clubs of Alabama to the need of a reform school; Mrs. R. D. Johnston, of Birmingham, is credited with its actual founding.


³Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, 109.
She made regular Sunday visits to inmates of local jails in Tuscaloosa and Livingston. "She carried food and small gifts, often Bibles, to the prisoners; and she always had a Bible lesson for them." Indeed, it was the plight of a female prisoner that caused Tutwiler to advocate a systematic program of prison reform. The Birmingham News reported that:

... an unfortunate, simple-minded girl working in the home of a friend, had been arrested as a suspect in the murder of her illegitimate child, and Miss Tutwiler had gone to the prison to aid her if possible. It was mid-winter and to the kind woman's horror she found that the building housing those awaiting trial was absolutely unheated. Well aware of the uselessness of bringing an isolated case before the public or the legislature, she determined to secure statewide knowledge of prison conditions. From then on, as a friend once said, "Her working days were given to the education of girls in Alabama, her rest days to the amelioration of suffering humanity." Each of these events, along with her Christian convictions, credibly moved Tutwiler to seek to alleviate the harsh treatment of prisoners. She first determined the conditions of prisons in Alabama, then began a program of reforms which continued almost until her death. What improvements did she advocate, and when and where did she address herself to them?

4. Personal interview with Mrs. Hugh Wilburn, Jefferson, Alabama, May 2, 1974. Wilburn told of accompanying Tutwiler on these trips.


6. Tutwiler organized the Tuscaloosa Benevolent Association in 1880. Their first task was to distribute fact-finding questionnaires to the jailers in each county of the state. See Pannell and Wyatt, Tutwiler, p. 109.

7. Eoline Wallace Moore, "Julia Tutwiler of Alabama," Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin, Summer 1965, pp. 24-26. Moore wrote of visiting Tutwiler in the Davis Infirmary, Birmingham, shortly before her death. Despite Tutwiler's infirmity, she was, even then, "writing a letter to the legislature" pleading for abolishment of the lease
To assess the role of Tutwiler as an advocate of prison reform it is necessary to have some perspective of the penal system in post-bellum Alabama, and especially to understand the treatment of the inmates. It is vital, too, to have a knowledge of the occasions and audiences of Tutwiler's speeches and her motives.

THE PENAL SYSTEM IN POST-BELLUM ALABAMA

According to Harvey Wish, "Northern states used the convict leasing system for a time until organized labor and public opinion compelled its abolition." The lease system, then, was not unique to the South, but its retention and abuse were. Vestiges of the system can be traced to pre-war years. However, it was after Reconstruction that it became an odious burden to the Bourbon- Redeemer governments. The most compelling reason for growth and long existence of the system was its economic factor. When parsimony was the watchword in government, a system which freed the state from the burden of caring for prisoners and at the same time yielded significant revenue, was not easily overturned. Wish said:

In their drive for economy, the Bourbons gave the Southern Penal system its reputation as an "American Siberia". The more corrupt baggers had already discovered a handsome source of revenue in hiring out convicts as laborers. but the Bourbon governors became deeply attached to this budget-balancing device. The result was a brutal chain gang and prison system which drew national condemnation.

Fletcher N. Green, finding the lease system so infamous, remarked

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9. Ibid.
that one could "find parallel only in the persecutions of the Middle Ages or in the prison camps of Nazi Germany." The criticism of both these scholars was directed to the lease system that existed in the 1870's to the 1890's, when southern states maintained minimal control over their prisoners. What conditions caused the South to renew a censurable system?

The penal system of the South was faced with a number of problems following the Civil War. Many of the prisons had been damaged or destroyed and there was little money available for rebuilding them. Then too, there was a tremendous acceleration of the crime rate. Three factors were of importance to that acceleration: (1) the new criminal codes, (2) poverty, and (3) the emergence of the Negro criminal who was now subject to civil and criminal law. Prior to the war, black crime was handled in special courts with punishment normally administered by slave owners. Now, the State assumed the penal functions of the plantation. The strain was too much. C. Vann Woodward said, "one after another adopted the expedient of leasing the convicts to private corporations or individuals." Under the post-war system, the convict and not the prison was


11. Alabama's prison at Wetumpka was not damaged. In fact, Mississippi's convicts were received into the Alabama penitentiary during the war. See: Saffold Berney, Handbook of Alabama (Birmingham: Roberts and Sons, 1892), 256.

leased. Individuals and corporations paid the State for convict use.13 The lessee met all management expenses—housing, food, health care, clothing—as well as determining and administering punishment. Woodward accounted for the popularity of the new system. He said:

For a number of reasons the lease system took firm roots in the New Order and grew to greater proportions. For one thing, it fitted perfectly the program of retrenchment for under it the penitentiary not only ceased to be a heavy burden on the taxpayer but became a source of revenue to the state. ... The system also fitted conveniently the needs occasioned by the new criminal codes, which piled up heavy penalties for petty offenses against property, while at the same time they weakened the protection afforded the Negro in the courts. ... Additional convictions meant additional revenues instead of additional taxes. The system quickly became a large scale ... business.14

Tutwiler regarded the system in much the same way. She said:

... when the war ended and the thousands of negroes suddenly became vagrants, violations of the law were necessarily frequent and often flagrant. The state was bankrupt, and wholly unable to feed and clothe the great number of men arrested for these offenses. It was with gratitude that she accepted the offers of contractors to take charge of these hordes of criminals and feed and clothe them in return for their labor. At first very little more was paid, and the thought of making them contribute largely to the income of the state was not present with the authorities. As the wages of labor became gradually higher, and labor less easy to obtain and higher prices were offered for their services, the "sacra auri fammes" "the accursed thirst for gold" awakened and the real objects of imprisonment were gradually lost sight of.15

Thus, economics was the rationale for the lease system's rapid growth and existence.


As Woodward and Tutwiler indicated, the Negro was an especially vulnerable victim of the code. More than being a freedman, subject to civil and criminal justice, he became, according to Wilbur J. Cash, "persona-non-grata" in the southern courts. Cash continued, "with the gradual return of the courts to Southern hands he was to become almost open game. The courts turned into being places where no black man would find justice." Doherty concurred by saying "the heavy penalties for petty crime found in the new criminal codes were often most rigidly enforced against Negroes, with the result that there were usually large numbers of them available for lease. . . ."17

While Negroes composed the majority of inmates they were by no means the only ones. White men and women and youthful offenders of both races were caught up in a system where living and working conditions produced degradation and brutality.

Blake McKelvey assessed the living conditions of southern convicts as follows:

There were no standard living arrangements in the southern prison camps. Yet one strong factor, the demand for economy, brought them all practically to a common level—scarcely that of subsistence. Wooden huts of one story usually housed a hundred or more on crude bunks strung around the walls. The danger of escapes frequently compelled the authorities to shut these up tight at nightfall, and they became very foul. Water was usually scarce, and bathing almost impossible; other sanitary arrangements were invariably crude, and disease was rampant.18

17. Doherty, "Voices of Protest", 49.
Warden John H. Bankhead's observations were more acrimonious. He said:

I found the prisons where convicts were confined in most instances totally unfit for the purpose for which they were intended. They were built, in most cases, with a view to the strictest economy. No regard was had to the important question of ventilation and the prison frequently contained twice as many convicts as its dimensions would warrant. They were as filthy . . . as dirt could make them, and both prisons and prisoners were infested with vermin. The bedding was totally unfit for use. I found the convicts were excessively, and in some instances, cruelly punished; that they were poorly clothed and fed; that the sick were neglected, insomuch as no hospitals had been provided, they being confined in the cells with the well convicts. The use of dining room furniture, at some prisons, was unknown, the men having their meals spread on a bench, or shelf, or given them by the cook in their hands. The prisons have no adequate water supply, and I verily believe there were men in them who had not washed their faces in twelve months.19

County jails fared no better. The convict inspector reported:

The County Convict System if anything is worse than ever before in its history . . . . I have not changed my opinion in reference to the jails of the State; in fact, if anything I am more convinced that the ideas of humanity and civilization would be better carried out if the torch were applied to every jail in Alabama. It would be more humane and far better to stake the prisoner out with a ring around his neck like a wild animal than to confine him in places we call jail cells . . . . They are not only harbingers of disease, but they are unquestionably nurseries of death.20

According to Woodward, working conditions were as demeaning as living conditions. He said:

In the mining camps of Arkansas and Alabama, convicts were worked through the winter without shoes, standing in water much of the time. In both states the task system was used, whereby a squad of three was compelled to mine a certain amount of coal per day on penalty of a severe


flogging for the whole squad.\textsuperscript{21}

In concurrence, Moos said the task system "had the pernicious effect of penalizing the entire squad for the laziness or physical weakness of one or a few members."\textsuperscript{22} In 1882, Alabama's Board of Inspectors of Convicts reported:

\ldots there was also much complaint among the convicts of the task system \ldots and of the punishment they received. \ldots The penalty for a failure to get the task prescribed is a flogging unless a good excuse is given. The only excuse received is an unavoidable hindrance.\textsuperscript{23}

Incarceration under these conditions resulted in sickness, injury, and an appallingly high mortality rate. The report of the Special Committee to investigate the Convict System, 1897, said:

About three-fourths to one percent of convicts worked in the mines die from violence, accidental homicide and suicide; of the total mortality, violence is the cause of death from 8 to 10 per cent.

Of the whole mortality, tuberculosis was the cause of death as follows, during the periods named, to wit:

- For twenty years, ending October 1st, 1889, 19.33 percent.
- For two years, ending October 1st, 1892, 44 percent.
- For two years, ending October 1st, 1894, 20.78 percent.
- For two years, ending October 1st, 1896, 56.17 percent.

For the last two years, of those dying from disease:

- State convicts \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 60.93
- County convicts \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 47.33
- State and county convicts \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 55.20

The remarkable increase in tuberculosis during the last few years \ldots will be noticed. Violence and [sic] tuberculosis, therefore, explain the enormous death rate.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{21} Woodward, \textit{The New South}, 214.

\textsuperscript{22} Moos, \textit{State Penal Administration}, 12.


\textsuperscript{24} Special Committee to Investigate the Convict System, \textit{Special Committee Reports, Alabama Official Documents} (Montgomery: Department of Archives), 14.
Regardless of the cause, the high mortality rate was appalling. From October 1, 1882, to September 1, 1896, 1700 state and county prisoners died in Alabama. The majority of these deaths occurred in coal mine camps. However, 315 were listed as happening elsewhere: lumbering camps, turpentine industries, agriculture, and "the walls." Female prisoners, youths under 15, and infirm adult males were leased to these industries as work in the mines was considered too dangerous for them. Ironically, Tutwiler reported a pitiful case:

In the consumptive ward of the old penitentiary at Wetumpka a man lay in one of the beds evidently in a dying condition. He was so terribly emaciated, that he looked like a living skeleton. One of the other inmates said, "Mistis, you oughter to seen that man eight months ago when he was sent to the Turpentine Woods. He was as strong and fine a looking fellow as ever you seen." "But," I said, "I thought that pinewoods was just the place for a man threatened with consumption." "But Mistis, them contractors ain't like the state; they jess work a man till he's plumb at his last gast . . . and then they throws him away to die."26

Other undesirable features of the lease system were harsh punishment and the absence of reformation. According to Woodward, the makeshift prisons were "great rolling cages that followed construction camps and railroad building, hastily built stockades deep in forest or swamp or mining fields, or windowless log forts in turpentine flats."27 Such prisons, lacking proper heat, ventilation, and sanitary facilities, seemed punishment enough. Moos, however, documented more severe forms of physical abuse.

25·Ibid., 12.

26·Tutwiler, "Leaves From My Notebook-II."

Cruel punishments such as the "shower bath", crucifix, and yoke and buck, were expressly prohibited in 1891, but vigorous methods to induce acquiescence, among them the sweat-box and lash, were allowed to continue. The ingenious torture device known as the sweat-box is a coffin like cell with just enough space to accommodate a man standing erect. Generally made of wood or tin, it is completely closed except for a hole two inches in diameter at nose level. When placed under the blistering southern sun the temperature inside becomes unbearable. . . . The official Punishment Record Ledger shows that 400 prisoners served 4,000 hours in the sweat-box in Alabama during the fiscal year 1925-1926.28

The number of prisoners who suffered in the other "cruel punishments" was not known as official records of such punishment were not recorded.

Reformation efforts were absent or minimal prior to the demise of the lease system. As early as 1882, Warden Bankhead stated:

I am prepared to demonstrate that our system is a better training school for criminals than any of the dens of iniquity that exist in our larger cities. . . . The first lesson taught is that the state cares nothing for the criminal, nor his well being. . . . To say there are any reformatory measures at our prison, or that any regard is had to similar objects, is to state a falsehood.29

In 1922, H. H. Hart said, "when you come to the record of her social development, you find Alabama. . . . far down the list in her efforts for prisoner reformation."30 In the years between those observations, Tutwiler fought for reformation but as late as 1912 she wrote, "at present except in the two reformatories for white and colored boys, there are no reformatory features in our prisons."31

Tutwiler was also concerned with the inadequate facilities

28-Moos, State Penal Administration, 18.
31-Tutwiler, "Leaves From My Notebook-I."
provided for female prisoners. The 1888-1890 biennial report listed 72 female convicts, 11 of them white and 61 colored. That report, like most of its predecessors, called attention to the immorality of the women convicts as follows:

The whites are, as a rule, the most depraved of their sex; several were convicted of living in a state of miscegenation.

All of the whites and most of the negroes are unable to do some farm work, and very nearly all of them are diseased in some way.

Many of the colored women bring infants with them, and others enciente when they come.32

Tutwiler consistently advocated separate facilities for female prisoners in order that they "could be trained to habits of industry and cleanliness, and, if possible, restored to positions of usefulness."33

She also focused attention on two other abuses inherent in the penal system of Alabama in the late nineteenth century, (1) the failure to discriminate among offenders, and (2) the failure to classify prisoners according to their offense. She illustrated the first abuse with the following incident:

Two white boys connected with a small traveling show had accidentally been left behind when their party left Birmingham for Tennessee. They decided to beat their way on freight trains. At Jasper they were arrested and brought before a Justice of Peace. The boys begged that they might be kept in jail until they could write to their comrades and obtain money to pay a fine. The Justice refused and sent them to Banner Mine. At noon of that same day these boys were blown to pieces.34


34. J. Tutwiler, "Leaves From My Notebook-II."
She illustrated the second abuse from her observation. She said:

At Spiegners, the State Farm, when I last visited there were six white women undergoing punishment; two had killed a husband, one her child, and one a mother. The other two had committed offenses which many men commit daily without any notice from the law. Of course these women should be punished, but should they have just the same kind of punishment as those who have committed murder?35

This penal system with its faults and minimal rehabilitative efforts continued well into the twentieth century in Alabama because state control of the lease system was weak and economics dictated against its abolishment.

Addressing himself to the weak control of the system, Woodward said:

... laws limiting hours of labor and types of work for convicts were nonexistent in some states and negligible in others .... Responsibility of lessees for the health and lives of convicts was extremely loose. Some states had no inspectors and in others inspection was highly perfunctory if not corrupt. Where the law permitted, the large lessees subleased convicts in small or large gangs for short periods, thus rendering responsibility of the State's prisoners all but impossible.36

It was as late as 1899 before Alabama's President of the Board of Inspectors was represented in the mining operations of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. According to Moos, this laxity actually hid the structural weaknesses in the lease system. He said:

It seems evident that structural deficiencies in the penal administrative system were not particularly significant as long as the lease system prevailed and the administrative agency had scant control over the lessee. Courageous public officials were able to bring about some reform, but for the most part the lease system blocked progress, not because the various agencies involved so designed but rather because under that system there was no adequate definition of authority

35. Ibid.
and responsibility for administration. Thus, control of prisoners rested in the hands of the lessee more than in the hands of the State.

Further, two economic factors explained the lease system's continuance: (1) it was profitable, and (2) the cost of instituting a new system was impractical. Speaking against its profitability, George W. Cable said:

This system springs primarily from the idea that the possession of a convict's person is an opportunity for the State to make money . . . that for the officers of the State to waive this opportunity is to impose upon the clemency of the tax-paying public; and that, without regard to moral or mortal consequences, the penitentiary whose annual report shows the largest cash balance paid into the State's treasury is the best penitentiary. . . in the main the notion is clearly set forth and followed that a convict. . . has almost no human right that the State is bound to be at any expense to protect.

If Cable's assertion regarding profit was correct, Alabama's system was, no doubt, looked upon as one of the best. In 1898, according to the Montgomery Advertiser, "the gross earnings from the hire and labor of convicts was $325,196.10 and the expense (not including the cost of bills) was $136,662.50, showing a net profit of $188,533.60." By September 30, 1926, a net operating profit of $3,369,078.70 was shown.

Moos credited the profit factor as the cause for "the

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37. Moos, State Penal Administration, 18-19.


reluctance of the Legislature to abandon the practice."\textsuperscript{41} In so doing, he overlooked a second cause for the retention of the lease system, the cost of instituting a new system. How costly was a changeover? The Report of the Commission "For the Improvement of the Penitentiary and Convict System of Alabama" stated:

To make a complete change from a lease system to the employment of convicts on State account at work other than in mines and on works of internal improvement would require the expenditure of at least two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Further, the commission argued:

The present tax rate barely produced revenue sufficient for the ordinary wants of the State government, and there is no surplus in the treasury. The Constitution prohibits the borrowing of more than one hundred thousand dollars and forbids the issue of bonds. The only way . . . to raise the required sum would be by special taxation for that purpose . . . the commission felt assured that it was idle to make plans upon the expectation that the legislature would pass a law . . . imposing a heavy increase in taxation for this purpose. . . .\textsuperscript{42}

In 1912, Tutwiler rebutted the cost of changeover argument. She said:

If it is true that taxes are paid all over the State on only 40\% of the private property, while the law declares that it must be paid on 60\%, let the law be obeyed and there will be no lack of funds for the State. Those who are thus defrauding the State are just as much lawbreakers as the poor wretch who takes a few bushels of corn from his neighbor's crib.\textsuperscript{43}

Whether from fear of loss of income or cost of changeover, or both, the lease system was not abandoned in Alabama until 1928.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{41}Moos, State Penal Administration, 15.

\textsuperscript{42}Report of the Commission "For the Improvement of the Penitentiary and Convict System of Alabama", organized under an Act, approved February 18, 1891, by the Legislature of Alabama.

\textsuperscript{43}J. Tutwiler, "Leaves From My Notebook-I".

\textsuperscript{44}In 1923, the Alabama Legislature passed an act which made it
It was this system, complete with its faults, that was the target of Tutwiler's attack. Hart indicated that "it [was] next to impossible for the average citizen . . . to grasp or comprehend the horrors attending such a system . . . . The convict's physical, moral and religious welfare is as completely abandoned as if he was a brute, and no thought is given the relation he will bear to society when released." Tutwiler was not an average citizen. She grasped and comprehended the system's attending horrors and determined to use whatever means necessary to awaken the legislature and the citizens of Alabama to the need of humanizing the state's penal system. Public speaking was one of those means.

OCCASIONS AND AUDIENCES OF MISS TUTWILER'S PRISON REFORM SPEECHES

Because it was profitable for the state, Tutwiler realized the folly of attempting to eliminate the lease system. Instead, she advocated the following ameliorative reforms:

1. A separate prison for women, where they could be kept under the care of properly trained wardens of their own sex . . . .
2. A reformatory for youths under twenty . . . .
3. The appointment of teachers for night schools among all prisoners who do not come under the two classes named above.
4. Around each county jail a large court-yard in which the men shall be permitted to take exercise . . . .
5. A law requiring the Sheriff . . . never to leave the prisoners alone . . . without leaving someone in authority . . . in possession of the keys.

unlawful "for any person to lease or let for hire any State convict to any person, firm, or corporation" after March 31, 1927. The State, however, leased out the mines and worked convicts in them until the summer of 1928.

45. Quoted in Hart, Social Problems, 29. Moos, State Penal Administration, refers to part of the same quote but references it on page 49 in Hart's work.
To achieve these objectives, Tutwiler presented a series of annual reports to the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union as well as speaking to the National Educational Association, St. Paul, Minnesota, July 10, 1890, and the Historical Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies, Chicago, June 12-16, 1893.

In her speech to the National Educational Association (1890), Tutwiler said:

During this time, I received a letter from the W. C. T. U., of Alabama, of which I was not at that time a member, telling me they wished this branch of work represented in their State work, but had neither money nor an official for its prosecution; they, therefore, requested me to go on with the work, considering myself as their representative. I thought my requests and suggestions might have more weight, coming from the representative of so many good women and accepted the appointment of Superintendent of Prison and Jail Work.

In 1915, the Alabama White Ribbon carried Tutwiler's message to the annual convention of the WCTU. In it she said:

Instead of a report, I must write you a farewell. Perhaps I ought to have resigned several years ago, when the


47. The time was very probably the spring or summer of 1884, as the state organization of the WCTU took place in January of that year. Further, the minutes of the January convention make no reference to a Department of Prison and Jail Work. The second annual convention, December, 1884, however, lists that department with Tutwiler as Superintendent. Pannell and Wyatt credited 1882 or 1883 as the time.

48. J. Tutwiler, "Our Brothers in Stripes, In the School-room." A speech presented to the National Educational Association, St. Paul, Minnesota, July 10, 1890. Hereafter cited as Tutwiler,
trouble in my hip made me so lame as to prevent active work, but I hated to leave you and flattered myself that pointed articles in the press would do as much for the cause as more active work.

Now, for many months the hand of affliction has lain heavily upon me, and there is nothing more that I can do for the cause, except to thank God for its wonderful progress and pray for its advance.

Ostensibly then, for thirty-one years Tutwiler served the Alabama WCTU as its Superintendent of Prison and Jail Work. During those years, she made reports to its members concerning prisoner conditions and her recommendations for improvements. The reports analyzed in this study are those found in the following minutes of the annual conventions of the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union: the fourth annual convention, Montgomery, November 17-18, 1886; the fifth annual convention, Mobile, December 1-2, 1887; the sixth annual convention, Gadsden, November 29-30, 1888; the eighth annual convention, Birmingham, April 28-30, 1891; the ninth annual convention, Attalla, April 19-21, 1892; the tenth annual convention, Selma, December 1-3, 1893; the twelfth annual convention, Huntsville, November 21-22, 1895; the thirteenth annual convention, Montgomery, December 3-4, 1896; the fifteenth annual convention, Selma, April 28-30, 1899; and the sixteenth annual convention, Huntsville, November 13-15, 1900. Tutwiler presented eight of these reports; three were read by the recording Secretary.

"Our Brothers in Stripes."

49. *Alabama White Ribbon*, December, 1915, IV, No. 3. This was the official organ of the Alabama WCTU.

50. Internal evidence indicated that Tutwiler reported in 1885, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1892, 1893, 1895, and 1896. Her reports of 1886, 1899, and 1900 were read. There was no convention in 1889. The most complete set of minutes of the annual conventions of the Alabama WCTU
According to Anne Firor Scott, "the WCTU provided a respectable framework in which southern women could pursue their own development and social reform without drastically offending the prevailing views of the community about ladylike behavior." Similar to missionary societies, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was composed of Christian women interested in social welfare. While missionary societies worked through the church the WCTU entered into political and educational arenas to effect social change.

In addition to prison work, the social concerns of the Alabama WCTU were best reflected in the following departments of the organization:

1. Department of Kindergartens, whose concern was "impressing on the child's mind...the necessary truths related to temperance."
2. Department of Elementary Education, whose concern was temperance education among elementary aged children,
3. Department of Health, whose concern was "to begin in youth to impress lessons in Physical Culture, that will result in producing a typical man or woman with a sound mind in a sound body, freed from the burning appetite for stimulants."
4. Department of Narcotics, whose concern was encouraging abstinence from tobacco,
5. Department of Purity, whose concern was abetting and educating "fallen women,"
6. Department of Work Among Soldiers and Sailors, whose concern was distributing temperance materials among military personnel,

can be found in the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. A partial set is housed in the Birmingham Public Library. Neither of these collections have the 1885 or 1894 minutes, nor are they in the National Office, Evansville, Illinois. The Birmingham Chronicle, however, reported the 1885 convention and spoke glowingly of Tutwiler's report to the convention. See: Birmingham Chronicle, November 11-13, 1885.

7. Department of Young Women's Work, whose concern was to establish unions for young girls, particularly through the Young Woman's Christian Association,  
8. Department of the Press, whose concern was to inform the public of the organization's work through news media, and  
9. Department of Flower Missions, whose concern was to distribute bouquets of flowers with prayer attached to the sick and to prisoners.

New departments arose with new social concerns.

The Alabama WCTU began with a small nucleus. Prior to 1883, following Frances Willard's 1881 trip through the South, only three local unions had been organized—Selma, Gadsden, and Tuscaloosa. In January, 1884, these unions, meeting in Tuscaloosa, organized the Alabama WCTU. A florid description of that meeting was carried in the Alabama White Ribbon, November, 1909.

Twenty-six years ago, in the beautiful city of Tuscaloosa, there met a band of earnest women, not fully realizing, the import of their meeting, but convinced of the harm and wrong done by the liquor traffic, and controlled by the natural desire of every woman's heart to help and save humanity, they came to combine their forces and perfect the organization of the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union. . . .

... it was the first state organization of women and marks the epoch in woman's work in Alabama.52

The organization grew rapidly. The second convention in Selma, November 1884, had twenty-three active unions present. Mrs. Peter Bryce, Tuscaloosa, was elected president. During Tutwiler's most active years of membership, other socially prominent Alabama women who served as the organization's president were Mrs. M. L. Stratford, Montgomery, 1887-1890; Mrs. J. Morgan Smith, Birmingham, 1890-1891; Mrs. Martha L. Spencer, Birmingham, 1891-1903; Mrs. Mary T. Jeffries, Birmingham, 1903-1905; and, Mrs. J. B. Chatfield, Montgomery, 1905-1909. Other Alabamians who contributed to the development of the

state organization were Mrs. E. S. LaPrade, Mobile; Mrs. Mary Moody, Tuscaloosa; Mrs. A. L. Billheimer, Birmingham; and Mrs. Lucy M. Humphries, Florence. In addition to Frances Willard, World President of the WCTU, such national figures as Anna Gordon, Sallie F. Chapin, Belle Kearney, and Anna Shaw played important roles as speakers and organizers of the Alabama WCTU.53

These women, many of whom were "town-dwelling middle class wives with husbands well able to support them,"54 discovered that the WCTU offered opportunity for a "personal transformation as they learned to think for themselves, organize programs, and assume leadership."55 In fact, Belle Kearney rhapsodized that the WCTU was "the golden key that unlocked the prison doors of pent-up possibilities" and was "the discoverer, the developer of southern woman."56

The women of the Alabama WCTU, many of whom were "members of old southern families,"57 responded enthusiastically to Tutwiler's work. The minutes of the sixth annual convention, Gadsden, 1888, recorded that "... Tutwiler... gave a most interesting report"

53. Ibid. .

54. Scott, Southern Lady, 135. In the Alabama WCTU, for instance, Mrs. Peter Bryce was the wife of Dr. Peter Bryce, Superintendent of Alabama's Insane Hospital, and Mrs. William McLin Brooks' husband was a lawyer-politician in Selma.

55. Ibid., 149. The degree to which the Alabama WCTU assumed leadership was noted in the Birmingham Age-Herald, April 29, 1891: "the ladies are conducting meetings with as much and more tact, skill, ease, and order than the majority of the conventions composed of the other sex.

56. Kearney, Slaveholder's Daughter, 117.

57. Birmingham Age-Herald, December 7, 1894.
and "highly commended the zeal of the Superintendent." The minutes of the seventh annual convention, Tuscaloosa, 1890, said "when Miss Tutwiler had reported her work. . . remarks were made by Miss Willard, Dr. Heard, and Mrs. Bellheimer, and a vote of thanks tendered this woman who has done so much for neglected humanity." In her presidential address, 1891, Mrs. J. Morgan said:

... Prison and jail work, under the loving care of our Julia Tutwiler, should be a department of great interest to our Alabama Union. . . When I read in Mrs. J. K. Barney's report to the national that "the faithful and successful work of the Alabama superintendent is noted throughout the south [sic], and receives favor and praise of all officials, and of her success in having erected a separate stockade at Coalburg mining camp for the women prisoners. . ." my heart swelled with pride that one of our women had done this.58

It remained, however, for the Alabama White Ribbon to summarize the respect and admiration the State Union held for Tutwiler. It said, "the name of Julia S. Tutwiler will ever be honored and revered in the Alabama W. C. T. U."59

Tutwiler won the respect of the members of the Alabama and the National WCTU because of her tireless work. She frequently visited the mines. She pressured mining officials to co-operate.60 She lobbied for legislation.61 She secured teachers, books, and other materials for the prison schools. Such dedicated selflessness assured a favorable attitude toward her reports to the Alabama WCTU.

The occasions providing the forum for Tutwiler's prison speeches

58. Ibid., April 29, 1891.
60. Tutwiler, "1887 Report."
61. J. Tutwiler, "Our Brothers In Stripes."
outside the state of Alabama were (1) the National Educational Association, convened in St. Paul, Minnesota, July 10-12, 1890; and (2) The International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies, in Chicago, June 12-16, 1893.

According to the New York Times thousands of teachers attended the St. Paul convention. Further, "an immense crowd was present" for the opening session. Perhaps the most prominent person in attendance was William T. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education.

Tutwiler addressed the Department of Elementary Instruction at its opening session on July 10, 1890. She chose as her subject, "Our Brothers in Stripes, In the School-Room." According to her, the education of the Negro had been discussed at previous conventions but the education of convicts had not. In her introduction she said:

Our "brother in black" has been discussed in an educational point of view until there seems nothing new to be said on the subject; but our brother in stripes has been less favored. This is the fifth annual session of the National Educational Association which I have had the pleasure of attending, and I do not remember that he has ever before been honored with a place on the program.

Therefore, Tutwiler spoke to a mixed audience of educators on this occasion. The novelty of her subject as well as the description of her personal approach to the education of convicts probably acted


63. Ibid., June 11, 1890.

64. Commissioner Harris spoke to the General Convention as well as to most of the departments. See: National Educational Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1890).
to gain and maintain auditor interest.

During the summer of 1893, a busy one, Tutwiler attended at least three conventions in Chicago during the Colombian World Exposition. She had spoken to the World Congress of Women before addressing the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies and attended the World Congress of Education later in the summer.

The International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies convened on June 12, 1893. Tutwiler evidently replaced the deceased Dr. Peter Bryce as Alabama's representative to the Congress. In a letter attached to a typescript of her report, she wrote that "the Secretary for the United States informed me, . . . that I had been appointed Secretary for Alabama in the place of Dr. Bryce." Tutwiler called the Congress a "big class-meeting." Her evaluation of its importance was evidenced in two ways. First, in the letter previously cited, she wrote:

The World's Congresses which are now being held in the city of Chicago, are no less interesting and important than the great Fair. . . . The latter shows what material progress the civilized world has made; the former exhibits its progress in immaterial matters. Not the least interesting of these meetings was the International Congress of Charities and Corrections.

Second, in her introduction she stated:

This is an experience meeting--an old-fashioned class meeting of the Methodist type--A love-feast, we hope, where the sisters and brothers from far and near, have come together, to tell each other how they are advancing in those higher fields of progress. . . .

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65. This statement was part of a letter, signed by Tutwiler, attached to a typescript of her report. It is located with the Tutwiler Papers.
An indication of the international nature of the audience was suggested by (1) the Chicago Daily News, (2) her own remarks, and (3) the roster of major speakers. The Daily News said "prominent people from nearly every state are present as well as many foreign countries." Tutwiler wrote:

"... every country of the civilized world, and every state of the Union sent by its delegates a historical report of its work in this regard, and an account of the present conditions of these interests in its borders."  

Finally, according to the Daily News, the major speakers were Attocar A. Aderkas of Russia; Monsieur Marshall of Paris; Prosper Van Goetz of Antwerp; Lt. Colonel Nadder of London; and Miss Spence of Australia.

Assuredly, then, the audience was assembled to ascertain the contemporary conditions of eleemysonary institutions and prisons in the United States and abroad. Tutwiler's straightforward presentation in which she diminished none of the undesirable factors of Alabama's institutions, her compassion as evidenced in her materials, her sincerity, and her delivery acted to maintain auditor interest on this occasion.

According to Tutwiler, the Secretary of the United States instructed her concerning the subject matter and organization of her report. She wrote:

"He requested me to prepare... a Sketch of the Charities and Corrections of Alabama for the Past Twenty Years, and an

67. See letter attached to typescript in Tutwiler Papers.
68. Chicago Daily News, June 12, 1893.
Account of their Present Condition . . . There were eight heads to summarize: (1) Orphan Homes; (2) Institutions for the Blind and Mutes; (3) Hospitals for the Sick; (4) Insane Asylums; (5) Poor Houses; (6) County Jails; (7) Convict System; (8) Reformatories. These were difficult conditions to fulfill, and it was impossible to give many details and carry out the requisitions.

In spite of her limitations and her fears, she chose a subject suited to an audience of internationally prominent persons convened to inform one another on the status of charities and corrections within their respective borders.

In summary, when she spoke on prison conditions Tutwiler most often addressed Christian women concerned with the welfare of humanity. The nature of the Alabama WCTU and its membership disposed them favorably toward her ideas. When she spoke to non-Alabama audiences she adapted her subject to her listeners. First, she addressed a group of educators interested in educational problems upon a novel, yet vital subject—the elementary education of prisoners. Second, she discussed the status of prisons and charitable institutions in Alabama for an international audience with polarized interest in such a discussion.

NATURE AND PROBLEMS OF THE SPEECHES

Two problems which confronted Tutwiler and which, therefore, affected the nature of her prison speeches were (1) the economics of the lease system, and (2) public opinion. She recognized these problems in her first extant speech to the Alabama WCTU. She said:

The unwise custom of hiring the convicts out to the highest bidder still continues. This is such a large source of revenue to the capitalists and companies which hire them,

69. See letter attached to typescript, Tutwiler Papers.
as well as to the State, that it is feared there will be great difficulty in ever breaking it up. . . .

The entire abolition of hiring the convicts to contractors is the most needed reform; but it seems hopeless to attempt this in the present state of public opinion. 70

Recognizing that it was ill-advised, although desired, to call for abolition of the lease system, Tutwiler adjusted her prison reform speeches to advocate ameliorative measures within the system.

The prevailing southern attitude concerning women public speakers did not affect these speeches. In the state of Alabama, she spoke only to women's organizations—the WCTU and the State Federation of Women's Clubs. These forums did not challenge the "image of the southern lady" or subject her to male rebuke. Rather, they provided her with a platform from which to voice her ideas. She said she joined the WCTU because "I thought my requests and suggestions might have more weight coming from the representative of so many good women," 71 however, it is plausible that she was motivated by the memory of hearing her first public paper read poorly by a man.

Her reports were conversational and direct. The technique she most often employed was informatively to relate (1) the status of her reform proposals, and (2) the work of the teacher-missionaries at the prison night schools and hospitals. In short, she simply talked about what was happening, often sharing her personal experiences and insights with her listeners, at times in emotionally


71. Tutwiler, "Our Brothers in Stripes."
charged descriptions. Her prime concern was to secure needed reforms and to surround prisoners with humanizing influences, that is, education and religion. She sincerely felt enactment of her recommendations was necessary to remove the stigma of barbarousness associated with Alabama. In 1888 she said: "the legislature has now convened again, and we hope that its present session will be made memorable by enactments in regard to these matters, which may remove from the fair name of our State stains for which even Russian despotism might blush." There can be little doubt that the socially-conscious Christian ladies of the Alabama WCTU concurred.

The Alabama legislature, however, was not always responsive to her requests. It acted slowly or paid little more than lip service to her recommendations. Consequently, she annually urged enactment of most of her proposals, often simply relisting them, to remind her audience of this legislative irresponsiveness. Yet, even under discouraging circumstances, she seemed always to be aware of the need to include encouraging materials in order to maintain positive attitudes toward her work. Thus, her reports as Superintendent of Prison and Jail Work, while loosely and informatively developed, were intended to accomplish three things: first, to persuade the WCTU membership to promote enactment of emendative legislation; second, actively to participate in the work resulting from such legislation; and third, to stimulate them to continue their interest


73. Most of Tutwiler's reports referred to these attitudes.
On two occasions, Tutwiler spoke outside Alabama on concerns related to charities and corrections. She addressed the Department of Elementary Instruction of the National Educational Association on July 10, 1890 on the subject "Our Brothers in Stripes, in the School-Room." The speech, at first, appeared to be one of apologia for she said, "in justice to my State... I will explain how a system convict-lease so odious, ... ever became a part of our State machinery." Under closer analysis, however, the purpose of the speech was to inform her audience about the education of Alabama's prisoners via the prison night-schools. Her materials were employed to that end.

When she addressed the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies during the week of June 12, 1893, she chose for her subject, "Sister Alabama's Testimony in the Big Class-Meeting in Chicago." The instructions she received from the Secretary of the United States regarding her subject and its development suggested a presentation that was informative. Tutwiler adhered to those instructions, but added interest by including epidemietic elements in the speech. That is, she praised "Sister Alabama's" strengths and blamed her weaknesses in her administration of Charities and Corrections.

ETHOS

Tutwiler's ethos was important in her advocacy of prison reform. She did not ask of others that which she was unwilling to do.

74. See pages 128 and 129 for those instructions.
Nowhere was her humanitarianism more clearly manifested than in her work with and for the prisoners of Alabama. She visited the mines to assess the condition of the prisons and the needs of the prisoners; she went into county jails to comfort and teach the inmates; she rode trains often to her own discomfort to bring supplies to prison schools and to instruct the prisoners; she traveled to Montgomery to lobby for passage of needed reforms; she persuaded friends and acquaintances to contribute to prisoner needs and comforts. Such dedicated perseverance provided her firsthand knowledge of her speech subjects and established her reputation, especially among the women of the WCTU.

While speaking, Tutwiler confirmed her good character, good will, and intelligence. She emphasized her good character when she credited success to others and failure to herself. For instance, she acknowledged God as the inspiration which enabled her to overcome legislative opposition. She said:

In 1887 a great effort was made to remedy a crying evil by proposing a bill for a boy's reformatory school. . . . Two days before the close of the legislative session I learned that the bill had been adversely reported upon by a committee, after having passed one house. I was told that it was too late to do anything else, as there was no time to give a new bill the necessary number of readings. . . . But the thought of those poor boys unaided for two more years. . . weighed so heavily on my heart that I felt that God would work a miracle rather than leave them longer so forlorn; and He did . . . He did. I am here to testify that He did for his poor prodigal sons what all human counsel had declared to be impossible. . . . As the reformatory bill had been tabled on the ground that it asked too much, I proposed the plan of attaching a teacher for every fifty inmates to every prison, and allowing night schools of two hours. "Too late!". . . was the answer. . . . A sudden thought came to me, an inspiration . . . . "Could we not call the night-school bill an amendment to the lost reformatory bill, and thus dispose with some of the preliminary readings?" Heaven be thanked! this could be done and was
God received credit, too, when public opinion became more favorable to reform. In 1893, she said:

There has been a great change in the mental attitudes of the people of this State toward our prisoners since the winter of '87. . . .
I do not mean to attribute this change wholly to our labors; we have done our part, but there has been a great awakening of the public heart and conscience, which must be ascribed to a higher agency than ours.76

Likewise, she bestowed praise upon individuals who carried on the work she began. For example:

I am glad to say that the Sunday School work at Pratt mines continues to prosper. These two noble Christian women, Mrs. R. D. Johnston at Slope No. 2, and Mrs. Billheimer at the Shaft, aided by a zealous company of workers from the churches of Birmingham, allow no sort of weather to detain them from their mission of love.77

When the long sought reformatory school for white boys was realized, she again credited Mrs. Johnston as follows:

Since our last meeting a great blessing has come to my department of work through the labors of Mrs. R. D. Johnston. It is hardly necessary for me to state here the fact in which you all have rejoiced, namely that the Reformatory School for white boys has been established by the friends of Mrs. R. D. Johnston.78

In contrast, when the progress of her work was unsatisfactory,

75·Tutwiler, "Our Brothers in Stripes." Also Tutwiler, "1887 Report."


she assumed the blame. In 1888, she said:

In regard to county jails, I am sorry to say that I have no good news to relate. I have reason to believe that Sunday services are being held in but few of the sixty-six jails of our State. . . . In the small towns the ladies of the W. C. T. U. should do this, but they have hitherto neglected this duty. I am to blame in not having urged the matter more persistently upon them.79

In 1893, she reported:

I am sorry to tell you that I have not been able to do as much visiting at our prisons during this year as in former ones. Two long spells of bronchitis in the winter of 1891, brought on by exposure during midnight journeys of 120 miles to and from Birmingham, have left my throat in such condition that I have not dared to expose myself during this winter as heretofore.80

By her references to the value of Christian teaching she also helped stress her good character. Christ's words, "I was in prison and ye came unto me," were bestowed upon those who conducted Sunday services and made hospital visitations. For instance:

The Sunday Schools at Pratt City have been kept up more successfully by the efforts of Christian [sic] friends to the convicts in Birmingham . . . . This last great day alone can reveal the good that is being done by the ministrations of these friends of the outcast. They will assuredly bear the glad words, "I was in prison and ye came unto me."81

In 1892 she concluded her report, saying "I ask your prayers that God may bless the work that is now being done, and may bring about such conditions that our success may be greater than is possible

79. Tutwiler, "1888 Report."


under present conditions."

In 1887 she described the furnishing of the first school thus: "opposite the entrance I had hung a large engraving of the Good Shepherd bringing home on his shoulders the lost sheep; and on either side were the tender faces of the Virgin Mary and the Divine Son." These references to the worth of Christianity indicated Tutwiler's deep religious faith and along with her praise of others and her blame of self helped establish her good character.

Tutwiler suggested good will in her concern for the morals and the well-being of Alabama's prisoners, which, in turn, confirmed her concern with the welfare of society. For instance, she argued that mine prisons were "universities for the education of criminals," and the effect of such training was recidivism.82

Her reasons for advocating a separate prison for women also suggested her interest in the welfare of the prisoners and society. Such a prison would, she said, permit women to "be kept under the care of properly trained wardens of their own sex, and if possible . . . , giving them at the same time that elementary instruction in the truth of Christianity which is essential to a useful and self-respecting life."83 She advocated a reformatory as a means to restore youths to society as useful citizens. In fact, each reform she recommended emanated from her concern for the welfare of the individual and society; thus, she established her good will.

82. Tutwiler, "1886 Report."

In general, Tutwiler exhibited intelligence by recognizing that underlying economic factors negated abolishment of the lease system. More specifically, she demonstrated her intelligence when she told her auditors that,

"Our night schools have been organized with the hope of making the prison really penitentiaries—that is places of penitence and reformation. Only the elements of common school education are taught, reading, writing and a little arithmetic—the knowledge that is absolutely necessary for good citizenship." \(^{84}\)

In 1891, Tutwiler showed further her intelligence in two ways. First, she provided a rationale for legislative inaction as follows:

"Some noble speeches were made in behalf of this measure \([\text{The Reformatory Bill}]\) by large-hearted and broad-minded legislators, and I am convinced that the failure was not due to hardness of heart and deliberate cruelty... but for two reasons; first, the measure was brought up so late in the session that it was feared that the appropriation requested... couldn't be met after... appropriations already voted had been paid; secondly, there was not time to explain the full significance and necessity of the measure to those who spoke against it."

Second, she suggested that lobbying for lost legislation was not useless. She explained:

"At the request of Colonel Hargrove I went to Montgomery at the time the bill was to come up in the House and remained there for five days, writing articles on the subject for the daily papers, and conversing with such of the Legislators as had time to talk with me on the subject. I do not feel that my time and money were wasted, as information was given to many, which peculiar circumstances had put in my power to acquire." \(^{85}\)

Finally, her reasons for requesting a State appointed Inspector of County Jails demonstrated her intelligence as follows:

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\(^{84}\) Ibid. 

\(^{85}\) Ibid. 
There are several reasons why local inspection is not sufficient; first, the county officers are generally candidates for re-election and human nature is weak; secondly, even with those who are above this consideration it is painful to bring a legal charge against a life-long acquaintance or neighbor. The more impersonally a law can work the less friction it produces, and the more effective it is. An Inspector from a distance could do more than any local official.86

By showing her awareness of contemporary issues and attitudes along with her ability to adjust to factors that worked against her proposals, Tutwiler evidenced her intelligence.

Because of her reputation as a person willing to work at the task of improving prison conditions and because she established her good character, good will, and intelligence while speaking, Tutwiler's ethos was important to her advocacy of prison reform.

PURPOSES AND GOALS

Gray and Braden said, "persuasion in its broadest sense... implies that the speaker consciously attempts to change opinions and beliefs and/or move his listeners to action." More specifically, they continued:

. . . the speech to convince, seeks a covert response or mental agreement. The speaker asks the listener to accept, believe, affirm, approve, admit, or recognize. A convincing speech may be built around an assertive proposition... or a recommending proposition... in either case the speaker advocates a course of action with which his immediate listeners can agree but upon which they cannot act and, in fact, have little direct influence on the outcome.

On the other hand, they suggest:

The actuating speech seeks an overt or action response, one which is observable. Its goal is one step beyond that of a convincing talk in that it argues that a specific course of action should be followed. In addition to the commitment sought by the convincing speech, the actuating speech seeks to influence the listeners to move from the ranks of opponents

86. Tutwiler, "1887 Report."
Finally, the persuasive speech becomes stimulating when "the audience is largely a partisan one" and "when the speaker attempts to strengthen or intensify existing attitudes or opinions."88

Tutwiler's reports to the Alabama WCTU did not adapt easily to these guidelines. She was not a trained public speaker. Rather she was speaking from a total personal commitment to a program of humanitarian outreach and to which she devoted over 30 years of her life. Certainly, she recommended a series of specific legislative proposals aimed at improving the penal system of Alabama. All of these proposals were presented in her 1886, 1887, and 1888 reports, and their nature demanded either legislative or contractor action for implementation. Consequently, her auditors, although agreeing with the courses of action suggested, could have little direct influence on their outcome. Tutwiler probably desired no more than that the members of the WCTU exert whatever influence possible to encourage legislative or contractor action. In this sense, then, she was attempting to convince her audience.

In addition to her recommended proposals, Tutwiler often attempted to encourage her listeners actively to participate in her program of rehabilitation. Most often she asked them to provide personal services, material goods, and money. In this sense, she endeavored to actuate her audience.

Above all, however, Tutwiler was addressing a partisan group.

88. Ibid., 381.
She had been asked to join the WCTU and the membership responded warmly and enthusiastically to her work. There was no doubt that her audience was in accord with her ideas but it appeared that few actually joined her efforts. As spokeswoman for the organization, Tutwiler continuously attempted to intensify attitudes and opinions already existing but inactive or dormant among her listeners.

Thus, Tutwiler mixed the purposes of her reports to the WCTU as she sought a variety of goals, immediate and long-range, which she felt necessary to prison reform in Alabama.

On two occasions Tutwiler addressed social concerns before non-Alabama audiences. Her purpose was to inform. Gray and Braden said:

... the informative talk is always directed toward the accomplishment of a twofold objective: to elicit understanding and to encourage retention. The first objective... may involve correcting misinformation, increasing insight, presenting new facts, or sharpening the critical powers of observation and discrimination...

Retention... is the power to remember or to hold in mind for a period of time what the speaker has said.... The informative speaker, therefore, must not only make his subject clear and meaningful, but must also make it vivid and impressive.89

When Tutwiler spoke to the members of the Department of Elementary Instruction of the National Educational Association she made her subject "clear and meaningful" and "vivid and impressive." She chose a novel subject--convict education--which was aptly suited to both her and her audience. She employed explanatory, narrative, and descriptive materials which corrected misinformation relevant to the existence of the lease system and which provided

89. Gray and Braden, Public Speaking, 337-38.
insight into the origin of night schools and the learning ability of the convicts. By providing first-hand knowledge, she presumably sharpened the critical powers of observation and discrimination among her listeners. Further, her retelling of her struggle to gain passage of the night school amendment as well as the inclusion of an anecdotal passage recounting the missionary teacher's attempt to employ Socratic methods in the classroom, no doubt, added vividness and impressiveness to her remarks. Consequently, she crafted a speech whose purpose was to inform and applied the kinds of materials which promoted understanding and retention.

When she addressed the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies, she likewise met the objectives of the speech to inform. Adhering to instructions provided by the Secretary of the United States, she employed materials which increased insight into the system of Charities and Corrections in Alabama and which, presumably, sharpened critical powers of observation and discrimination. This seemed to be particularly true of her discussion of the Insane Asylum and prisons— institutions of which her personal knowledge was excellent. She created vivid mental images in her emotionally worded descriptions, particularly when dealing with the weaknesses of the system. Her ability in this regard was exemplified as follows:

... More than eleven hundred of these unfortunates insane are under my protective care, but there are others, perhaps five hundred, for whom I have provided no room. ... Horrible accounts have come to me of the condition of these last— one man nailed up in a room, his food thrown to him through a hole in the wall, his bed a pile of rags, his abode a sty of filthiness unspeakable— a woman chained in an out-house, fed like a beast— naked and frenzied— no warmth in the coldest days in winter. ...
Oh, Sister Alabama, Sister Alabama! don't show your face at our class meeting again until you have built a home for these chronic cases.

In her introduction, Tutwiler indicated that the members of the Congress had assembled "to tell each other how they are advancing in those higher fields of progress." She related her materials to that interest. Her personal knowledge of the system of Charities and Corrections, her personification of the State of Alabama, her emotionally worded descriptions, and her epideictic approach to her materials very likely aided her in accomplishing her purpose by meeting the objectives of understanding and retention.

ARGUMENTS AND SUPPORTING MATERIALS

In her reports to the Alabama WCTU, Tutwiler's underlying proposition was that society, particularly the State, should act as necessary to affect a more humane system of prisoner care. Consequently she sought a variety of goals and shifted her strategy to coincide with pursued goals.

To that end, she proposed eight major and two minor prison reforms. Four of those reforms were presented in her initial report (1885) and repeated in 1886. Her initial report is non-extant but the Birmingham Chronicle's analysis of it was interesting:

... Miss Julia Tutwiler read a lengthy and well-toned article as report for the committee on Prison Work. In her report she noted briefly the approximate number of convicts, state and county, their ages and especially emphasized the fact that a large proportion of those convicts were under the age of 21 years. For these she advocated a reformatory school and expressed sanguine hopes that many might be still restored

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90. See footnote # 50, this chapter, for documentation.
and made useful citizens. . . . She discussed at some length the way in which convicts may be entertained by teaching them something useful in their leisure hours. . . . and by throwing around them better religious influences.91

Tutwiler's major advocative reforms, previewed in the analysis given above, were presented in her 1886, 1887, and 1888 reports.

In 1886 she recommended (1) a separate prison for women, (2) a reformatory for boys under twenty-one, (3) careful classification of criminals according to the degree of criminality, and (4) the employment of teachers to conduct night schools in the prisons attached to coal mines.92

Prior to the convention of the State Union in 1887, legislation creating night schools was enacted but the remaining recommendations had been tabled or ignored. Consequently, she proposed them once more and, in addition, recommended the following improvements in the county jail system:

1. A court-yard connected to the county jails to permit the inmated room to exercise and breath fresh air;
2. Constant attendance at county jails by a person in authority;
3. A law requiring Sunday services at all county jails; and
4. A state appointed inspector of county jails.

In 1888 she renewed her call for all the above proposals and added two minor ones which were never further argued or developed. These were (1) the abolishment of prison for costs, and (2) that state and county convicts be subjected to the same laws except in cases of misdemeanants.

91. Birmingham Chronicle, November 13, 1885.
92. According to this report, she had urged these same reforms in 1885.
There seemed little reason for Tutwiler to do much more than list her recommendations in her reports to the Alabama WCTU. This resulted from three factors: first, she had been asked to join the association; second, her knowledge of the penal system was excellent; and third, her ethos was firmly established. Nonetheless, one argument served as the *raison d'être* for her desire to classify criminals and to place youths in separate facilities. In 1886, she posited that argument with causal reasoning. She asserted that as a result of the lease system, "the State maintains several universities for criminals" (cause), where they receive thorough training in vice" (effect). She immediately amplified her assertion with the following explanation:

...the boy who has been convicted of carrying a pistol, and is unable to pay the fine and the fees, is forced to sleep, eat, and labor in a herd of men of every age and character, many of them guilty of the vilest crimes, murder, rape, burglary and others too hideous to mention.

She argued further that "the utter inefficiency of this mode of dealing with crime (cause) is proved by the fact that those who have once served a penal sentence in the coal mines generally return again and again" (effect). Implied in that argument was the need to separate, classify, and educate prisoners in order to minimize recidivism.

Beyond this argument, how did Tutwiler handle her remaining proposals? In calling for a separate woman's prison she provided little logical support. In 1887, she developed her need through assertive explanation. She said:

We need a separate prison for women, where they could be kept under the care of properly trained wardens of their own sex, and if possible reformed by gradually accustoming them to a life of industry, cleanliness and order, giving
them at the same time that elementary instruction in the truths of Christianity which is essential to a useful and self-respecting life.

Again, her argument was implied—that a separate facility would support female prisoners' return to society as useful Christian women. She applied no examples, no authoritative testimony, no statistics—in short, she failed logically to support her assertion. She did no more than to repeat her recommendation in 1888 and 1891, but in 1892 she provided some support for her proposal by contrasting the conduct of females classified as county prisoners with those classified as state prisoners as follows:

The case of our women convicts is the most hopeless. Those who come into the category of State prisoners are now taken to the old penitentiary at Wetumpka and have surroundings which are calculated to influence them to some degree for good. But the women who are classed as county convicts are still confined at the stockades, in separate building, it is true, but exposed to many degrading influences. Although so few in numbers compared with the men, their unruly conduct, fighting and quarrelling, makes them more troublesome than the men.

Tutwiler felt this contrast sufficient to convince her audience of Christian women that a separate facility was needed as no other support was discovered in her remaining reports. However, she kept her proposal alive in her listeners' minds by indicating its legislative treatment. In 1895 she said:

... by her [Mrs. VanHook's] efforts a clause was inserted in the bill stating that the Inspectors could, if they found it practicable, establish a... Woman's Prison; but, as nothing has been done... it is feared this clause was inserted merely to satisfy the humanitarian sentiment of the State.

93. Although the State had removed women to Wetumpka it was not a woman's prison. Aged and infirm males as well as colored youths were also incarcerated there.
In 1896 after the State had opened a new prison farm at Speigner, she reported "it is also proposed to erect at Speigner in the near future a Woman's Prison, officered by women only. . . ." Her final mention of female prisoners was made in 1900 when she lamented that "the women. . . are collected at the Farm at Speigner, almost a hundred in number. For their reformation also nothing is done."

The development and support of her proposal for a woman's prison was weak. Not once did she apply statistics related to the immoral conduct of female convicts; not once did she compare her proposal with such institutions operating elsewhere; and not once did she employ authority, other than her own, to prove the merit of her proposal. Nonetheless, because she saw and asserted such a need, the members of the WCTU, no doubt agreed with her.

Her proposals for a reformatory for youths and the classification of criminals were more adequately developed and supported. In 1888 she amplified her basic argument through restatement as follows:

Soul murder should no longer be committed under the name of law by placing the ignorant and comparatively innocent country boy in the daily and nightly companionship of the hardened villains and ruffians from the slums of the city.

Her assumption of the innocence of "country boys" and the hardened villainy of city criminals seemed not to concern her because testimony and analogy were immediately employed for further amplification:

An Alabamian rightly said in a public speech not long ago, "The state which permits this outrage is guilty of a greater crime than has been committed by the worst criminal within her prison walls."

Let us cease to declaim against the barbarism of Russian laws and Russian prisons until we cleanse this stain
from our garment.

She insufficiently identified her authority and assumed auditor knowledge of the Russian system. However, these oversights were, probably, of little consequence to a sympathetic audience.

In 1891 the need for a reformatory was brought to the attention of the legislature again. Some legislators, however, ridiculed Tutwiler's argument and attempted to turn it against her. In reporting to the WCTU, she (1) provided statistics to establish further the need, (2) cast doubt on the veracity of those who ridiculed the bill, and (3) applied restatement to amplify her position. She said:

There are now twenty white boys, and ten times that number of colored, under 17 at the mining camps and in the prisons of the State. The proposition to separate these from professional criminals and endeavor to give them that industrial training which would prevent their becoming permanent members of this class was much ridiculed by various witty members of the assembly, under the plea that we wished to establish a college for criminals. A children's prison would better have expressed our intention.

At this point, the necessity of encouraging persistence in pursuit of her proposal seemed paramount. Thus, she applied the following explanatory and commendatory materials in an attempt to encourage hope among her auditors despite legislative inaction:

Some noble speeches were made in behalf of this measure by large-hearted and noble-minded legislators, and I am convinced that the failure of the bill was not due to hardness of heart and deliberate cruelty. . . but for two reasons: first, the measure was brought up so late. . . it was feared that the appropriation requested. . . would not be met after all the other appropriations. . . had been paid; secondly, there was not time to explain the full significance of the measure to those who spoke against it. Every argument adduced could have been answered. . . . The bill was prepared by Colonel Hargrove, President of the Senate, and by his exertion passed that body. This was a great gain in its favor, compared with former sessions, when it has scarcely been allowed a hearing. Next time it will pass both houses
without opposition. . . .

Surely the ladies of the WCTU found hope in such encouraging words.

Tutwiler's optimism proved fruitless. The legislature continued to ignore her recommendations. In 1892 she reported that gambling among the prisoners was "the great obstacle to the success of our efforts to benefit the convicts mentally and morally." Claiming that "the monotonous life of the stockade prison makes the temptation to gamble irresistible," she extended her argument for separation as follows: "I do not see what we can do about this until the State resumes the charge of her wards and keeps them as convicts should be kept, strictly apart from one another, in separate rooms, except during their hours of labor."

Regardless of these arguments, her pleas fell upon deaf legislative ears. However, among the women of the State Federation of Women's clubs they met with success. Mrs. R. D. Johnston, a member of both the WCTU and the Birmingham Chapter of the Federated Women's Club, took up the cause and, in 1898, inveigled the legislature to enact a law creating the Alabama Boys Industrial School. 94

In her 1899 report, Tutwiler praised Johnston as follows:

Since our last meeting a great blessing has come to my department of work through the labors of Mrs. R. D. Johnston. It is hardly necessary for me to state here the fact in which you all have rejoiced, namely that the Reformatory School for white boys has been established in this State by the friends of Mrs. Johnston. We hope that this is only the first step in the upward march of progress.

Because of Johnston's accomplishment, Tutwiler focused her attention

94. The act merely established the school. Johnston and her friends had to turn to other sources for funds to purchase land and erect buildings. See: The Boy's Banner, June, 1931, 7.
on the need for a reformatory for black youths. This she did in 1900. That year she argued that "the need of such an institution for the child criminals of the colored race is even more pressing than for the whites." Statistics were then applied to magnify the need. She said, "at one prison there are fifty inmates, condemned for stealing rides on trains, some of them boys not more than eleven years old." She prefaced this position with personal observation in support of her basic argument that the State was educating the young to be criminals as follows:

But it was certainly a sorrowful sight to see on Sunday a band of colored boys locked up together in a room without even the oversight of an older prisoner. Many of these boys, who, under proper conditions, could be trained into useful working men. As it is, they come to the prison bad boys: they go away "half devil and half beast."

She then attempted to clinch her position with the following emotional threat: "Criminal assaults upon women will never cease so long as the State maintains these Universities for the education and graduation of criminals."95

In retrospect, Tutwiler's development and support for her recommendations to classify and separate prisoners seemed adequate. She randomly employed examples, testimony, and statistics to support her basic position that the Alabama Penal system was turning young misdemeanants into criminals. Further, she often amplified her position by applying personal observation, restatement, and emotional assertion in an attempt to intensify the need.

Tutwiler's fourth recommendation and her major concern was

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95. The suggestion that southern females were potential rape victims, particularly by a black man, was a potent emotional argument in the South.
convict education. All of her reports addressed themselves to this concern in some fashion, but it was most fully and effectively developed and amplified in her 1887 report.

The creation of night schools was Tutwiler's most important success. In 1887, she enthusiastically shared that success with the WCTU. Most of the materials of that report were related to a single proposition which may be paraphrased as follows:

To illustrate the struggles and joys involved in establishing night schools in such a way that my audience can visualize and appreciate them, thus revitalizing their faith in our work.

To that end she (1) described the struggles involved in establishing the schools, (2) applied testimony of prisoners and officials attesting to the effect of the schools, and (3) dwelt emotionally on the influence that religious training and hospital visitation had upon prisoners and their families.

The description of the struggles was probably included to inspire her listeners to persevere despite difficulties. She first recounted her victory over legislative apathy:

The Legislature has held a session since we met. The subject of a reformatory for youths was brought before the body. . . this bill . . . was adversely reported upon. . . and laid upon the table. . . . I learned of this fact only two days before the adjournment. . . and found that unless an immediate and vigorous effort was made for two years more there would be no step taken. . . in the direction of prison reform. I at once went to Montgomery, and a kind Providence so blessed my efforts there that I was enabled. . . to induce the Assembly to pass a bill establishing a night school at every convict station where one hundred criminals are assembled. This was all that it was possible to do in the brief time remaining, and even this bill had to be passed (by a sort of legal fiction) as an amendment to the dropped reformatory bill, since there was not time for the readings required for an entirely new bill. . . but someone who desired its failure effectually crippled it on passage by omitting the clause providing for the building of a school room for
each teacher. Someone else also cut down the salary proposed, from $50 to $25 per month, thus making it impossible to procure first-class teachers.

Tutwiler's perseverance in gaining even limited success surely inspired the same among her auditors. However, the crippling of the bill necessitated two more struggles which she shared. First, she explained how she overcame negative attitudes of company officials who were hesitant to construct schoolrooms at company expense until they were made knowledgeable "as to the possibility and practicability of the work of this sort for men prisoners in their circumstances." Second, the reduced salary compelled Tutwiler to travel to Chicago to procure a suitable teacher. Even for so sympathetic a group of listeners, she felt it necessary to provide reasons for seeking a teacher outside Alabama. She said:

The prejudice against this work was so strong in Alabama that I did not think it possible to obtain here a person of such a character as we desired. . . . I thought that I could find in a large city where much active mission work is carried on, someone accustomed to deal with the ignorant and vicious classes, who would have the experience and the spirit we required. I thought also in obtaining a teacher from a Western city, I would avoid the prejudice which a New Englander would encounter.

She then described her search for a suitable teacher as follows:

I spent several weeks in visiting many institutions devoted to mission work without finding a suitable person until I almost despaired in my quest. . . . I think I must have met all the cranks in Chicago. One of the leading ministers. . . . to whom I explained what the situation required, said: "You want . . . a hundred dollar a month man to fill a twenty-five dollar a month place, and I am sorry to say that I do not think you will be able to find him." However. . . . I found a young man. . . . highly recommended by Dr. Goss, pastor of Moody's Church. He was better suited to my purpose because he was born in Maryland. . . . and had been brought up on a farm in Minnesota. He. . . went at once to Pratt mines to become acquainted with the situation.

Tutwiler's explanation of these struggles intensified them. In so
doing, she likely secured vicarious involvement among her auditors thereby increasing their appreciation for her work.

She then attempted to instill even greater pride in accomplishment. To do so, she employed descriptions of prisoner attitudes toward the care given them and testimony of officials regarding the effectiveness of the schools as follows:

But I felt repaid for all that work [putting the school-room in a state of readiness] that Saturday night when, to the sound of our cabinet organ, our pupils in their garb of degradation filed into the clear, bright, comfortable school-room. . . . The dull, saddened faces, bearing the impress of crime and misery, and the hopeless look of those who feel that they have been forgotten by God and man, visibly brightened as they saw the care and thought that had been taken for them.

This vivid description of the prisoner's appearance was intended to arouse listener compassion for them. Tutwiler then amplified the concept of prisoner gratitude with a humorous account of pedagogical methodology which included a brief comparison. She said:

I should like to tell you about our novel school, how our big boys seemed to enjoy their own inharmonious singing, which quite drowned the voice of our little organ. . . but I have already trespassed too long on your patience. Only I would like. . . to bring before your eyes the unique scene, when I formed them into a large mental arithmetic class. . . read each question only once and let them turn each other up and down in the regular fashion of an old field school. Some were rather bewildered. . . but when they "caught on". . . it was amusing to see their delight in the new game. It reminded me of Brett Harte's spelling match among the miners.

Next, Tutwiler asserted that the results of the school "have been very gratifying, surprising even the most earnest advocates of the measure and converting its opponents into warm friends." Support for this assertion was in the form of a testimonial letter from R. H. Dawson, President of the Board of Inspectors. Dawson wrote:

You may rest assured that I shall do all in my power for the school. In my experience in the management of
convicts. . . nothing has been of so much help to us. I do not speak of the moral benefit to the men. . . but of the aid it has been to us in maintaining discipline and as an incentive to good conduct.

The inclusion of the materials above, no doubt, increased auditor pride in accomplishment. However, it was the use of a testimonial letter to Mrs. Edmund Pettus from the prisoners and a description of the differences of being hospitalized at home versus the prison that, credibly, evoked the greater pride among the women of the WCTU. Mrs. Pettus had accompanied Tutwiler to the mines to prepare the schoolroom for classes and had stayed for several weeks to "see the work well established." In response to her work, the prisoners wrote:

Pratt Mines, Sept. 12, 1888

Dear Madam:

So outspoken and unanimous has been the expression of greatful [sic] satisfaction for the mineistrations [sic] which in the providence of God you have rendered to the prisoners of the Alabama Penitentiary for the past two weeks, that. . . to simply and formally tender you our unfeigned thanks. . . would but faintly convey the sentiments of greatful [sic] appreciation which befits the occasion. You came amongst us. . . at a time when such a one was greatly needed. You have read to us the word of God; you have led us in petitions to the throne of grace; you have expounded the mysteries and dispensed the sweet consolations of the Gospel; tenderly have you comforted us in our trouble; and in your going in and out amongst us a servant of God, we have been cheered and encouraged by your life and conversation. Take then, dear madam, our earnest and kindly assurance that these services will ever be remembered by us. . . we beg to express the hope that you may return to us at some future time. . .

Respectfully,

That letter, attesting to attitudinal change because of religious ministrations, must certainly have caused the hearts of the Christian women of the WCTU to swell with pride.
Next, Tutwiler seemed impelled to include a comparative description of the differences in home and prison hospital care for two reasons: first, to arouse an emotional response to the need for visitation among hospitalized prisoners; second, to establish the missionary character of the teacher, Mr. Forbes Wilson, for the purpose of attempting to actuate her listeners to provide a resident-room for him near the prison. Tutwiler said:

I think a Prison Hospital is the saddest place on God's earth. The chamber of sickness is always a sad place; but in the family home the sweetest evidences of tenderness and unselfish devotion are made there. . . . Even in a public hospital there are often visits from friends and relatives, religious ministrations, and the care of nurses admirably trained whose deft hands rob pain of its sharpest stings. In a Prison Hospital. . . there is no rift in the dark cloud. . . . The deaths are much more frequent. . . and alone the poor outcast, who was once "somebody's darling", treads the last steps that lead to the dread portal. The natural longing for human sympathy in that terrible hour meets no response. Thus it has been; thus I have seen it. Now is there a woman anywhere, a mother or sister, who will not thank God with me that this is so no longer. The teacher whom I selected visits each hospital daily, reads to the sick, writes letters for those who are unable to do this. . . prays for the dying, and by the manifestation of human tenderness and sympathy enables the poor sufferers to believe in a Divine pity and mercy.

Appeals to love of home and maternal affection were evident in this description, but it was the appeal to the value of Christian love that provided the basis for Tutwiler's attempt to actuate, which followed immediately. She said:

I want to call your attention to a great need—a room for the teacher near the prison. At present he has to walk a mile and a half at night in all sorts of weather, over rough mountain roads, or else to live and sleep in the school-room. Will not our Christian Union assist me in this matter?

There was really no need for this appeal. Tutwiler seemed to be unfamiliar with the content of her message for in her post-script she said:
... a contract has been made for ten years instead of two with the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co.—the one which works Pratt Mines. ... They also say in their bid that they have become so thoroughly convinced of the benefits resulting. ... from the night school that they will themselves pay the teachers, build school rooms for both races, and put up neat cottages for the use of the teachers.

Finally, Tutwiler tied all of her attempts to stimulate into her fundamental argument with the following assertion:

... Heretofore these Prisons have been great universities maintained by the State, for the training of professional criminals. Our night schools have been organized with the hope of making the Prisons really penitentiaries—that is places for penitence and reformation. ...

There can be little doubt that Tutwiler was enthusiastic about the establishment and operation of the night schools. She included an abundance of amplifying materials—testimony, description, explanation, comparison, and examples—in order to revitalize and increase auditor appreciation for prison and jail work. The introduction to her hastily added postscript probably best exemplified that enthusiasm. She said:

Since I wrote the above report I have visited the Mines, and have such good news to relate from the point that I cannot make the friends of Prison Refore [sic] wait for twelve months more before telling it to them. ...

The postscript briefly recounted the attitude of company officials, stated as fact that women who were State Convicts were being sent to the Penitentiary in Wetumpka, and closed with testimony from the prison warden which spoke of improved criminal behavior: "The corporal punishments have been reduced in number until there are almost none". ... "and we have had fewer conspiracies and attempts to escape than ever before." Tutwiler seemed to be using all the amplifying materials she could muster in her attempt to generate enthusiasm for her work for she closed the postscript with this
appeal to strive for greater goals:

It is not often in life that we can say that a scheme on which we have set our hearts has succeeded better than we had hoped in our most sanguine moments—had accomplished more than we had even dared to pray for; but this is the case in this instance. Nor if under so many difficulties, and with so little working force so much has been done, what may we not hope to accomplish with the favorable circumstances under which the new year begins?

Continued progress was, however, slow in coming. From the years 1888 to 1895 Tutwiler simply enumerated the status of the mine schools, occasionally appealing for material help as the need arose. She most often employed descriptive explanation as her method of development.

In 1888 while she seemed pleased with the progress of the schools at the Pratt Mines she seemed displeased that other schools were not begun, particularly since the Inspectors and Governor Thomas Seay approved of the schools. She rationalized the hesitancy to begin other schools before once again asserting the hope that progress would come rapidly:

There are several other points at which these schools would be established in order to carry out the law. The inspectors have wisely waited to see how those first established would succeed before going into other experiments. . . .

. . . I trust that when we meet again, I can inform you that in every convict prison where a hundred men are collected two school-rooms have been built and schools for the white and colored convicts are going on with good results.

In 1891 the only area of her work which bore positive fruit was that of convict education. Saying, "we have cause to thank God and take courage," she explained the current status of the mine schools as follows:

A little more than three years ago we had one school room and one teacher. . . . We have now three prison schools in operation--two at Pratt Mines, each supplied with two teachers. . . one at Coalburg, with one teacher. Each
school has a cabinet organ, blackboards and atlas appliances. We have also at Pratt Mines a mission home with four bedrooms and dining room and kitchen, all completely furnished. At Coalburg we have a three-room cottage for the teacher and his family.

Progress was slow, one new school in three years, but Tutwiler was encouraged and thus attempted to encourage her audience. She also attempted to actuate by appealing for financial aid to extend the teacher's cottage at Coalburg. She explained that while it was a three-room cottage built with money solicited from friends, "it contains only two small bedrooms and kitchen." She then appealed as follows: "I wish very much we could add a sitting room in order to make the present missionary and his family more comfortable. One hundred dollars would do this." Response to this appeal for funds cannot be measured. The cottage was not mentioned again until 1895 when Tutwiler indicated that "private gifts" had built it.

In 1892 agitation against the convict-lease system caused the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company to limit "the number of mission teachers. . . to one for each prison. . . " Tutwiler did not protest this reduction for she probably rationalized, as did the contractor, that the system would "soon be destroyed." The only encouraging material in the 1892 report was related to hospital visitation. Once again, Tutwiler emotionally asserted the worth of such visitation. She said:

It should be a relief to every humane heart in the State to know that no man or boy. . . dies in our Prison hospitals.

96 In Tennessee this agitation resulted in open insurrection between free labor and convict labor. See: Woodward, The New South, 232-34. In Alabama, as Tutwiler said, "the danger has been averted. . . by the positive promise of both gubernatorial candidates to abolish the system just as soon as they can legally do so."
without having heard at his bedside... the voice of a friend telling him of the unfailing love of the Friend above all friends. I have requested the mission teachers never to fail to write in every case of death to the wife, mother or nearest friend of the deceased... These letters are worth to the cause of humanity the cost of maintaining the prison mission. The mother of the prodigal boy is soothed and strengthened to bear the news of his death when it is accompanied by words of comfort, telling her of his yielding to softening influences and dying with words of penitence and affection on his lips.

In 1893 Tutwiler asserted that "there has been a great change in the mental attitude of the people of this State toward our prisoners since the... bill was passed establishing prison missions with night schools." To support her assertion, she did no more than enumerate and describe the schools in existence, including the most recently established school for white boys at Wetumpka. Thus, in six years four schools were in operation: two at Pratt Mines, one at Coalburg, and one at Wetumpka. Perhaps Tutwiler felt that the absence of public agitation against these schools was sufficient proof to warrant her assertion. An appeal for material goods was included in her 1893 report. After stating that each prison had a small library of good books, she said:

I send boxes of papers and magazines from time to time to them; but there is need of a much larger supply, especially of illustrated papers. It does not make any difference how old is the date of these. The pictures make them very welcome, especially to the patients in the hospital. I shall be much obliged if friends will send packages of these as often as possible.

She made it easy for her listeners to respond to this request by providing addresses to which the materials could be sent and indicated that if they were so addressed "the State will pay express." Again, the response is difficult to measure although as late as 1900 she indicated that "boxes of magazines and illustrated
papers" were much needed at Coalburg.

Tutwiler's 1895 presentation was the most negative of her reports. Not only did the legislature fail to respond to her other suggested reforms, they struck the clause continuing the appropriation for night schools from the convict bill as well. Why? Tutwiler furnished the rationalization as follows: "the reason given for this act is that the financing of the State show a great deficit... so that curtailment of expenses was a necessity." She then tactfully illustrated her ability to condemn without rancor, as follows: "I make no comment or criticism, and pass no judgement, but merely state the sad fact."

The removal of the appropriations was damaging to the school at Coalburg.97 Because of this, Tutwiler employed an impassioned descriptive plea in an attempt to actuate the membership to aid in maintaining a teacher at Coalburg. She said:

"... This prison is so far from any city that no Sunday School workers have ever assisted the prison missionary. It is a peculiarly sad and gloomy place; a lonely gorge in the mountains, where the poisonous gases from the coke ovens have killed the trees from the valley where the prison stands to the mountain top. They stand gaunt, bare, and spectral, as if to heaven each held a withered hand in mute appeal against man's inhumanity to man. Almost every summer a fearful epidemic has prevailed among the prison inmates... This summer the death rate was 90 to 1,000. Heretofore, these poor outcasts have had a friend to kneel beside their dying beds and give them the comfort of human sympathy and divine promises as they pass through the dark valley. Now, they are deprived of this last help. I wish to propose to the W. C. T. U.

97. The Schools at Pratt Mines were not discontinued as the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company had agreed to support them and pay the teacher in their contract with the State. The school at Wetumpka was continued by the prison bookkeeper who had been ordered to conduct the night school.
of the State that they undertake to support a prison missionary at this place. . . . I wish the W. C. T. U. would undertake this work or at least a part of it, and put it under the superintendence of the Birmingham Union. . . .

For whatever reason, the emotional plea did not gain the response Tutwiler desired. The following year, she said, "at present by the some [sic] kind giver, a young theologian is engaged to hold Sunday School regularly for the convicts at this place [Coalburg], hospital service and a meeting for general improvement every Saturday night." Tutwiler did, however, close her 1895 report on an encouraging note. She praised two members of the Birmingham Union, Mrs. R. D. Johnston and Mrs. A. L. Billheimer for their work in the Sunday Schools at Pratt Mines. No doubt, she felt the need for some encouraging remarks at a time when the work of her department seemed to be regressing.

Tutwiler began her 1896 report by repeating information relative to legislative discontinuance of appropriations for the schools and then indicated that even the schools at Pratt Mines had suffered indirectly. The company, she said, "claimed the right to appoint their Hospital Stewards to the position of Mission Teachers." Tutwiler stated that such action brought injury to the schools. She continued her rebuttal as follows:

... These Hospital Stewards are always young medical students who are pursuing their studies at the Medical College in Birmingham; and it is impossible for them to fulfill properly the three sets of duties--those of Medical Student, Hospital Steward and Mission Teacher. . . .

Tutwiler's technique of repeating materials was evident in the 1896 report. She repeated much of the emotional material concerning the condition of Coalburg that she had used the previous year as well as her commendation of Johnston and Billheimer. Whether Tutwiler
used repetition for amplification was questionable, as a year had lapsed between reports. Perhaps she simply repeated herself because she had little else to say. Again, Tutwiler found a bright spot in an otherwise negative report. She said:

... in August, I fulfilled a long cherished wish by visiting the new prison at Speigner. The prisoners at this place are worked by the State on a large farm. So far the experiment seems to have succeeded well—the health of the prisoners is much better than at the mines. The cotton factory was fast approaching completion. In this the experiment is to be tried of employing the convicts as factory hands and thus making them earn their own livelihood while undergoing sentence, and if possible, something to reimburse the state [sic] for the expense of their prosecution. ... 

Although the farm at Speigner did not result from Tutwiler's agitation, she included the above explanation, no doubt, because she needed some positive materials for her report.

Tutwiler's reports of 1899 and 1900 were basically informative, although she did discover and employ materials meant to stimulate. In 1899 she praised Mrs. Johnston for establishing the Reformatory for white youths. Beyond that there was little that was encouraging.

The night schools had suffered from the vagaries of the legislature and the contractors. Those at Pratt City and Wetumpka had been limited in their operation, the one at Coalburg had been closed, and instruction for women and black youths had never been initiated. Tutwiler did, however, find the work of the Sunday schools, except at Speigner, to be excellent and included a brief explanation of their existence in order to encourage continued interest in her work. She said:

... Our excellent Sunday Schools are still going on at the Pratt City prisons, the one under the care of Mrs. Johnston, the other of Mr. Makin, the prison missionary. At the penitentiary, the daughters of Mr. Perkins, the warden,
take an earnest and kindly interest in the welfare of the White men. I am sorry to say that there is no Sunday School at Speigner.

Perhaps the most successful part of Tutwiler's address was her indirect appeal for monetary help in securing a magic lantern to aid in the education of the prisoners:

I have been wanting for years a magic lantern and slides for use of the prisons. Most of the prisoners are so ignorant that they are like children in mental capacity, and can be taught by pictures better than books. The lantern could be used at one prison for a while then taken to another, and by the time it has spent a few weeks at each prison, there would be new spectators at the first place. Slides, depicting Bible scenes, temperance lesson, stories of patriotism, could be used to good advantage.

A measurable response to this appeal was found in the minutes of the convention which stated that "the convention also voted to donate 10¢ per member present toward Miss Tutwiler's work."

Her 1900 report began on a rather discouraging note. She found the prison mission work satisfactory at Shaft No. 1 (Pratt Mines) but unsatisfactory at Slope No. 2 mine. She was particularly disappointed that hospital visitation had been "altogether neglected." She did, however, report that the mission work at Coalburg had been resumed under the direction of Mrs. Billheimer whom she lauded as follows:

The work at Coalburg has been carried on with the greatest success by Mrs. Billheimer. Her experience as a missionary in Africa fitted her exceptionally well for this work. Until the death of her revered husband... he assisted her both in the night school and in the Sunday School... Mrs. Billheimer's widowed daughter now renders the same assistance. This is indeed a work of Christian self-denial. Here two cultured, refined, highly-educated ladies are living alone in a lonely mountain gorge, giving up their whole time and thought to the lowest and most despised criminals.

Such praise was surely included in order to increase auditor
appreciation for the work being done by the Billheimer's.

An indirect appeal for aid in obtaining the magic lantern was once again included. This time, though, Tutwiler compared the cost of such a lantern with the sum collected for its purchase and indicated that she "must still wait for this long desired help."98 No measurable response was available for this appeal.

Tutwiler never advanced a direct argument or developed a need for the establishment of night schools at the prisons. At the most the argument that education would benefit the criminals was implied when she explained, in 1886, that even under the most "unfavorable circumstances" convicts were able to make some progress in learning, as follows:

... At the close of the reading of this paper at Birmingham 1885, a collection was made... and about twenty-five dollars was obtained. This was spent in the purchase of elementary school books, slates, pencils, copy books and other school appliances. These things were distributed among the convicts at Pratt Mines and they were urged to appoint some of the most capable of their own members, teachers, and attempt to improve the time after their hours of labor were ended, by endeavoring to learn the elements of education... The Superintendent has visited them once since that time and has had the pleasure of learning from those in authority that the effect of the employment of their leisure time has been very good.

Beyond this initial implied argument there was no reason for further development of a need for convict education as night schools were established in 1887. Consequently, from 1887 to 1901 most of the materials related to the educational and religious instruction of the convicts were employed to inform and to stimulate the

98. According to Tutwiler the sum collected stood at $56.00 while the cost of such a lantern was $80.00. See: Tutwiler, 1901 Report.
Alabama WCTU to more effectively appreciate the work being done by Tutwiler. Her illustration of her struggles, her abundant and oftimes repeated explanations of the status of the schools, and the application of the testimony of prisoners and officials were employed to that end. Occasionally Tutwiler attempted to actuate her auditors to provide money or material goods and she always couched these appeals in strong emotional description. The response to these appeals was difficult to measure except in the case where an immediate donation was collected.

Tutwiler's initial success in improving conditions at county jails came before she associated herself with the WCTU.99 Her interest in improving prisoner treatment at county jails was renewed in her 1887 report. After enthusiastically inspiring her auditors concerning the recently established night schools and before adding her postscript, Tutwiler turned her attention to the needs of county jails. Her purpose was to convince her listeners to exert influence to gain passage of legislation to modify conditions in the county jails. She argued that while certain physical needs had been met "the inmated at county jails. . . suffer at present more hardship than the condemned criminals in the mines." To relieve that suffering, she proposed four "desiderata": (1) the construction of exercise court-yards around each county jail in which prisoners would be permitted to exercise; (2) a law requiring the Sheriff. . . never to leave the prisoners alone in the jail;

99. As a result of Tutwiler's agitation and the fact-finding questionnaire distributed by the Tuscaloosa Benevolent Association, the legislature adopted a bill to improve the physical conditions of county jails in December, 1880.
(3) a law requiring every Sheriff to have Sunday services in the county jails; and (4) that an Inspector of County Jails be appointed for the State at large.

In 1887 she supported her first desideratum with personal observation and comparison as follows:

I know of cases in which a prisoner who could not get bail has been confined as long a period as four years without once breathing the outside air or setting foot upon the ground. Even in the Bastile [sic] there were court yards where some of the victims of despotism were allowed to breathe the fresh air of heaven.

Her ethos was sufficient basis for audience acceptance of her observation, and she assumed, reasonably with safety, a negative attitude on the part of her auditors toward Napoleonic despotism as acceptance for her comparison. Further development followed in 1891. In that year she predicated the argument that "the State had no right to confiscate these health and strength, a working-man's capital without trial." upon the fact and personal observation. She said:

. . . When a man accustomed to out-door-labor. . . is shut up for months in an iron cage 7 or 8 feet square, he rapidly loses health and strength. The convicts who come to the mines after long confinement in the county jails are often fit subjects for the hospital, and sometimes never leave it except to be buried.

No further development or support of the need to equip county jails with exercise court-yards was included in her remaining reports.

As was her habit Tutwiler relied upon ethical-emotional proofs in her attempt to convince her auditors to influence the legislature

100. The law accounted county prisoners as innocent until tried. Incarceration of county convicts was often quite lengthy before trial. Further, according to Tutwiler, when tried "80% of those accused are acquitted."
of this need. Her development and support of her first need was brief and weak logically.

The development of her second proposal too was brief, but was supported more effectively although still relying, for the most part, upon ethical-emotional proof. She employed personal authority, a series of rhetorical questions, and the testimony of a Probate Judge as follows:

I cannot count the times that I have been told at the door of the county jail that there was no one there with any authority to admit me for Sunday services—that the Deputy Sheriff, who had charge of the keys, had taken them off many miles into the country where he had gone to pay a visit. This is a shocking disregard of common humanity. Suppose one of the men should become suddenly very ill; should go mad; should become infuriated and try to murder a fellow prisoner; or that the jail should catch fire, what a terrible situation! A Probate Judge told me lately that he had vainly sought admittance at the county jail seventeen times in succession.

Her failure to name the judge very likely did not diminish the weight of the testimony because her auditors had no reason to doubt her veracity.

The third proposed need, a law requiring Sheriffs to have Sunday services was unsupported. All that Tutwiler did was assertively chastize the Sheriffs and the deputies before restating the need for such a law. She said:

There are Sheriffs so penurious that they are not willing out of the large perquisites of their office to pay a deputy to remain at the jail even during the hour or two which Sunday services would require. If a deputy is induced by the persuasions of the Sunday visitor to remain and let them in and out, this is done grudgingly, and as a great favor. They seem to think that by the mere fact of being accused a man has forfeited not only all his claims on this world but all on that world of the hereafter.

These references to the attitudes of officials toward prisoners presumably induced the Christian members of the WCTU, some of whom
were involved in conducting Sunday services for prisoners, that such a law was desirable.

To support her proposal that an Inspector of County Jails be appointed for the State at large, Tutwiler indicated that the present system of local inspection by Probate Judges and County Clerks was insufficient because "inmates reach the mines so covered with filth and vermin, so emaciated by poor food and want of air and exercise that they are often at once subjects for the hospital." Thus, she first relied upon restatement of proof employed in support of her first desideratum. However, further to support her claim of insufficient inspection she asserted the following:

... first, the county officers are generally candidates for re-election and human nature is weak; secondly, even with those who are above this consideration it is painful to bring a legal charge against a life-long acquaintance and neighbor. The more impersonally a law can work the less friction it produces, and the more effective it is.

She then concluded, "an Inspector from a distance could do more than any local official." The assertive statements alluding to the human nature of candidates and constituents were enthymemically structured, thus logical; nonetheless Tutwiler presumably applied them because her audience could identify with such attitudes.

Except for relisting these proposed needs in her 1888 report, Tutwiler developed them no further. Conceivably this was because she became disillusioned with legislative apathy or because she preferred to report on the more positive aspects of her superintendency—night schools, Sunday schools, and hospital visitations. Whatever the cause, her recommendations for improvement of the county jail system were briefly developed and weakly supported.

In summary, the development and support of Tutwiler's specific
corrective proposals, whether for State or County prisons, was unsubstantial. As previously indicated, there seemed little need for substantive development and support because of her relationship with the membership of the Alabama WCTU, and because of her indefatigable pursuit of the duties of her superintendency. The members of the WCTU knew that she was a sincere Christian interested in promoting the welfare of the less fortunate members of society. Because of this they accepted her proposals regardless of the weakness of their development and support.

Tutwiler's purpose in her speeches to the National Educational Association, 1890, and the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies, 1893, was to inform. Recalling that Gray and Braden said "a speaker gains understanding by correcting misinformation, increasing insight, presenting new facts, or sharpening the critical powers of observation and discrimination" and that retention was gained by making what is said "vivid and impressive," Tutwiler's informative speeches seemed to have succeeded in achieving the objectives of understanding and retention.

In "Our Brothers in Stripes, In the School-Room," she assumed that many of her auditors had received their impression of the lease system from reading the New York World. She said:

Those of my audience who have read the late descriptions in the New York World... will be filled with horror when I confess that the lease system prevails in Alabama also... This system has been aptly described as having all the evils of slavery without one of its ameliorating features... The letters from Georgia picture a condition of things unworthy of any people claiming to be civilized; and such was the condition in Alabama at one time, but... not now.

Thus, her first major point of development, to "explain how a system so odious... ever became a part of our State machinery,"
was employed to correct misinformation and to increase insight into contemporary conditions in Alabama. She explained the social and economic reasons for the rise of the lease system and condemned the early decades as "a dark chapter in the history of Alabama: its leaves are stained with blood and tears." She was not content, however, to leave her auditors with this impression. Therefore she explained that "the early years of this decade saw the dawn of a better day. State inspectors were appointed. . . and rigid rules were adopted as to the manner in which the contractors should clothe, feed and punish the prisoners. A great improvement was soon to be effected in the physical condition of the convicts."

Tutwiler's second major point of development, an explanation of the origin of prison night schools, presented new facts and sharpened critical powers of discrimination by (1) vividly describing her reaction to her first visit to the Pratt Mines, (2) explaining how she associated herself with the WCTU, and (3) illustrating how she overcame legislative hesitancy to secure passage of the amendment establishing night schools. In illustrating how she secured passage of the amendment, she used the same materials she had employed in her 1887 report to the WCTU, but in greater detail.

Tutwiler's narrative ability was an important asset. In "Our Brothers in Stripes", she effectively used it to provide insight into the mental ability of the prisoner-students. She said:

I do not know whether you will think the story too trifling if I illustrate "our brother in stripes" as a pupil by describing an object lesson that I watched last summer. I had a bright young man. . . employed as a prison teacher. . . . He had attended the School of Pedagogy at Chautauqua, and was brimful of the "New Education". . . . The development of thought by the Socratic method was his theme, and he promised to give me a specimen of it in the form of an object lesson. . . .
When we were seated in the school-room. . . my young missionary. . . drew out his penknife and began after the most approved Quincy method: "Now, my boys, what is this that I hold in my hand?" He elicited the facts that it was a knife—a penknife; that there were many kinds of knives. . . . So far, so good. "But why do we call this one a penknife; who can tell me? Ah! that boy has his hand up. Well, my boy, why is this called a penknife?" "'Cause you cuts your nails wid it!" called out the hopeful young brother in stripes. The demonstrator of thought-development by the Socratic method glanced rather nervously towards me, but saw only the greatest gravity and deep respect for modern pedagogic methods. So he took heart and began again. This is a penknife; now why, why a pen knife? Ah! there is a raised hand. I see by that boy's eye that he has thought out the right answer! Now, my boy, tell the class why this called a penknife." "'Cause you picks your teef wid it!" shouted the pleased disciple of the modern Socrates. So that object lesson came to grief—the methods were all right, but the material all wrong. Excuse the apparent levity of this story. I want to give you some idea of the sort of subjects we have to work on.

Even though she apologized for her humor, it no doubt added interest to her narration.

In concluding this speech, Tutwiler applied the testimony of two well known persons, F. W. Wines, the Secretary of the Prison Reform Association, and Dr. William T. Harris, United States Superintendent of Education, as authoritative voices who approved of educating prisoners. She said:

I wish to end this paper with one of his Wines's letters: "Take this thought for your encouragement: Every man who is hopeless as to the possibility of elevating mankind as a race or an individual is deluded by the devil, and plays the part of the devil's agent in so far as he gives expression to this sentiment by word or deed. But the man who works in faith for any of God's lost children is working with God for the accomplishment of a divine purpose, and to doubt that God is stronger than the devil is the worst form of infidelity.

Take this, also, which was suggested to me by Dr. Wm. T. Harris who said to me one day: "Those who have the missionary spirit in some one of its many diversified forms—they only constitute the invisible church."

The testimony of these prominent men and Tutwiler's closing remark were intended to aid in the retention of her materials in that they
each included a strong reference to the Christian aspect of working with the unfortunate. Tutwiler said: "We must have the same love and pity for those who oppose us in our efforts to bless mankind, as for the ignorant and degraded creatures whom we are trying to help."

In her report to the Historical Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies, most of the information Tutwiler shared with her listeners was in the form of new facts meant to increase insight into the system of charities and corrections in Alabama. Tutwiler added vividness and impressiveness with the use of personification and metaphor and by censuring Alabama for weaknesses in her care of the less fortunate. She personified the State as "Sister Alabama" and had her speak in the first person narrative throughout the report. Her metaphors included orphans who were "nestlings without nests" and the mute and the blind who were "children of Silence and Darkness." Her censure of Alabama's system of charities and corrections abounds throughout the report. For instance:

But in all of my more than 50,000 square miles I have not a single Home for the Feebleminded...
I've also no place of shelter and training for my Epileptic Children...
"For shame, for shame, Sister Alabama: Amend your ways in this respect."

Tutwiler's descriptive style probably furthered audience retention especially when its emotional content added vividness to her remarks. An example was her description of the insane not under the protective care of the asylum at Tuscaloosa. She said:

Horrible accounts have come to me of the conditions of these... one man nailed up in a room, his food thrown to him through a hole in the wall, his bed a pile of rags,
abode a sty of filthiness unspeakable—a woman chained in
an out-house, fed like a beast—naked and frenzied—no warmth
in the coldest days in winter—these are some of the tales
that have reached my ears since I was sorrowfully compelled
to refuse to receive chronic cases.

"Oh, Sister Alabama, Sister Alabama! don't show your
face at our class meeting again until you have built a home
for these chronic cases."

Another example was her description of the effect of incarceration
in the county jails as follows:

The best jails—our model jails—are iron cages enclosed
in brick buildings. There in a cell, through winter's pierc­
ing cold and summer's burning heat, these men... sit or
rather crouch, like beasts in their lair, for usually no
seats are provided. Nothing to do! Nothing to see! Nothing
to hear! Nothing to think of but your wretchedness!

She continued by contrasting such treatment with hanging. This con­
trast very likely acted to further enhance the vividness and impres­
siveness of her description. She said:

... Some one has said that the worst use to which
you can put a man is to hang him. Now, I take issue with
that statement; hanging is certainly a bad use to make of
a man, but hardly the worst. His body goes back to Him who
made it... But the man who lies in a county jail, his
body foul with dirt and bloated with disease induced by lack
of exercise, fresh air and healthful food—his soul growing
more brutalized day by day—how could you put a human being
to a worse use than this?

It would seem her audience had little difficulty creating mental
pictures of the conditions Tutwiler described—pictures which, for
the most part, fashioned negative images and helped retention.

Not all of this report was condemnatory. Indeed, her descrip­
tion of the Insane Hospital at Tuscaloosa including Dr. Peter Bryce's
work was laudatory. She also praised the denominationally run or­
phan homes. Beyond these institutions, though, she found little
that was commendable in Alabama's system of charities, corrections
and philanthropies.
Although Tutwiler's speeches to the National Educational Association and the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropies were not meant to persuade her auditors to join in her efforts to humanize Alabama's penal system, they were probably important in her scheme of social reform as they afforded her the opportunity to inform non-Alabamians of her state's method of handling its charities and corrections. Consequently, these speeches were filled with descriptive and narrative illustrations employed to correct misinformation, increase insight, present new facts and sharpen critical powers of observation and discrimination. She used language that was simple, but often emotional to add vividness and impressiveness to her presentation. It seemed, then, that Tutwiler's informative speeches succeeded in achieving the objectives of understanding and retention.

Just as she did in her educational speeches, Tutwiler relied more upon ethical-emotional proofs than upon logical ones to develop and support her recommendations for humanizing Alabama's penal system. Further, she most often amplified rather than proved her contentions, especially when her goal was to stimulate. She relied heavily upon her authority to carry weight with her auditors as the abundant use of personal examples and illustrations evidenced. This was true too concerning the kinds of materials employed in her informative speeches. Finally, her application of Christian concepts in both her reports to the Alabama WCTU and her speeches to the NEA and the International Congress of Charities, Corrections and Philanthropies manifested her reliance upon God and Christianity as a means of magnifying what she said. Such reliance was, no doubt,
effective with the Christian membership of the Alabama WCTU. She believed in her causes and promoted them for the betterment of society. As a result, the development and support of her arguments and ideas in her prison speeches seemed sufficient for her audience.
Chapter VI

MISS TUTWILER'S SPEECH PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

A critical analysis of the factors related to speech preparation and of the vocal and physical components of delivery may add dimension to a study of a speaker and her speeches. Such an analysis, if it deals with a person prominent before the advent of modern recording and filming equipment can be difficult. In such a case, only sketchy evidence, much of it hearsay, can be utilized for evaluation. Such was the case with Julia Tutwiler.

SPEECH PREPARATION

Thonssen, Baird, and Braden said:

In his attempt to penetrate the power of a speaker, the critic should investigate the specific methods of preparation, pursuing such queries as the following: (1) How does the speaker collect materials for a given speech? (2) What steps does he follow in digesting and analyzing the problem? (3) What steps does he take in preparing the speech manuscript? (4) Does the speaker seek assistance from others in his speech preparation. (5) Does the speaker weaken or destroy his integrity through the use of speech writers and research assistants? (6) What effort does he make to check the accuracy of the facts and the soundness of the analysis? (7) Through the process of invention, does the speaker reveal himself to be a creative artist worth of emulation?  

It was evident, even from a cursory examination, that Tutwiler's speech materials were collected from her educational training, personal experiences, and her astute observation of contemporary society. Her years spent in Germany, particularly as a student at the Diakonessen Anstalt where she observed the training methods of the

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Deaconesses of Kaiserwerth, as well as her observations of the Ecoles Professionales of Paris provided both the analysis and the materials for "The Technical Education of Women" and "A Year in a German Model School." Her knowledge of coeducation in ancient and modern nations along with her personal observations of coeducation in the United States, particularly in the South, furnished the materials for "Co-education and Character." It was her insight into prevailing traditions that shaped her analysis of the latter speech. Moreover, her role as an educator was reflected in the analysis and the materials employed in both "Individualization by Grouping" and "Is Self Support Possible for Girls During the Years of Secondary Education?"

Likewise, her speeches on prison reform illustrated her experiences in working, traveling, and lobbying to improve penal conditions in Alabama. Thus, her knowledge of the prison system and her work with and for the convicts supplied the analyses and materials for Tutwiler's reports to the Alabama WCTU as well as for "Our Brothers in Stripes, In the School-room" and "Sister Alabama's Testimony in the Big Class-Meeting at Chicago." Tutwiler simply related what she knew and saw to the social concerns of her day. Therefore, there can be little doubt concerning the sources of her speech materials and analyses.

Evidence suggested that her speeches were written out. They were, after all, reports prepared for various annual conventions and conferences. Henry Lee Hargrove said, "her pen was always ready to bring before the people of her state and the entire
country. . . social wrongs and to plead effectively for remedies."2 That she was in the habit of transcribing her thoughts was reflected in several ways. While in Chicago, as Alabama's representative to the International Prison Congress, 1912, she carefully composed ideas relevant to the penal system of Alabama in a series of articles entitled "Leaves From My Notebook."3 She also wrote many articles for magazines and newspapers such as "A Concrete Example."4 More specifically, the following facts indicated that Tutwiler probably wrote her speeches: (1) her first public paper was read by the State Superintendent of Education,5 (2) her paper on "Co-education and Character" was read by her brother-in-law, Captain James A. Wright,6 and, (3) several of her reports to the Alabama WCTU were read by the secretary of the association.7 Finally, the fact that all of the speeches analyzed in this study were published suggested that Tutwiler prepared manuscripts for them.

Since her speeches resulted from her education and her experiences and observations, it can be concluded that they contained Tutwiler's thoughts. As a consequence, her integrity was not destroyed or weakened by reliance upon others. Further, because

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3. See the Tutwiler Papers, University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa.
4. Ibid.
7. Her 1886, 1889, and 1900 reports were read by the secretary.
other individuals and groups took her ideas and brought them to fruition, she was worthy of emulation.

Because her speeches were published, their textual authenticity must be considered. No evidence was found which indicated that Tutwiler edited her reports for publication. There are no handwritten or personally type-written copies of her speeches among the collections of her materials at the University of Alabama or the Department of Archives and History, nor were there any notes among her papers that implied a habit of editing her speeches. Perhaps the publishers of the minutes and proceedings of the various conventions to which she spoke revised her remarks for publication as this was not an unusual practice. Her speeches as published, however, were complete texts. As such, they seemed reliably to index her "attitudes, thought processes, ability to reach rational decisions" and her "oratorical skills." Consequently the authenticity of her texts may be assumed.

DELIVERY

Thonssen, Baird, and Braden said, "we must equate delivery with the total rhetorical process, assessing its value in the light of the support it gives to an orator's effort to elicit responses from an audience." 

Cautioning that the critic must carefully qualify his analysis

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8. Mrs. R. D. Johnston and the Federation of Women's Club are credited with the establishment of the Boy's Industrial School and Senator Sol D. Bloch was the author of the legislation which created the Alabama Girls Industrial and Training School.


10. Ibid., p. 520.
of the delivery of a speaker who was prominent before 1920 because he can do little more than parrot what others have said, Thonssen, Baird, and Braden then posited the following critic's view:

Eager to see the speaker in full dimension, the critic must consider at least four elements: (1) the mode of delivery, (2) general appearance, (3) bodily action, and (4) voice, including articulation and pronunciation. The key concern of the critic must center around what these four attributes added to the meaning and acceptability of the message, how they served as causal factors in gaining attention, holding interest, and in stirring the speaker's desired response, and what part they played in the emerging image of the speaker. 11

In light of this view, any analysis of Tutwiler's delivery and the part it played in her success as a speaker can only be theorized.

Mode of Delivery. According to the Montgomery Advertiser, Tutwiler "needed no textbook to discourse on philosophy, science, botany, literature, mathematics, astronomy, and the Bible." 12 Further, Mrs. Hugh Wilburn said: "Why, she always conducted the chapel service. She could pick up a weed on the way to chapel and tell us all about its botanical class and its parts. She could talk for an hour and never repeat herself." 13 Her nieces, Agnes and Rosalie Tutwiler, stated that she always lectured extemporaneously. 14 When she spoke publicly, however, she probably read from her prepared


14 Personal interview with the Misses Agnes and Rosalie Tutwiler, Greensboro, Alabama, October 3, 1972.
manuscript because of a desire to be exact in what she said. There remains the possibility that she may have appeared to extemporize at times because so much of the content of her speeches dealt with her personal experiences. She might even have memorized parts or all of her speeches as she was reputed to have a "quick" and "re­tentive" memory. Hargrove said, "she had an unusual power of concentration; her cultivated mind was a rich storehouse of knowledge." Wilburn added, "Miss Julia could read a page, then close the book and recite it word for word." Her biographers suggested that she had a quick memory even as a young girl.

General Appearance. A photograph of Tutwiler, taken while she was teaching at Livingston, shows her as a large, portly woman. She was said to be about 5'7" or 5'8" tall. Physically, "she was a handsome and commanding figure" according to Mrs. George Kerr Little. Former students and associates were quick to point out such specific physical characteristics as her "blue eyes, always smiling," "expressive face," "dark brown hair, turning gray," and "erect posture." Of the latter, Mrs. Susie Sledge Moon said, "she always carried herself like a royal personage" and Wilburn remarked that "she never forgot her posture." Miss Geneva Mercer called attention to Tutwiler's "tiny hands and feet" and said, "Miss Julia walked very lightly with a kind of 'trip-trip'."

18. All remarks in this paragraph were taken from personal interviews.
Most of the stories related to Tutwiler's general regard of clothing, however, were negative. For instance:

... she sorely tried her young charges by her indifference to dress. For one trip she had a new waist and skirt especially made. When the party arrived at Chattanooga some function was to be attended and the girls decided that Miss Julia must wear her new frock. To their dismay they found the carefully packed waist but no skirt. They telegraphed to Livingston to have the skirt sent on and arrived at their next stop only to find that the waist, laid away by Miss Julia, had been left in the dresser of their hotel in Chattanooga.19

Powell said, "her hat would probably be awry on her head and her dress or "basque" would be crooked or backward."20 Wilburn noted that Tutwiler was in the habit of wearing straw bonnets with grosgrain ribbons which she "always left on trains," while Octavia J. Wynn indicated that the bonnet was often lost in the folds of her black skirt.21 Little wrote:

Some of the faculty, or one of her many nieces, would see that she was hooked up correctly and that her hair was well arranged. She was not unmindful of the desirability of being neatly dressed, but she just had too much on her mind to take time for it.22

Her favorite apparel was a white shirt-blouse and a long black skirt. Often the blouse would become untucked along her waistline

with Wilburn, and with Mrs. Susie Sledge Moon, Livingston, Alabama, as well as with Miss Geneva Mercer, Demopolis, Alabama, May 2, 1974.


21.An interview with Octavia S. Wynn, Selma, Alabama, by Archie C. Clark. Mr. Clark was Vice-president in Charge of Public Affairs for Livingston University and made a series of taped interview with former Tutwiler students. The tapes were kindly made available to the author.

22.Little, letter to Pannell.
and, according to Mercer, "she had rheumatism, and it was hard for her to tuck the shirt back into the skirt when it pulled loose. Perhaps this was one reason why many people felt she was careless in her dress."\(^{23}\)

Although she did not prefer to dress in the most popular contemporary style, her nieces and Little indicated that she had dresses made, usually in Louisville, for special occasions. Perhaps she wore these special dresses to conventions, but she was wont to leave them hanging in her closet in Livingston.\(^{24}\) Regardless of her appearance, she commanded respect. Bennet said:

> Visitors from other States looked with curiosity at the busy white-haired woman. . . . clad in faded, black skirt, coat of obsolete fashion and a bonnet slipped backwards and sidewise. Evidently this shabby little woman was a person of influence, for senators and officials stopped respectfully when she addressed them and listened to her earnest words.\(^{25}\)

**Bodily Action in Speaking.** When former students were asked if they had ever seen Tutwiler speak in public, all of them said "no." They did, however, comment upon her bodily movement, or rather the absence of it, during her lectures. Moon, Wilburn, and Mercer made such statements as: "She always stood at the podium, erect and forward"; "She pointed at pictures that hung on the wall while she was illustrating them, but used very few gestures"; "I cannot remember that she ever walked about on the platform"; and "I remember that she

\(^{23}\) Mercer interview, May 2, 1974.

\(^{24}\) Gessner T. McCorvey. An address delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the marker designating the tombs of Henry and Julia Tutwiler, Havana, Alabama, September 26, 1940.

\(^{25}\) Bennett, *American Women*, pp.185-86.
leaned forward on the podium when she wanted to stress something important." In addition the Birmingham Age-Herald noted that she displayed and pointed to a map of Alabama showing the prohibition counties. If Tutwiler's use of physical action while speaking in public was similar to that used in the classroom, it can be assumed that she employed only limited bodily action when delivering her speeches. At most, she probably leaned energetically over the podium or pointed to an object when she wished to emphasize something.

**Voice.** Comments relative to Tutwiler's voice are much more frequent than those associated with her gestures and posture. For instance: "Her sweet voice was well modulated; her diction choice; vocabulary of wide range; conversation interesting and full of fine thought, yet never stilted or pedantic; moreover, she had a sense of humor." Others concurred in this assessment. Moon said, "it was a clear voice" and "it carried well." Wilburn described Tutwiler's voice as one that was "quiet, sweet, emphatic," and said, "it was not too loud but it could easily be heard as she enunciated very clearly." Mercer's description paralleled that of Wilburn's and, she added, "she had the most expressive voice I ever heard, especially when reading parables from the Bible." Tutwiler's biographers stated that "many of her contemporaries were particularly...

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26 Wilburn interview, May 2, 1974.
27 Birmingham Age-Herald, December 6, 1894.
struck by her soft and well-modulated voice.”

Several remarks attributed to Tutwiler regarding pronunciation, vocal quality, and delivery, were of import. Powell said: "She would often tell us that: "It was a sign of good breeding to have flexible lips and enunciate distinctly, never to let the voice in speaking be throaty or gutteral." Her nieces, Rosalie and Agnes, said:

Aunt Jule would become quite upset with us because we didn't use the broad "ah" sound. She would say, "My dears! My dears! You should say [kaɪ] not [kæ] and [ʌdəs] not [ʌdəs].”

In addition, Tutwiler once observed the British Parliament in debate and concluded "that the members of the House of Commons were too halting and jerky in their style of oratory and method of presenting material.”

Based upon this scanty evidence, a tentative assessment of Tutwiler's delivery can be posited. She was a southern gentlewoman, an educator, with a voice that was pleasant and expressive, that could easily be heard, and that was clear and distinct in pronunciation. She deplored jerky and halting delivery. She was aware of effective vocal attributes. Despite the softness of her voice, she could apparently command listener attention. Although she was not in the habit of using much bodily movement, her pleasant manner, posture, and expressive face and eyes probably enhanced

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32. Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler interviews, October 3, 1972.
her command of the speech situation. Her bonnet may have been askew and her blouse and skirt plain and unbecoming. Since she spoke, however, from deep conviction concerning educational opportunities for women and prison affairs, she plausibly spoke energetically, enthusiastically, and authoratively in an attempt to gain listener attention and response. In the words of a former student, "she is a great big woman, the biggest the State has ever known." That remark was not intended to refer to Tutwiler's physical stature, but to her reputation as a person whose ability to affect the disposition of contemporary affairs was, in part, dependent upon the vocal and physical presentation of her ideas. In any event she was, according to the Birmingham Age-Herald, "a capital talker."

34 Bennett, American Women, p. 183.

35 Birmingham Age-Herald, April 30, 1891.
Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

Julia Strudwick Tutwiler affected the disposition of social issues in Alabama during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, most notably in education for women and prison reform. While she did not rely solely upon her speaking to achieve her goals, she utilized public speaking initially to awaken the public conscience to her needs. The ideas she expressed contributed to the common good. As such, they influenced subsequent events both during and after her lifetime.

Her ideas concerning technical education for women bore fruit in the establishment of the Alabama Girls' Industrial School. While the legislation creating that school was not a direct result of Tutwiler's ideas¹ her initial presentation and continued agitation for technical education kept the concept before the Alabama Legislature and public.

Her ideas on coeducation bore fruit in the decision to admit women to the University of Alabama, albeit on a limited basis, in 1893. Again, that decision resulted directly from Tutwiler's pleas to the University's Board of Trustees² and not from her speech. Nonetheless, that speech helped to assuage negative attitudes concerning coeducation.

¹ Senator Solomon Daniel Bloch introduced the bill which resulted in the school and stated that he knew nothing of Tutwiler's ideas. See: Techna. XIV, 1921, 102.
² Sellers, History of the University of Alabama, 477.
Her ideas on prison reform, as set forth in her reports to the Alabama WCTU, bore fruit in the establishment of prison night schools, a reformatory for youths of both races\(^3\), and the creation of a woman's prison. According to the Birmingham News, "a paper she had written attacking the lease of prisoners... was read in the successful campaign of the 1920's that stamped out this blot on Alabama's penal history."\(^4\)

Tutwiler's speeches are not examples of outstanding speaking. Indeed, as examined, they often exemplified weak rhetorical craftsmanship. Her rambling style made her organization difficult to follow. She often included materials unrelated to the idea under discussion, and her application of logical proof in support of her arguments was, at best, minimal. In light of these conclusions, what was her importance as a speaker? That importance lies not so much in how she crafted her ideas as it does in why she stated them.

Society, as Tutwiler observed it, was harming itself in its approach to the education of women and its treatment of prisoners. She saw thousands of women who wished to and who could effectively contribute to society's good, given the opportunity. Because of her own education and knowledge of European methods of technical training, she knew how society might best alter its attitudes toward female education and, in so doing, better itself. Likewise, she observed that society was harming itself in its methods of

\(^3\) A reformatory for colored youths as well as one for young girls was established at Mt. Miegs in 1913.

handling prisoners. Specifically, the absence of any attempt to rehabilitate prisoners—to return them to society as useful citizens—resulted in much recidivism. She felt that a more humane approach to prisoner treatment would produce rehabilitated individuals; thus society would benefit. In other words, she reacted strongly to the wasted use of human resources and the neglect of humanity. In her speeches she offered practical curatives for these ills. However, it was not so much her concern with society as her concern with the individual that caused her to speak.

Tutwiler's home-life, her education, and, above all, her strong religious conviction merged to create a woman with a deep compassion for the less fortunate. Her own description of her reaction to the plight of prisoners on her initial visit to the Pratt Mines attested to that compassion. She said:

I shall never forget that visit; it made an epoch in my life; I had found my vocation; I had seen my 'brother in stripes'. He had now nothing to complain of in regard to his physical condition; he was comfortably clothed, fed, and sheltered, and the senseless cruelties of a former day had been forbidden. But oh! the depth of dull, hopeless misery in the eyes that met mine—the more pitiable because it neither asked nor expected pity, but accepted its forlorn state as the inevitable. That look—the look of the man-forsaken, God-forgotten—went to my soul.5

Her compassion was evident to others. Frank Hargrove said of his former teacher:

... Hers was a great tender heart, filled with sympathy for those who were distressed, poor, ignorant, erring, wayward, or suffering. ... She possessed gentle Christian courtesy, charity, sincerity, hospitality, and faithfulness. ... 6

5. Tutwiler, "Our Brothers in Stripes."
6. Hargrove, "Julia Tutwiler."
And the body that often neglected her pleas paid tribute to her compassion on September 10, 1915. In a joint resolution the Legislature, in part, said:

A Great Teacher: You teach a love of learning both for its beauties and the power it adds to give help to others. By precept and example, you inculcate tolerance. . . . You have immolated self on the Altar of Sacrifice, giving up the pleasures of home and family to become a mother to the widow and the orphan. A friend to humanity, you champion the cause of the lowly, the unhappy, the oppressed.

Tutwiler's compassion, then, compelled her to speak out against maltreatment of the less fortunate. As a disciple of God, it seemed, she could do no less. She did not seek praise. On the contrary, her self-abnegation was evident in her desire to help others. She was an excellent example of a good woman speaking well.

The honors accorded Tutwiler during her lifetime and following her death at the Davis Infirmary, Birmingham, March 24, 1916, are well documented by her biographers, and the many articles and speeches regarding her. Her impress on the state of Alabama is evidenced by the many edifices bearing her name and by her inclusion among the first group to be elected to Alabama's Hall of Fame. One structure that bears her name is the bridge that spans the Tombigbee River at Gainesville, Alabama. The Birmingham News said of that bridge: "To us. . . it is a bridge across the Tombigbee River. . . which most symbolized Julia Tutwiler's life--a life dedicated to bridging ignorance, bridging poverty, bridging man's inhumanity to man." That tribute summarized Tutwiler the person and speaker quite effectively.

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Tutwiler did not live to see all that she envisioned become reality. Shortly before her death, she said: "I am going to keep writing articles about this system [lease], about the need for night schools, about the unsanitary conditions in prisons and county jails, about the disgraceful treatment of women prisoners, especially colored women." When she spoke those words, her beloved night schools had fallen victim to legislative whims, and women prisoners were being crowded into the old prison at Wetumpka. She could not foresee that enlightened penologists would provide libraries and schoolrooms and place greater emphasis on prisoner education, nor could she foresee that, in 1941, the state would complete construction of a new women's prison, staff it with trained female professionals, and name it the Julia Tutwiler Prison. That she anticipated these and other trends and advocated their need spoke well for her.

Julia Strudwick Tutwiler was dedicated to her causes and through her speeches prepared Alabamians to accept needed changes in the social order and make possible the later accomplishment of her purposes. In keeping with her personality, this soft-spoken, genteel, Christian woman disclaimed credit for her achievements. She certainly did not wish to be credited for accomplishments due to another as this hitherto unpublished letter attests.

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Hon. Sol. Bloch,
Camden, Alabama.

Dear Mr. Bloch:

I have just received a copy of Mr. Dubose's History of Alabama, and have written to him to express my distress that he has stated that the establishment of the Girls' Industrial School at Montevallo was due to me. I have written to him, as I have before to others, stating that to you belongs the credit of that boon to the women of Alabama. He is having plates prepared for a second edition, and I have written to him that I will gladly take upon myself the expense of this correction, and the cost of having an engraving made from one of your photos for the new edition.

I know that you did not carry through this measure for the sake of obtaining personal honor; still it must be very annoying to you to have your work attributed to another. I shall do all in my power to remedy this great injustice.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

Julia S. Tutwiler.

Tutwiler spoke for the less fortunate of her state in order to contribute to society's good. The need, the conditions, and the speaker were joined in Alabama in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As a result, the women and the prisoners of Alabama realized benefits that otherwise would have been longer in coming to fruition.

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10. This letter was discovered in some old papers dealing with Mr. Bloch. These papers are now housed in the archives of the Carmichael Library, University of Montevallo.
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**Interviews**

——. Personal interview with the Misses Rosalie and Agnes Tutwiler, Greensboro, Alabama. October 3, 1972.

——. Personal interview with Mrs. Susie Sledge Moon, Livingston, Alabama. May 2, 1974.


VITA

Robert Raymond Kunkel was born December 26, 1927, in Collinsville, Illinois. He graduated from Collinsville Township High School in June, 1945. He was honorably discharged from the United States Army in November, 1948. He attended Illinois College, Jacksonville, graduating with a B. A. Degree in Speech in June, 1952. He attended the University of Wisconsin, Madison, serving as a Graduate Theatre Assistant, graduating with an M. S. Degree in Speech and Theatre, June, 1956.

He has held the following teaching positions: Postville High School, Postville, Iowa, 1954-1956; Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola, Florida, 1956-1957; Instructor of Speech, Furman University, 1957-1959; Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of Speech, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1959-1961 and again in 1974; Instructor of Speech, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, 1961-1965; Assistant Professor of Speech, Kearney State College, Kearney, Nebraska, 1965-1971; and, Associate Professor of Speech, University of Montevallo, Montevallo, Alabama, 1971 ——.

He is married to the former Jean Louise Schalekamp of Cherokee, Iowa. He is the father of three daughters.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Robert Raymond Kunkel

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Analysis of Julia Strudwick Tutwiler's Reform Speeches: 1880-1900

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature]

Date of Examination:
July 19, 1978