PIONEERING ANIMAL JUSTICE: EMAREL FRESHEL AND THE MILLENNIUM GUILD (1865-1948)*

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Abstract

In the first half of twentieth-century North America, Emarel Freshel founded and directed the Millennium Guild, an organization which embraced opposition to every single form of cruelty to animals: a strong stance against vivisection for moral reasons, rejection of the promotion of humane slaughtering of animals as a way to prevent cruelty, vegetarianism as the only consistent way to defend animals, and opposition to zoos, to furs, to the use of animals in films, or any other form of animal exploitation, be it financial or to satisfy our desires and whims. Although she is best known for her vegetarian recipe book *The Golden Rule Cookbook. 600 recipes for meatless dishes* published in 1907 as Maude Russell Lorraine Sharpe, where she advanced the position regarding vegetarianism that she would later advocate, her defense of animals covered every aspect of cruelty. Emarel Freshel's defense of justice for animals paved the way for future abolitionists.

Keywords: Emarel Freshel, Maude Russell Lorraine Sharpe, Millennium Guild, Antivivisection, Women and Animal Protection, Vegetarianism, Alternatives to Furs

PIONERA DE LA JUSTICIA ANIMAL:
EMAREL FRESHEL Y EL MILLENNIUM GUILD (1865-1948)

Resumen

En la Norteamérica de la primera mitad del siglo xx, Emarel Freshel fundó y dirigió el Millennium Guild, una organización que se opuso a todas las formas de crueldad contra los animales: oposición total a la vivisección por razones morales, rechazo al sacrificio humanitario de animales como manera de prevenir la crueldad, defensa del vegetarianismo como única manera coherente de defender a los animales y oposición a los zoos, a las pieles, al empleo de animales en el cine y a cualquier otra forma de explotación animal, fuera esta económica o para satisfacer nuestros deseos y caprichos. Aunque se la conoce principalmente por el libro de recetas *The Golden Rule Cookbook. 600 recipes for meatless dishes*, que publicó en 1907 con el nombre Maud Russell Lorraine Sharpe, en el que adelantó la postura sobre el vegetarianismo que posteriormente defendería, su defensa de los animales abarcó todos los aspectos de la crueldad hacia los animales. La defensa de la justicia para los animales que hizo Emarel despejó el camino para las abolicionistas del futuro.

Palabras clave: Emarel Freshel, Maude Russell Lorraine Sharpe, Millennium Guild, antivivisección, mujeres y protección animal, vegetarianismo, alternativas a las pieles.

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1. INTRODUCTION

> They say that when the tide is coming in, it pauses always and remains stationary between every seventh wave, waiting for the next, and unable to rise any higher till it comes to carry it on…The seventh waves of humanity are men and women who, by the impulse of some action which comes naturally to them but which is new to the race, gather strength to come up to the last halting place of the tide and to carry it on with them ever so far beyond. (Sarah Grand quoted in Freshel 1933, 6)

Women who defended animals in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries have been homogenized as wealthy antivivisectionist ladies who only cared about dogs and horses while wearing feathers and eating meat. Although this is true for some cases, there were women pioneers who did oppose every form of cruelty. In her 1887 article "Le Droit des Animaux", French vegetarian and antivivisectionist Marie Huot regretted that the law treated animals as objects and properties and not as individuals or sentient beings (Huot 1887, 47); in England, Anna Kingsford, decided to study medicine in Paris to prove that women could become doctors, that the study of medicine was possible without performing any vivisection, and to defend vegetarianism from a scientific point of view with her thesis *L'Alimentation Végétale de l'Homme* (1880), published in English as *The Perfect Way in Diet* a year later.

The general lack of information on women's activism and ideas about animal protection and even on their take on animal justice has led current activists to ignore what these women pioneers did and to think that women did not take leading roles defending animals. However, there are some noteworthy examples that contradict the argument that women were always subjected to men's directions and decisions. Emarel Freshel and her Millennium Guild is one of them. She founded, directed and managed her own organization against every form of cruelty, even against humane slaughter, and required its members to act accordingly and not consent or participate in any form of cruelty to animals.

2. ANTIVIVISECTION, WOMEN AND ANIMAL PROTECTION SOCIETIES

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the birth of the antivivisection movement in England. In 1874, Irish philosopher and writer Frances Power Cobbe published two antivivisection pamphlets: *Need of a Bill* and *Reasons for Interference* (Victoria Street Society 1891, 1) demanding regulation of vivisection, a position she initially held but changed after the *Cruelty to Animals Act* of 1875, which regulated the practice in England. This regulation of experiments on animals had only led to consolidating and exponentially increasing the number of experiments performed

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* To our beloved dog Perry, who used to sit by my side while I wrote.

(French, [1975] 2019, 392). From the beginning, antivivisection was a gendered fight, with women holding the strongest opposition against experiments on animals for moral and scientific reasons. Many men joined its ranks: George Bernard Shaw, Alfred Russell Wallace, John Ruskin, Henry S. Salt or Tomas Hardy, although women were a majority in the movement.

Women who were members of traditional animal protection societies during the last quarter of the nineteenth century disagreed with the positions these societies took on vivisection. There were Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in England: The Royal SPCA; in the United States, the American SPCA; the Massachusetts SPCA and the Pennsylvania SPCA; in France, *La Société Protectrice des Animaux*. These societies were not abolitionists, they were opposed to animal suffering, but not to vivisection itself, although some of their members did oppose vivisection. As a result, women in different countries decided to found their own antivivisection societies to fight for the complete abolition of experiments on animals. In Britain, Frances Power Cobbe founded the Victoria Street Society in 1876 and later, in 1898, the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection. In France, Marie Huot was a member of the *Société Protectrice des Animaux,* but then founded her own *Ligue Populaire contre la Vivisection* in 1883, with Victor Hugo as its honorary president (Demeulanaere-Douyère 2021,3), to take a stronger stand against vivisection. Huot exemplifies that it was not only wealthy women who fought for animals (Traïni 2017,129). Caroline Earle White followed Cobbe's advice (Earle White 1913, 28) to focus all her efforts in fighting vivisectional experiments, and founded the American Antivivisection Society in 1883.

In North America, when Emarel Freshel founded the Millennium Guild in 1912, the different coexistent societies had a fragmented perspective of animal cruelty, and, as such, they focused on certain forms of exploitation. None of them had an abolitionist standpoint of animal defence. Traditional animal protection societies were denouncing cruelty to cattle in transport and teaching children and adults compassion towards animals. This compassion, however, did not always involve giving up meat nor opposing every single form of cruelty; for them, the sentiment of compassion and mercy to animals was compatible with killing them for food, as long as it was in a humane way, or, during experiments, as long as animals were anesthetized. Nevertheless, Emarel Freshel believed there was not one single form of cruelty we could not live without. To her, animal exploitation was perfectly avoidable and she decided to found an organization in accordance with that ideal.

3. EMAREL FRESHEL: PERSONAL LIFE

Emarel Freshel was born Maud Russella Lorraine Carpenter in 1865. Her father, Russell Carpenter was a captain in the Civil War (*Vita,* Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955) and died when she was a teenager. Her mother, Emma L. Bower, remarried (Walcroft 2006) to D. Harry Hammer, a member of the bar of Illinois who became a judge (Flinn 1893, 184). Emarel married Ernest Sharpe but got divorced in 1908. According to her great niece Linda Walcroft, her family was so

ashamed of her being a divorcee that her mother stopped talking to Emarel and reported that her husband had died and Emarel had become a widow (2006). This did not prevent Emarel from marrying again in 1917. As in many other aspects of her life, in marrying Curtis P. Freshel, who happened to be almost twenty years younger than her, Emarel Freshel proved to be a woman of character who did not care for conventionalisms: A free spirit who did not follow the usual path women were expected to take, Freshel did not wait for men to grant her a public space and she was not afraid of speaking in public on behalf of animals.

4. THE MILLENNIUM GUILD (1912)

In 1912, Emarel founded The Millennium Guild at her house in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. The first meeting was attended by twelve people who wanted to serve God by reminding everyone that there is a Universal Kinship that should permeate our lives and actions towards every sentient being (Freshel 1933, 179). The Millennium opposed every single form of animal cruelty, and it was "the first American animal protection society to include vegetarianism as a core principle" (Unti 2015, 188). It required its members to become vegetarians; they had to "prove by their practice" (Millennium Guild, n.d. *The Millennium Guild*), to fulfil the objectives of the group which were:

> to promote by precept and example, a just consideration of the rights of all races, human and subhuman, and to teach that foremost among the unnecessary evils of the world and one which underlies most of the other evils is the mutilation and slaughter of our fellow creatures for food and other selfish ends. (Millennium Guild, n.d. *Millennium Guild*)

Emarel took the name for the Guild from the Bible: Isaiah 11: 6-9, which presents the Millennium as a future reign of Christ where humans and animals alike will live in harmony, not destroying or hurting each other. The singularity of the Millennium Guild was not only that it was founded by a woman and that it opposed every single form of cruelty, but also that she was and remained its president until her death in 1948, and that the members of its council were mainly women, and they were all vegetarians. For instance, in the 40s Editha Button was the Guild's vice-president, writer Ethel Fairmont Beebe was its director, and Blanche E. Clark its secretary (Report of recording secretary 1944, Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Moreover, the Guild's aim was to provide justice to animals through kindness and love. Unlike other protection societies, kindness was not the goal but the means to achieve the Guild's end: justice. Subscribing Emarel's creed that "justice involves love and if we learn to be just, we won't have to talk so much about being merciful" (Freshel 1926b, 154), every Millennium Guild pamphlet had the sentence "If we learn to be just, we don't have to be kind" printed at the top as a reminder.

At first, Emarel organized addresses at her Chestnut Hill home, and, when she moved to New York, the annual meetings of the Guild took place at her Central

Park home, where she also hosted new addresses. In 1920, she invited Robert Logan, President of the American Antivivisection Society to Chestnut Hill to speak on "Man and the Animals" (*The Starry Cross* 1920, 100-105); in 1923 Miss Holbrook gave a talk on "Vegetarianism as an Ideal in Various Religions" (Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Writer J. Howard Moore also spoke at Freshel's home in Massachusetts (Unti 2015, 190). In 1940, for the Annual Meeting of the Guild at her New York home she invited naturist and theosophist Jacques de Marquette to read extracts from his award-winning essay "Vegetarianism and World Peace" (Emarel Freshel, letter to members of the Millennium Guild, 1940, Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). For De Marquette, "peace was not only the absence of war, it also meant establishing harmonious relationships with other individuals, other classes and other nations" (2014, 77-78) this included becoming a vegetarian as the best way to attain world peace (De Marquette 2014, 74). Emarel's string of thought went the same way, for she was a pacifist who believed that cruelty to animals was the basis of war. If one could be cruel to an innocent, defenseless animal, one could easily be cruel to anyone. At the time of De Marquette's reading the world was immersed in World War II.

The Guild published thousands of pamphlets with extracts from texts on animal cruelty by humanitarians like David Lee Wharton, where he advises fellow humanitarians not to apologize before making a remark about animals (Millennium Guild n.d. *Whose Guinea Pig?)*, or Katharine Lee Bates's poem on *The Cost of Furs* (Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Some pamphlets gave advice on practical questions regarding fur or vegetarianism (Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers); others dealt with Christianity and mercy towards animals, stressing the implications of the Christian faith that Millennium members wanted to extend to animals (Millennium Guild, n.d. *Peace on Earth, Good Will to All;* Millennium Guild, n.d. *A True Service*); on humane education, promoting the teaching of kindness to animals in children (Millennium Guild, n.d. *World Peace through Kindness*); on the similarities between meat-eating and vivisection (Millennium Guild, n.d. *Antivivisection and Meat-eating*) and on antivivisection, using explicit descriptions of the violence committed against animals in laboratories (Millennium Guild, n.d. *Whose Guinea Pig?*).

The Millennium Guild was founded under the conviction that "Man is most just to Himself and nearer the possibility of fulfilling a high destiny when he exercises his 'dominion' under the inspiration of the ideal voiced in what Christians name 'The Golden Rule'" (Freshel 1933, 181) or "do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Emarel Freshel believed in God and she believed Christians who ate meat and were cruel to animals acted against God's will. To her, mercy was the foundation of divine love, although she promoted justice and not only mercy, because through classic animal protection societies, kindness and love had been proven inefficient to prevent animal cruelty. To Emarel, justice was the true expression of kindness.

The Golden Rule was mentioned in other humanitarian books such as J. Howard Moore's *Universal Kinship,* where he saw the Golden Rule as the way humanity should behave towards animals (Moore [1906]1992). In his book *Every Living Creature,* Waldo Trine states that "no one can be a Christian man or woman until he applied the Golden Rule to animals as well as humans" (Trine [1900]1917,

63-64). Trine adopted vegetarianism from "the standpoint of love […] to be a better channel of Divine Love to the World" (Trine [1900]1917, 41-42). Many animal activists saw Divine Love as the reason to be kind to animals and to every living being, as the source of all that is good in the world. Emarel and the Millennium Guild members interpreted the Bible in a way that was compassionate to animals (Millennium Guild, n.d. *The Motif of the Bible*).

Emarel Freshel led the fight by precept and example, which was the motto of the Millennium. She did not want to fall into the category of those animal protectionists who told everyone what not to do while they were accomplices of other forms of cruelty. Concentrating on individual changes, Emarel focused on the adoption of vegetarianism as the best way to defend animals. She wanted a paradigm shift in the way humans relate to animals. To this intent, she gave addresses at international animal protection and antivivisection congresses: in Washington, 1913 and Philadelphia, 1926; she published two books: one on vegetarianism, *The Golden Rule Cookbook. 600 recipes for meatless dishes* (1907) and another on antivivisection, *Selections from Three Essays by Richard Wagner with Comment of such Importance to the Moral Progress of Humanity that it Constitutes an Issue in Ethics and Religion* (1933). She based her activism on planting seeds, aware that it is difficult to convince anyone who is not somehow ready or willing to be convinced. Some people were predisposed to being sensitive to animals, others were not. In a pamphlet, she wrote "we cannot Make others believe as we do, NOR SHOULD WE DESIRE TO DO SO, but to give them an opportunity to share our best beliefs is a sacred duty" (Millennium Guild, n.d. *On Influence*).

As the President of the Millennium, Freshel was a very well-known and respected activist for animals, collaborating with other organizations, such as the American Antivivisection Society and the Massachusetts Society for The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which she had been a member of until she founded the Guild, and inviting famous humanitarian women from other organizations of her time to give talks. On October 31st, 1926, Lizzy Lind af Hageby and Nina, Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon, of the Animal Defence and Antivivisection Society (London), another organization founded, presided and managed by women, gave an address for Millennium Guild members titled *Humanitarianism, the World's Greatest Need* (Bureau International Humanitaire Zoophile 1936, 163). Significantly, the Millennium was one of the 1400 animal protection societies represented in a deputation to the League of Nations organized by the Geneva International Humanitarian Bureau of Lind af Hageby and Nina Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon, in order to demand protection of animals in wars, and to include Humanitarian Education, the teaching of children the need for justice and consideration to all fellow creatures, as a way to attain world peace (Bureau International Humanitaire Zoophile 1936, 58).

In 1924 Sydney H. Coleman published a book titled *Humane Society Leaders in America* and, for some inexplicable reason, left Emarel out of it. In a review of the book in *The Starry Cross* magazine, Robert R. Logan noted "Mrs. M.R.L. Freshel, the energetic and able president of the Millenium Guild, the only entirely consistent humane organization, is not mentioned at all" (Logan 1924, 165). During her time,

Figure 1. Emarel Freshel. Courtesy of The George A. Smathers Libraries. U of Florida.

as we have seen, she was a much-respected woman and very well considered by other animal protection and antivivisection societies for her views and activities against animal cruelty. Any account of the history of the Animal Protection Movement in the United States that leaves her out is incomplete.

5. VEGETARIANISM

Emarel Freshel saw vegetarianism as a moral imperative for anyone who wanted justice for animals. She did not regard meat as a necessity and believed that no well-informed person could believe humans need meat to live a healthy life (Millennium Guild, n.d. *As to humane Slaughter*). However, she had not always been a vegetarian. Like many other antivivisectionists, Freshel had not thought about the hypocrisy of opposing one form of cruelty while consenting others. Bernard Unti (2015, 188) and Karen and Michael Iacobbo (2004, 148) have told the story on how Emarel decided to become a vegetarian, a story that can also be found in the Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955. While at the Parliament of Religion in Chicago 1893, as a prominent member of the Christian Science Church, she was impressed

by the Buddhist missionary Anagarika Dharmapala's explanation that "his religion was against preying upon animals in any form" (*Vita,* Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Later, she encountered other notorious vegetarians like Count Leo Tolstoy or George Bernard Shaw, read *Every Living Creature* by Ralph Waldo Trine (*Vita*, n.d., Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955; Iacobbo & Iacobbo, 2004,148), and the need for consistency when fighting against animal cruelty became even clearer. Accordingly, she became a vegetarian for the rest of her life. Every member of Emarel's household was a vegetarian, including her husband Curtis and her dog "Sister" who never ate meat and loved pulses. As a strict vegetarian, Emarel not only refused to eat meat, but she did not use candles made from animal sources, wore leather shoes, or furs (Emarel Sharpe, Letter to the Editors of *The Vegetarian Magazine* 1910, 104). She confessed, however, that, once she became a vegetarian, it took her a year to stop wearing furs (Freshel 1926a, 106).

Later in her life, Emarel told her friend Agnes Ryan that she did not drink milk simply because it was not meant for humans (Emarel Freshel, Letter to Agnes Ryan April 27, 1943, Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Apparently, she had become a vegan before the term was coined:

> I have "with malice aforethought" tried not to preach the abolition of dairy products, from the belief that the best way to do this was to get people to stop flesh eating, and THEN the other would follow as soon as people began to think about it all. Also I did not cut out eggs(not made for food) from the reason that it would interfere with people willing to START by making them think that meat, milk and eggs were TOO much to do at once, and if one gets too far ahead of the crowd they lose sight of us and do not even BEGIN to try to follow. (Emarel Freshel Letter to Agnes Ryan April 27,1943, Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955)

Emarel was aware that there was a very strong campaign on the benefits and advantages of milk, but she was against its consumption (Emarel Freshel, Letter to Agnes Ryan April 27, 1943 Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Her take on vegetarianism was very advanced, since she spoke of the suffering of fish while being gutted alive (Millennium Guild, n.d. *As to Humane Slaughter*). Emarel believed that every living creature loved life and had the will to live, even fish, hence humans had no right to take their lives for any reason.

In fact, she saw meat eating as another form of vivisection, which she called vivisection for food. During the Animal Protection and Antivivisection Congress of 1926, she gave two addresses: "What price Furs?" on October 19th and "Where Duty and Pleasure Meet for Humanitarians" on the 20th (Proceedings of the International Antivivisection and Animal Protection Congress in Philadelphia 1926). Emarel explained how, on previous years, she had been criticized for trying to speak on vegetarianism and the use of furs in antivivisection congresses, whereas for her, those were three forms of vivisection: vivisection for food, vivisection for furs and vivisectional experiments (Freshel 1926b, 150). To illustrate why she called meat eating vivisection for food, Emarel explained that the process of caponizing a Vermont chicken involved tearing out its organs (Freshel 1926b, 154). Emarel

regretted that many humanitarians supported humane ways of slaughter, arguing that the "humane" argument only provided excuses for those who wished to continue wearing furs (from humanely trapped animals), and eating meat (from humanely killed animals) (Freshel 1926b, 151-152). Due to her vegetarian culinary talent, during the Congress she arranged the hotel menus and the final vegetarian banquet.

6. THE GOLDEN RULE COOKBOOK

Emarel Freshel published *The Golden Rule Cookbook* as Maud Russell Lorraine Sharpe in 1907, before founding the Millennium Guild, adding an introduction that is a manifesto against animal cruelty and meat eating. To Freshel, "Thou Shall not Kill" had a very clear meaning, which included animals. She had it carved in her dining-room fireplace (Letter to the editors of *The Vegetarian Magazine* 1910, 104; Cronin 2018, 174), a picture of which is included in the book. Regarding meat consumption, she rejected the argument of humane slaughter of animals — which, as said above, she believed "acted as a conscience-soother for meat eaters" (Millennium Guild, n.d. *As to Humane Slaughter*)— because there is no humane way to kill. She believed animal advocates should be promoting vegetarianism and not alternative ways of killing animals. It was not only the killing that made animals suffer, but the whole process of being raised, cows separated from their calves, being transported in awful conditions, in crammed trains or boats with no food or water, nor space to rest made them suffer, too. Humane slaughtering was nothing compared to the suffering animals underwent during their whole lives. She compared it to anesthetics in vivisection, considering both "humbugs that lull the conscience" (Millennium Guild n.d. *As to Humane Slaughter*).

The Golden Rule Cookbook was not just a recipe book, it aimed at changing the reader's view regarding meat-eating. She aimed at vegetarians and asked them to be consistent and to extend their view and stop contributing to other forms of cruelty (Sharpe 1907). For instance, to her it was incompatible to be a vegetarian while wearing furs or feathers, and, although she openly states her opposition to using meaty names for vegetable dishes (Sharpe 1907, 11; Unti 2015, 190), Emarel includes lots of recipes requiring the use of butter, milk and cheese, as she considered that it would be easier to go step by step than to ask people to give everything up at once (Emarel Freshel, letter to Agnes Ryan, n.d. Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). She also inserted quotes by different humanitarians like Ruskin or her friend Bernard Shaw, and poets like Katherine Tynan Hinkson, on humans' duty to respect animals, or animals as the humblest of God's creatures (Freshel 1907, 43, 195). The book was intended to "remind many of the Love they owe to every living creature" (Sharpe 1907, 5) and indeed, it "made a sensation among non-flesh eaters" (Journal of Zoophily 1909, 6) and was praised as "being unique in its individual way" (*The Vegetarian Magazine* 1910, 108). Due to the book's success, Emarel became famous among humanitarians for her consistency.

7. ANTIVIVISECTION

In the animal protection movement, vivisection has always been a problematic and divisive subject among those animal protectionists who believed in the usefulness of vivisection and aimed only at preventing animal suffering during the experiments, and abolitionists, who believed that the only way to prevent suffering was by banning experiments on animals. Abolitionists believed that legislating a cruel practice crystalizes it, making it socially acceptable by normalizing violence committed against animals so long as it was for scientific purposes. They argued that the suffering of animals does not only occur during experiments: in Emarel's time, animals were sold to laboratories, but many of them were also snatched from their owners or taken from the streets (Freshel 1933, 135, 107; Lind af Hageby & Schartau 1904, 200). They were put in small cages while they waited to be experimented on, not being able to go out, nor receiving any love or caring attention. Then, the experiment could be performed with or without anesthetics. Many experiments required animals to wait with open wounds or illnesses that had been inoculated in them, which meant that they also suffered for a long time after the vivisection was performed on them. Once the experiment was finished, animals could either be destroyed or put through another experiment, just as it happens nowadays. In her opposition to vivisection, Freshel took the abolitionist stand.

As previously stated, Emarel believed vivisection was not only experimenting on animals for scientific purposes, but also slaughtering them for food. Since it was a different manifestation of the same form of violence against animals, the logical conclusion would be to oppose all forms of vivisection and all forms of cruelty and violence to animals. She believed, as many antivivisectionists did, that there could be no morally valid benefit if it came from torturing living helpless beings. If animal cruelty was wrong, it was wrong under any circumstance, no matter its purpose. Animal protection legislation punished those who deliberately hurt animals, unless it was for scientific purposes. Vivisectors argued that their main objective was to reduce the pain in the world, but as antivivisectionist Edward Maitland, who was a very close friend of Anna Kingsford put it, "The friends of science are reduced to the humiliating confession that it can only shift the seat of the suffering that is in the world, not lessen the sum; and that it can only shift it from the stronger to the weaker, and this on the condition of increasing its volume and intensity" (1896, 84).

Vivisectors saw experiments on animals as the only way to advance scientific medical knowledge. They argued that the benefit animal experimentation rendered humans made it morally right: they had to kill animals to save humans. If antivivisectionists did not support vivisection, they were acting against the interest of humanity and against humans; therefore, they were frequently accused of prioritizing animals over humans. Frances Power Cobbe herself wrote that "Many good people suppose me […] to worship Dogs and Cats while ready to consign the human race generally to destruction" (Power Cobbe 1894, 241). This, however, was not the only accusation made against them; "sentimental, hysteric, fanatics" (Lind af Hageby 1904, 18); "lunatics, fools, faddists" (Lind af Hageby 1940, 9); and ignorants in science, were some of the names assigned to animal protectionists. This last accusation

had been leveled against them since the birth of the antivivisection movement, even though there were doctors and other scientists who opposed vivisection on scientific grounds, such as Maurice Beddow Bayly (1887-1961), Albert Leffingwell (1845-1916), and antivivisectionist doctor Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910), the first woman to appear in the British Medical Register in 1859, who advised future women students of medicine not to vivisect animals because it was morally and scientifically wrong to do so (Blackwell 1891,7).

However, in 1909 American doctors took accusations one step further and deemed antivivisectionist women as mentally ill: Charles Dana used the term "zoophilpsycosis" to refer to those who felt an abnormal love towards animals (Beers 2006, 129). He was not the only one: W. Keen M.D. of the American Medical Association wrote a pamphlet in defense of research about *The Harmful Effects of Antivivisection on Character* (1912). The gendered nature of the fight against animal protectionism was still evident in the first half of the twentieth century. Doctors were not used to having their authority questioned, especially not by women, and they feared losing their influence to a group of animal lovers. Imposing science as the only parameter of truth left medicine no room for dissenting groups, whether they were scientists or lay people.

There were some attempts at changing legislation by antivivisectionist groups such as the American Antivivisection Society; most of them failed but a few succeeded, and the Illinois Humane Education law of June 14, 1909, prohibited experimenting and dissecting living animals for demonstration or teaching purposes (Schultz 1924, 304). However, Emarel and the Millennium Guild did not press for legislation changes regarding vivisection or any other form of animal cruelty because she believed in individual daily changes, such as adopting a vegetarian diet and refusing to use any animal products. She argued from a moral standpoint aimed at changing people's opinions using ethical arguments and providing information about experimentation, fur trapping methods and slaughter conditions; she wanted to inspire people, to provide an example so that individuals could see the decisive role they played in animal cruelty.

8. SELECTIONS FROM THREE ESSAYS BY RICHARD WAGNER WITH A COMMENT OF SUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE MORAL PROGRESS OF HUMANITY THAT IT CONSTITUTES AN ISSUE IN ETHICS AND RELIGION (1933)

In 1933 Emarel Freshel published her book *Selections from Three Essays by Richard Wagner with a Comment of Such Importance to the Moral Progress of Humanity that it Constitutes an Issue in Ethics and Religion*, using Wagner's name as camouflage to introduce the controversial issue of antivivisection (Freshel 1946, 2. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers). She had met Cosima Wagner (Iaccobo & Iaccobo 2004, 148) in Bayreuth where she found out that composer Richard Wagner was an antivivisectionist (*Vita*. Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955) and that his essays were in accord with the goals of the Millennium (Freshel 1933, 179). Accordingly, she conceived of the *Selections* as a book to be presented to every society in defence of

animals (Freshel 1933, 181). In the book, Freshel gave arguments against vivisection in three forms: using extracts from Wagner's essays, quoting famous people on antivivisection and animal cruelty, and giving an account of the types of experiments that she had found throughout the years in newspapers and reports. She made a point of the fact that it was not only cranks and lunatics who fought vivisection, but also writers, philosophers, scientists, members of the aristocracy, and even royalty. The experiments were so cruel that she did not even have to exaggerate them, plain facts were eloquent enough for readers to grasp the degree of suffering, cruelty and injustice that experimenters inflicted upon animals. Providing scientific facts against vivisection was a recurrent resource of antivivisectionists: Frances Power Cobbe had done so with her pamphlet *Light in Dark Places* (1883) where she used illustrations from a physiology book to argue against this practice. This type of information helped antivivisectionists shed some light on what animals really went through during experiments. In *The Shambles of Science* Lizzy Lind af Hageby and Leisa K. Schartau used their own experience having witnessed experiments to denounce that animals were awake when experiments were being practiced on them (Lind af Hageby & Schartau 1904).

In *Selections from Three Essays,* Emarel exposed that the benefit of humanity was not the only reason for performing experiments on animals, since they were also being performed to test weapons such as poison gas, which meant that animals were being killed to find effective methods of killing humans. With different extracts from newspapers and quoting Nina Douglas Hamilton, Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon, the book mentions the Porton Chemical Warfare Experimental Station where the poison gas experiments had been performed on animals in England in the 1920's (Freshel 1933, 133). At Porton, 2100 animals had been used in three years, comprising dogs, cats, horses, rabbits and guinea pigs (Millennium Guild, n.d. *A True Service*). Experiments on thousands of animals were also performed to test atomic bombs (Ryder 1983, 60). From the beginning, antivivisectionists believed that if experiments on animals were permitted, it was only a matter of time that experiments would be performed on other living beings considered inferior by experimenters. In fact, the Porton Station was also used to test poison gas on humans; indeed, Indian and British soldiers were subjected to experiments involving poison gasses from 1916 to 1989 (Evans 2007). Whereas vivisectors presented experiments as a matter of choosing between animals or humans, antivivisectionists proved that experiments were being carried out on both (Freshel 1933, 141-143). Obviously, to vivisectors some lives did matter more than others, although it was not as simple a choice as they tried to present it.

Of the many people Emarel sent *Selections* to, there was only one alleged vegetarian who openly criticized it: writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who wrote to Emarel that she felt "the book takes an unfair advantage of those who do not wish to know about antivivisection" (Perkins Gilman quoted at Freshel, letter to Agnes Ryan n.d., Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955). Emarel responded that perhaps Charlotte Perkins Gilman herself, having included her "Cattle Train" poem in a book of poems on pretty things, where it was not expected, had "spoiled the steaks of those who did not want to know about meat" (Freshel, letter to Agnes Ryan n.d., Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955).

9. FURS AND FEATHERS

All members of the Millenium Guild pledged themselves not to use "furs, feathers from slain birds, marabout, kid, leather, tortoise shell and ivory" (Freshel 1926a, 107). Unlike other anti-fur activists, Freshel actually believed that furs were beautiful, but their beauty did not make it right to have animals killed for them (Freshel 1926a, 108). In all her addresses on furs, she provided detailed accounts on the painful deaths fur trapping methods inflicted on animals. Moreover, she argued that some real furs were "cheap in cash but not in suffering" (Freshel letter to Agnes Ryan, February 3, 1945. Agnes Ryan papers, 1904-1955) because she could not understand the killing of animals for pure vanity when there already existed cruelty-free alternatives. However, in Emarel's time, alternatives to furs were difficult to find and people did not know how or where to buy them. Since she believed that women who wore furs did it because they ignored the process to obtain them (Freshel 1926a,106), her activism against furs was aimed at them. She promoted fake furs by making and wearing her own fake fur coats and by writing letters to humanitarian magazines, where she explained women how to make their own fabric coats (Freshel letter to the Starry Cross, February 1921, 29) and how to ask for fur fabrics at the stores (Freshel letter to the Starry Cross, February 1921, 27; Freshel 1926a,110). In addition, she always took examples of fake fur materials made of rayon silk or wood fiber whenever she went to a Congress, to prove that fake furs looked just as elegant and were even warmer than real furs.

10. OTHER FORMS OF CRUELTY

Emarel also worked against caged animals and zoos. Regarding these animals and the people who love them she wrote: "Love is an often-misapplied word. People have been known to say they 'love a beefsteak'. This same quality of love is for the caged creature" (Millennium Guild n.d. *Zoological Gardens*). Again, she understood and explained the implications of the life of a caged animal, she condemned the cruelty of it all: the capturing of the animal, the fear experienced during transportation and their imprisonment for life, "depriving the creatures of the freedom God gave them" (Millennium Guild n.d. *Zoological Gardens*).

Aware of new forms of cruelty that were only starting to develop, Emarel also expressed her opposition to animals in films because of the training of show animals and the broadcasting of cruelty that would otherwise be seen by much smaller audiences (Freshel 1923, 57).

11. LAST YEARS

Towards the end of her life Emarel Freshel was pessimistic towards the cause of animals. She believed "progress was paralyzed by comparison to forty years before" (Freshel 1946, 1. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers), and things had changed

for the worse for animals. More furs were being used not only as coats but also in different fashion accessories; vivisection had expanded and was unstoppable, science had managed to convince the public that vivisection was a necessity and a benefit for humankind, even when it had been proven that the object of many experiments was exterminating human lives (Freshel 1946. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers). She regretted how the antivivisection movement had lost its strength and that the fur question was no longer addressed in the newspapers (Freshel 1946, 2, 5. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers). She also saw the rise of meat and milk consumption and of every form of cruelty despite all her life's work.

Notwithstanding the fact that Freshel no longer believed it was her full responsibility to make people change, and that she no longer felt her work as being essential to anybody's choosing the right path towards animals, she still believed those who were meant to take it, would take it no matter what (Freshel 1946, 20. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers). This did not mean she gave up; it just meant that she no longer felt it as an obligation; she was doing it for herself and to show others how it could be done. Emarel wrote she would not do it again, seeing that despite all her work animals were in a worse situation than before (Freshel 1946, 20. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers), with the passing of the years she understood life and our place in the world differently. She was aware of the positive influence she had been on many people, still it had not been enough; but it did not affect her negatively because everything was as it was meant to be. It was not her responsibility, since one can only be responsible of one's own actions. Regardless of her impression, many people did share her views and many of us still share them today. She concluded that it was better "to follow Jesus's advice and hold our precious jewel ALOFT, KNOWING that those who can bear its light will come near, and share its helpfulness and beauty" (Freshel 1946, 21. Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers).

Emarel Freshel died on January 3rd, 1948, at the age of 82 (Obituary, Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers). She was a revolutionary activist for taking the abolitionist stand for animals, and for believing that love was incompatible with cruelty and the killing of animals in any form, including humane slaughter. She deserves a prominent place as a pioneer in the history of the animal protection movement not only for her advanced views on animal justice, but also to remind current women activists that they belong to a genealogy of women who defended animals using the same arguments we use today to fight for animal justice.

In 1931, in a letter to Emarel, Agnes Ryan wrote "I am sure the influence of the Guild and your talks reach far, far into the future" (Agnes Ryan Papers, 1904-1955) and she was right. For here we are, more than ninety years later, remembering and honoring Emarel's influential life and her remarkable work for animals.

Sometimes the seventh wave takes years to reach its farthest point, but sooner or later it rises the tide.

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Figure 1. Emarel Freshel Portrait. MS Group 115, Box 5, Folder 9. The Ethel Fairmont Beebe Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries. U of Florida.