1933

**Three Women Orators of Today**

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The purpose of I. Statement of Procedure.

In order to understand the acceptance of these modern women speakers, it is necessary to study the historical background of women's oratory in America. The introductory chapter not only shows how women speakers have overcome the barriers of disapproval and prejudice, but it also clarifies certain conceptions which have been entertained in regard to women's oratory.

In the analysis of effective oratory, which are used as standards for evaluation, the effectiveness of the orator's analysis in this study, have been derived from a study of various textbooks of oratory, including the writings of ancient Greek and Roman authorities as well as the more modern authorities. The criteria established by these authors have been applied to men speakers alone; speeches made by women have never been analyzed in any textbook on speech. It is my purpose to apply these criteria to women speakers in an effort to prove that both men and women speakers may be judged by the same standards.

For the purpose of analysis, I have selected thirty speeches: ten

Statement of Procedure.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the speeches of three representative modern women orators and in analyzing the speeches of these women to draw certain conclusions regarding women's oratory. I have chosen the speeches of Judge Florence E. Allen, Ruth Bryan Owen, and Mabel Walker Willebrandt. These women are well known for their ability as successful public speakers and they are listed as "good speakers" in the Who's Who of Women Orators in America. (1)

In order to understand the acceptance of these modern women orators, it is necessary to study the historical background of women's oratory in America. The introductory chapter not only shows how women speakers have overcome the barriers of disapproval and prejudice, but it also clarifies certain conceptions which have been entertained in regard to women's oratory.

The principles of effective speaking, which are used as standards for judging the effectiveness of the speeches analyzed in this thesis, have been derived from a study of various textbooks of oratory, including the writings of ancient Greek and Roman authorities as well as the more modern authorities. The criteria established by these authors have been applied to men speakers alone; speeches made by women have never been analyzed in any textbook on speech. It is my purpose to apply these criteria to women speakers in an effort to prove that both men and women speakers may be judged by the same standards.

For the purpose of analysis I have selected thirty speeches: ten

(1) Rasmussen, Carrie, Who's Who of Women Orators in America, p.54,73,81.
(2) Quintilian, The Institutes Oratoria, vol.2, p.11.
speeches delivered by Judge Florence E. Allen on "The Outlawry of War"; ten speeches by Ruth Bryan Owen, three of which were delivered in Congress and seven of which, on the subject of "Citizenship", were delivered on a tour of the country in 1929 and 1930; and ten speeches by Mabel Walker Willebrandt, all of which, with the exception of one post-campaign speech, were campaign speeches for Herbert Hoover in the presidential campaign of 1928.

The concluding chapter points out the fact that women always have been effective speakers. It shows the reason why the women studied are effective speakers. It reveals the fact that these three speakers of different types adhere to common standards of oratory. It establishes the fact that women's speeches may be analyzed by the same criteria as those which have been defined for men.

Appendix A contains a biographical sketch of each speaker in order to show that the subject matter of the speeches of these women is an outgrowth of ideas to which their lives have been dedicated.

Appendix B contains one representative speech for each speaker for the purpose of enabling the reader to examine its style. Quintilian recognized the importance of studying the style of great orators, "for in everything which we teach, examples are more effective even than the rules which are taught in the schools. And the reason is this, that the professor of rhetoric lays down rules, while the orator gives a practical demonstration." (2)

(2) Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria, vol.3, p.11.
II. Introduction.

Present popularity of female oratory seems to be an outgrowth of the greater independence of women, achieved through the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, June 9, 1919. (3) The suffrage amendment was named the outgrowth of the increasing recognition of women's abilities and the effectiveness of their oratory. Although no textbook on public speaking discusses the contribution women have made to oratory, the study of history reveals the importance of women as public speakers.

In America the first woman to be recognized as a power and an influence upon public thought was Anna Mary Hutchinson. She was born in Lincolnshire, England, in 1590. At an early age she married William Hutchinson; and in 1634 with her husband and children she 

The early Puritan colonists were an intolerant people. Few women were able to speak in public. From very early times the men held meetings discussing the daily issues. Mrs. Hutchinson organized meetings for the women. This was a new departure for women's public speaking.
Introduction.

There is an erroneous view that the "present popularity of women speakers seems to be an outgrowth of the greater independence of women, achieved through the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, June 5, 1919." (3) The Suffrage Amendment was rather the outgrowth of the increasing popularity of women speakers and the effectiveness of their speeches. Although no textbook on public speaking discusses the contribution women have made to oratory, the study of history reveals the importance of women as public speakers.

In America the first woman to be recognized as a power and an influence upon public thought was Anne Marbury Hutchinson. She was born in Lincolnshire, England in 1590. At an early age she married William Hutchinson, and in 1634 with her husband and children she journeyed to America. The early Boston colonists were as intolerant of those who opposed their views as the people of England, from whom they fled, had been intolerant. During the week the men held meetings discussing the Sunday sermon. Mrs. Hutchinson organized meetings for the women. This was a new departure for never before had women met for independent thought and action. Hundreds of women coming from near-by towns as well as Boston were soon holding regular meetings to review the sermons of the Sunday before with Anne Hutchinson's comment and interpretation. Such freedom of speech could not be tolerated by the good Puritans. Anne Hutchinson was forbidden to speak in public, so the meetings were continued in her home. Even this was not to be tolerated. She was tried in court and although she defended herself.

Brilliantly, she was banished from the community in 1638. Five years later she and her entire family were massacred by an Indian. It is said that

"Anne Hutchinson wielded a power and influence never before nor since equaled by any of her sex in America. Her influence upon the life of women is very marked even at the present day. She is the spiritual ancestor of every woman's alliance; indeed of every organization in the land for patriotic or social or intellectual or religious conference and improvement - and in all years to come every such assembly should pay homage to the name and the spirit and the gifts and the memory of Anne Hutchinson." (4)

Almost eighty-five years passed before we hear of other women attempting to speak in public. Carrie Chapman Catt tells of two courageous and remarkable women, the Grimke sisters of South Carolina, who freed their slaves in 1828 and went North. They began speaking publicly in favor of abolition and were mobbed many times. They contended for the right of women as well as of the slaves.

"Abby Kelly, the most persecuted of all women who labored in the anti-slavery cause, also began speaking at about this time, and these three fearless women blazed a trail, through a fusillade of rotten eggs, brickbats, and vile abuse, to an acknowledgement of the right of women to speak on public platforms. The persecutions continued for years until women won the right to organize, speak, and work for public causes." (5)

The first outstanding speaker was Lucretia Mott, the noted abolitionist. The description of her power as a speaker shows the extreme naturalness of her delivery. It is said that she had a real power over her audiences; "the sweetness of her voice added to the convincing earnestness of her manner. People of all denominations went miles to hear her preach. Her voice was singularly sweet and clear, and her manner had much naturalness and grace. Her words were simple, earnest, eloquent." (6) In 1818 she began traveling around

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the country speaking in Quaker meeting-houses, telling her listeners of the peace-loving principles of the Friends, pointing out the evils of injustice in any form. She was a pioneer among the advocates against slavery.

"Through New York State, into New England, and across to Nantucket, as far south as Virginia, west to Ohio and Indiana, she traveled by stage-coach or boat or carriage. Speaking at seventy-one meetings in a ten weeks trip seems to have been no unusual record for her. The secret of her magnetic personality was that she spoke because she was conscious of a power impelling her to do so. Words came to her without will of her own, because her heart was full and she couldn't help it. Though the leading abolitionists were often described as raving fanatics, Lucretia Mott was noted for her unfailing composure, her calm tone of profound faith, her lack of vehement accents and violent gestures. Lucretia Mott lived to see freedom for the negroes an accomplished fact. Nor did she confine her work to this one cause. She was as firm an advocate of women's equality with man. She used her eloquence for temperance, for the advancement of freedom, for peace through arbitration."(7)

From 1820 to 1906 lived Susan B. Anthony to whom we owe many privileges: the higher education of women, the property rights of women, and the acknowledgement of women's right to speak in public. It is said that "Miss Anthony was an exceedingly interesting speaker. She never soared to heights of rhetoric or flowers of fancy. What she had to say was briefly and plainly told in a simple fashion which none could fail to understand, and those who heard her once were eager to do so again. Always she was frank and unpretentious, delightfully genuine, and modest to a degree. There was not a town between New York and San Francisco that had not heard the ringing voice of Susan B. Anthony. On far-off prairies, in rough unfinished buildings she swayed large audiences of men and women. She held public debates with editors and clergymen; she sailed on rivers and jolted over rough mountains to meet her appointments. She spoke before legislative assemblies, congressional committees, and constitutional conventions."(8)

Mary A. Livermore was a popular woman speaker of the Civil War period. She organized the Sanitary Commission and was engaged in relief work. Her great contribution was the organization of means of

supplying medicines to the sick and care for the needy during the war. After the war she lectured to crowded houses, talking on her war experiences, on temperance, and woman's suffrage. It is said that she held her audiences spellbound.

"So eager were the people to hear her that she entered the lecture field, and for years she held the foremost place among women as a public speaker. She lectured five nights a week for five months traveling twenty-five thousand miles each year. Her fine voice, womanly manner, and able thought brought crowded houses before her year after year." (9)

Identified with the Temperance Movement was the notable woman speaker, Frances E. Willard. Under her inspiration a great army of women, recruited chiefly from orthodox Protestant churches, rapidly mobilised and formed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Her talks which were

"frank and sincere went straight to the hearts of her hearers. She charmed and thrilled thousands and added them to the marching hosts for the uplift of humanity. From the platform of every city of over ten thousand inhabitants and in many smaller places in the Union her eloquent silvery-toned voice, which was often likened to that of the distinguished Wendell Phillips, urged the call, and those who listened never forgot her vivid power and self-possession. More than any other speaker, perhaps, she possessed the rare gift of firing others with the thought of what they might accomplish, and the faith to dare and to do." (10)

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, an outstanding speaker of the suffrage cause, lived from 1847 to 1919. As a young girl she was determined to have an education; she earned her way through school by preaching and by delivering temperance lectures. She studied the problems brought about by women entering the business world. Finally she became convinced that these difficulties could be met only by men and women sharing the duties of citizenship. She gave up practicing both her professions as

minister and doctor of medicine to enter upon the work of prison reform and the causes of temperance and women's suffrage. Susan B. Anthony took Anna Shaw with her on her Kansas campaign, and afterwards the two worked shoulder to shoulder until Miss Anthony's death.

"Indeed so entirely in harmony were the two that often Miss Anthony, whose voice failed her more and more as the years went on, would stop abruptly and signal for Miss Shaw to finish her speech. Calmly the latter would rise, complete the broken sentence, and go on with the line of argument as though it were her own. This was all the more remarkable as neither one ever wrote her speeches. It was Miss Shaw's custom to name her fingers for the points she wanted to make."(11)

Although these women and others less notable have destroyed the barriers of disapproval and prejudice to a great extent, the study of the lives of our modern speakers, Judge Florence E. Allen, Ruth Bryan Owen, and Mabel Walker Willebrandt, show that they too have had to overcome biased public opinion. They have fortified women's position and their contribution has paved an easier way for the women orators of to-morrow.

III. The Criteria of the Effectiveness of Speeches.

The criteria of the effectiveness of speeches are based on impulse or mere chance, that underlying it are principles in accordance with which the speaker must work, and that to ignore these principles is often to cause failure where their recognition would have been success. (12) The principles of effective speaking, which are used as standards for judging the effectives of the speeches examined in this thesis, have been derived from a study of the following sources: the ancient Greek and Roman authorities, Aristotle's *The Art of Rhetoric*, Cicero's *On Oratory and Oratory*, Demosthenes' *On Style*, Longinus' *On the Sublime*, and Quintilian's *The Institutes of Oratory*, and the more modern authorities: Charles Darwin Adams' *Demosthenes*, F. H. Alport's *Social Psychology*, Bostock's *Demosthenes*, Gustave LeBon's *The Crowd*, P. L. Dwyer's *Helen of Social Control*, C. E. Bell's *Sources of Effectiveness of Public Speaking*, O'Neill and O'Connell's *Public and Semi-Public Speaking*, O'Neill and Victor's *The Address of Audience*, Dewey, Adams, Ceesee's *The Elements of Public Speaking*, Arthur Edward Phillips' *Effective Speaking*, and Edwin Delaware-Shorter's *The Rhetoric of Oratory*.

The criteria (13) of the effectiveness of speeches are:

1. Characterization of the speaker.

2. Pretext of the speech.

The speaker should have prestige if his ideas are to be accepted. Prestige is based on the reputation of the speaker.

(13) Although the material of this outline was derived from various sources, the arrangement is original.
The Criteria of the Effectiveness of Speeches.

It is recognized that "effective speaking is not a matter of blind impulse or mere chance, that underlying it are principles in accordance with which the speaker must work, and that to ignore these principles is often to cause failure where their recognition would have won success." (12) The principles of effective speaking, which are used as standards for judging the effectiveness of the speeches analyzed in this thesis, have been derived from a study of the following sources: the ancient Greek and Roman authorities, Aristotle's *The Art of Rhetoric*, Cicero's *On Oratory and Orators*, Demetrius' *On Style*, Longinus' *On the Sublime*, and Quintilian's *The Institutio Oratoria*; and the more modern authorities, Charles Darwin Adams' *Demosthenes*, F. H. Allport's *Social Psychology*, Fredif's *Demosthenes*, Gustave LeBon's *The Crowd*, E. Lounley's *Means of Social Control*, C. E. Neil's *Sources of Effectiveness of Public Speaking*, O'Neill and Corrington's *Debate and Oral Discussion*, O'Neill and Weaver's *The Elements of Speech*, Ruth Bryan Owen's *The Elements of Public Speaking*, Arthur Edward Phillips' *Effective Speaking*, and Edwin DuBois Shurter's *The Rhetoric of Oratory*.

The criteria (13) of the effectiveness of speeches are:

I. Characteristics of the speaker.

A. Prestige of the speaker.

The speaker should have prestige if his ideas are to be accepted. Prestige is based on the reputation of the speaker.
in the past. It is also based on the opinions which the individuals of the audience form during the delivery of the speech.

B. Delivery.

Delivery is concerned with voice and gestures. To be conversational the speaker should use the intermediate pitch, rate, and quantity of voice peculiar to his own style. Attention should be given to articulation and pronunciation. The tone should be clear. Inflections will be correct if the speaker's voice reflects his thoughts. Gestures should be those which grow out of the thoughts of the speech.

II. Characteristics of the composition of the speech.

A. Method of preparing a speech.

The "extemporaneous committed" speech should be used. A careful outline of the salient points of the speech should be memorized. With this outline in mind it is possible to express the thought effectively to the audience in language of the moment. This method insures a conversational delivery.

B. Technic of the sentence.

1. Language.

   a. Choice of words.

The language of the speech should be familiar to the audience and of contemporary usage. Words

(16) Ibid., p.79.
(17) Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria, p.145.
(18) Cicero, On Oratory and Orators, p.91-93.
should express the appropriate meaning. The use of foreign words is discouraged. Language may be vivid but it should be simple. (19)

b. Use of personal pronouns.
   The ultimate aim of the speaker’s delivery is to be conversational. The frequent use of I, you, and we will create an informal and intimate relationship between the speaker and his audience. This is essential in making the audience think with the speaker. (20)

2. The rhetorical question.
   The speaker challenges the members of his audience, compels them to think, and demands a response by means of the rhetorical question. This gives vigor and rapidity to the speech. (21)

3. Repetition.
   An important word, phrase, or idea should be repeated for the sake of clearness as well as emphasis. The eye often perceives an expression which is lost to the ear. Therefore a word, phrase, or idea should be repeated just as often as is necessary to produce the desired effect on the audience. (22)

III. C. Development of the message.

1. Illustration.

(19) Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 211.
(20) O’Neill and Weaver, The Elements of Speech, p. 289.
(21) Adams, Charles Darwin, Demosthenes and his Influence, p. 60.
(22) Demetrius, On Style, p. 323.
A simple illustration clarifies an involved discussion, which also appeals to the imagination of the audience, stimulating thought and adding vigor to the speech. (23)

A speech on reference to experience must call for audience attention: This method of reference to experience not only aids in establishing conviction but also clarifies involved exposition. (24)

2. Evidence.

In persuading an audience, evidence presented by an authority strengthens an argument and facilitates conviction. (25) Principles of oratory be applied to speeches made by women. (33)

3. Cumulation and climax.

Cumulation is the "heaping-up" of a succession of statements. Each statement has a given power which adds to the total force of the argument. (26) In order to form a climax, every word, phrase, sentence, and paragraph should be arranged in order of ascending power. (27)

4. Rewards and praise.

Rewards and praise create a psychological appeal to the audience. They dissolve anti-social attitudes and produce good will and enthusiasm on the part of the audience. (28)

III. Response of the audience.


(30) The purpose of every speech is a response from the audience. The

(23) Longinus, On the Sublime, p.171.


(28) Lunley, F. E. Means of Social Control, p.73-77.
same general psychological principles will apply to a speech which asks for the selection of a certain person for president as a speech which asks for the acceptance of a point of view. A speech is not worthy of consideration unless it calls for some response or reaction from the audience. The speaker first gains the attention of his audience, presents his ideas, then demands a response from the audience. (29)

These recognized principles of oratory have been evolved from studies of effective speeches made by men. The principles have been tested by application to orations delivered by men. The dominant question of this thesis is; can these principles of oratory be applied to speeches made by women? The existence of women orators has not been entirely ignored, (30) but nowhere in literature on speech has the speech of a woman been submitted to analysis.

(30) Compilations of orations include very few speeches by women. In the fifteen volumes of Modern Eloquence there are only two speeches by women. These speeches are "The Saloon in America" by Julia Ward Howe, vol. 5, p.591-501, and "World Peace" by Judge Florence E. Allen, supplementary edition, p.50-60.
IV. An Analytical Study of the Speeches of

A. Prestige of the Judge Florence E. Allen, Its prestige because her qualifications are publicly known. Ruth Bryan Owen, is well qualified to speak on the subject of "World Peace" and in the topic of all the speeches which are printed in the speeches of peace since the World War. She went as Senator and without the league of Nations; she spent some time with the Sherman Ante party in Europe, devoting most of her vacations to the study of the question. She began to study textbooks on international law and to consider all possible avenues to peace. (31). She has also won prestige through her professional reputation and success.

3. Delivery. Quintilian says, "No proof, at least if it be unaided by the orator himself; will ever be so secure as not to lose its force if the orator fails to reason it to those that will believe it here." (32)

Judge Allen has a commanding voice that is not only pleasing but it is adequate and forceful; she "drives her message home." Her manner of address is very sincere in that she makes one feel that she believes in her subject. As a member of one of her audiences described her delivery, she speaks "straight from the shoulder". After Judge Allen addressed the State Teachers' Association in Indianapolis, October 23, 1931, I sent a short questionnaire to ten teachers who heard her. Although this was in no way intended to be a statistical survey, the

I. Characteristics of the speaker.

A. Prestige of the speaker. Judge Allen enjoys prestige because her qualifications are publicly recognized. She is well qualified to speak on the subject of "World Peace" which is the topic of all the speeches which are analyzed in this thesis. She has studied the problems of peace since the World War.

She went to Geneva and visited the League of Nations; she spent some time with the Sherwood Eddy party in Europe, devoting most of her vacations to the study of the question. She began to study textbooks on international law and to consider all possible avenues to peace. (31) She has also won prestige through her professional reputation and success.

B. Delivery. Quintilian says, "No proof, at least if it be one devised by the orator himself, will ever be so secure as not to lose its force if the speaker fails to produce it in tones that will drive it home." (32)

Judge Allen has a commanding voice that is not only pleasing but it is adequate and forceful; she "drives her message home". Her manner of address is very sincere in that she makes one feel that she believes in her subject. As a member of one of her audiences described her delivery, she speaks "straight from the shoulder". After Judge Allen addressed the State Teachers' Association in Indianapolis, October 23, 1931, I sent a short questionnaire to ten teachers who heard her. Although this was in no way intended to be a statistical survey, the

(32) Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria, p. 145.
questionnaire was sent as a means of obtaining the opinions of others in regard to her delivery. The ten answers which I received were the same in every instance. The teachers agreed that Judge Allen's delivery is conversational. Her manner is direct; she uses a medium rate, pitch, and force of voice. In addition to the flexibility of her voice and the variety of her tones, her delivery is enhanced by gestures which were described as being very natural.

II. Characteristics of the composition of a speech.

A. Method of preparing a speech. A study of rhetoric from the ancient Greeks to modern orators reveals the same theory regarding the best method of preparing a speech. An outline should be made to insure the inclusion of all important material and the exclusion of all irrelevant material. This outline should be the guide. Each step of the outline should be thought out and thoroughly planned, but the exact words of the speech should not be memorized. The words should flow naturally from the subject matter and be suited to the particular occasion. This method of speech preparation gives the speech a freshness and spontaneity and is essential to the conversational style of delivery.

There are some orators who advise writing as an aid to studying the subject matter of the speech. Cicero says, "We must write as much as possible and with utmost care. If we improve our minds with something more than superficial study, we shall produce a richer growth of knowledge. For without the consciousness of such preliminary study our powers of speaking extempor will give us nothing but an empty flow of word, springing from the lips and not from the brain." (33)

(33) Cicero, _On Oratory and Orators_, p. 91-93.
Although writing is an aid, it is not considered an essential. Thinking through the speech has been found to be just as advantageous. Writing improves the language, but for extemporaneous speaking the best results are obtained from writing an outline. This method gives a flexibility to the speech. Quintilian says, "The premeditated ideas make us miss others, and we draw our matters from our memory rather than from the subject on which we are speaking." (34)

That Judge Allen uses the extemporaneous method of speaking is evidenced in a letter from her in which she said, "I regret to say that I have no copy of my speeches, as I never write them out. However, I prepare a speech very carefully in outline form with headings and sub-headings." The following excerpts from her speech, "The Outlawry of War", which she has delivered many times, are submitted to illustrate her use of the extemporaneous method. The same idea is expressed in different words on different occasions.

"The world needs to lay down a 'Ten Commandments' between the nations: thou shalt not war; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not oppress." (35)

"Its (the Kellogg Treaty) enactment will constitute the first great step in the declaration of a 'Ten Commandments' between the Nations of the World." (36)

"There are not any 'Ten Commandments' between the nations. There isn't any 'Thou shalt not kill' in war between the nations. There

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(34) Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria*, p. 131.
isn't any 'Thou shalt not covet' thy neighbors' markets. There isn't any 'Thou shalt not steal' the territory of another between nations. There isn't any 'Thou shalt not covet' thy neighbors' oil wells." (37)

B. Technic of the sentence.

1. Language. It is necessary to read an entire speech to appreciate Judge Allen's skillful use of language. She has something to say; she never wastes time with unnecessary expressions. Every word, phrase, and sentence contributes to the whole. Her sincerity and simplicity of expression give her speech brevity. Demosthenes was noted for his brevity, his ability of expressing an idea without unnecessary words or sentences. He said, "Brief and without pretense will be my debut. In my eyes the sincere orator ought from his first words, to clearly expose his proposition. When his opinion is known, if you wish to hear him further, he explains himself, he develops his plans and means." (38)

A. Choice of words. "It is impossible to talk effectively to an audience in any language but the language of that audience..... The false ornaments, the ringing alliterative adjectives, the trite figures of speech, which always hinder communication of thought, are usually the specific offenses against simplicity." (39) Judge Allen uses the language of her audiences. This is unique in that she has a wealth of law terms at her command and her years spent abroad would have given her the use of many foreign words. She uses, however, only the plainest of expressions. Much of the forcefulness of her speech is gained through

(38) Bredif, Demosthenes, p. 170.
(39) O'Neill and Weaver, The Elements of Speech, p. 281, 283.
her use of words familiar to the audience. Longinus shows the importance of using familiar words in that they "prove far more enlightening than elegant language. Being taken from our common life, they are immediately recognized, and what is familiar is half way to conviction."(40)

The following paragraph gives an illustration of Judge Allen's choice of words. "In other words, just because the Indians no longer steal in their moccasins across the trails, burn our houses, and steal our women, because no longer redcoats attack our frontiers, and threaten our sovereignty, this does not mean that the eternal conflict is not on."(41)

b. Use of personal pronouns. As one proof that Judge Allen speaks in a conversational manner, her use of personal pronouns should be noted. The use of I, you, and we especially brings a closer contact between the speaker and the audience. From a study of Judge Allen's speeches, it is found that she uses an average of 240 personal pronouns in a speech of one hour's length. This is five per cent of the total number of words of the speech.

2. The rhetorical question. The use of questions has been one of the orator's effective modes of expression. This method of appealing to the audience is more effective than making assertions. Longinus says, "the question and answer not only appeal to the imagination but brace the language into greater vigor and rapidity. The inspiration and quick play of the question and answer, and the orator's way of meeting his own words as if they were someone's else, make the passage, through his use of the figure, not only loftier but also more convincing. For emotion is always more telling when it seems not to be premeditated by the speaker but to be born of the moment."(42)

(40) Longinus, On the Sublime, p.211.
Putting the question to the audience, leaving them to answer it is also effective. It forces the audience to think with the speaker.

As an illustration the following examples from the speeches delivered by Judge Allen are given.

"Will the United States change or rescind the prohibition law at the behest of foreigners? Is there any reason why America doesn’t dare to unite the world in disarmament measures? Has America lost its daring?"(43)

"Can we underestimate the power which resides in this particular group?"

"Did you ever think what a deprivation of the right to life war is? "

"Is that what you say? Is that what you would say? Of course not!"

"And by whom can this law be laid down? It can be laid down by treaty!"

"Shall we say the men are incapable of applying to themselves in groups the same law which they applied to themselves as individuals?"(44)

3. Repetition. One means of forcefulness in speaking is the repetition of a word, phrase, or idea. In written essays the reader may return to a passage and absorb the meaning, but in speeches the listener does not have this opportunity. The eye also perceives an expression which is lost to the ear. Therefore words, phrases, and ideas should be repeated in a speech just as often as is necessary to get the desired effect with the audience. Demetrius writing on style says that "the

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(44) Allen, Judge Florence, "Women and World Peace" Modern Eloquence, p. 50-60.
redoUbling of an expression conduces to elevation, elegance, and force."(45)

Numerous examples are found in Judge Allen's speeches. For instance:

"All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, rights that can not be taken away — among them the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Did you ever think what a deprivation of the right to life, war is? ... Now this emotion of the ideal present in women makes us see with a certain clearness certain fundamental facts, because we are looking forward to the attainment of the final consummation. We look forward to the abolition of war itself, and nothing less. We look forward to a great thing. Because of that we see clearly certain practical aspects of the situation."(46)

C. Development of the message.

1. Illustration. LeBon has stated some factors influencing the beliefs of individuals of a crowd. Of importance is the fact that "experience is an effective process of establishing a truth, and images have power in influencing a crowd."(47)

Judge Allen refers to the experience of the individuals of her audiences by simple illustrations. In this manner the explanation of rather technical matters is simplified and understood. A striking example may be shown from her speech, "Women and World Peace", in which she says,

"The first step in law enforcement is the declaration of the law. Perhaps I might put it simply in an illustration like this: Suppose that your child did something that you did not like and you wanted to stop his doing it; suppose that Johnnie tells a lie, do you say to him: 'Johnnie, all fine little boys tell lies, but you know I, myself, personally do not like to have you do it, so please do not do it in the future.' Is that what you say? ... Of course not. You say to Johnnie: 'All straight, upstanding little boys are honest and truthful; they do not tell lies, and I want my boy to be honest and truthful.' ... You

(45) Demetrius, On Style, p.323.
lay down a moral basis upon which you begin to enforce moral law."(48)

Another example of reference to experience is shown in this illustration.

"The question of world peace is eternally a question of applying ethics between nations. I do not mean that good things have not been done by one nation for another. The spirit shown toward Japan after the earthquake there was commendable. But there are not any Ten Commandments between the nations. There isn't any 'Thou shalt not kill' in war between nations. There isn't any 'Thou shalt not steal' the territory of another between nations. There isn't any 'Thou shalt not covet' thy neighbors' markets...."(49)

2. Cumulation and climax. Phillips describes cumulation as a "heaping up, a succession of statements bearing upon the same point. A simple assertion is not adequate. Each detail or illustration works in time and each has a given power which adds to the total force."(50) Judge Allen uses this method forcefully in many instances. The following example illustrates this point.

"We have ceased to require that this be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and we have tolerated and acquiesced in the upgrowth of the conception that it is a government of the politicians, by the politicians, and for the politicians. In other words, just because the Indians no longer steal in their moccasins across the trails, burn our houses, and steal our women, because no longer redcoats attack our frontiers, and threaten our sovereignty, this does not mean that the eternal conflict is not on. The age challenges us to establish the spiritual law as our forefathers set up the fabric of our government. The length of America's day and the measure of our force and influence of the nation depend upon those of us who require that officials hold their offices in trust for the people."(51)

Cumulation leads to a climax. "Climax in its various forms has been a great power."(52) Every speech which Judge Allen delivers has one central idea. The idea is enforced by minor points. The following

paragraph shows how she builds a climax. In this case the climax is doubly forceful because it ends in a rhetorical question.

"The establishment of world peace depends on the will to peace, which is founded upon the prerequisite that each country is willing to concede that every other country is making its own contribution to this cause. We have to concede the right to each nation to settle its own problems. Therefore the task is not complete with building the spirit of peace within the individual, but it is necessary to enforce that spirit through government action. Is there any reason why America doesn't dare to unite with the world in disarmament measures? Has America lost its daring?" (53)

3. Praise. Lumley has compiled several means of social control. Among these he lists praise as being an important factor.

"Rewards single out the great objectives of civilization and thus clarify the path of individual action, they dissolve a great variety of anti-social attitudes and produce in their stead mass support, liberality, and other desirable states. Praise is a suitable accompaniment and supplement to rewards for it specifies and particularizes in ways which rewards cannot." (54)

Judge Allen never reverts to vulgar flattery but she uses subtle methods of praising the members of her audiences. This can not fail to promote a feeling of good-will between the audience and the speaker.

In addressing a group of women who represented various organization, Judge Allen created a friendly attitude by praising the group in this way;

"I have before me, delegates from such splendid groups, delegates from the American Association of University Women who have had the training that a hundred years ago was denied to women the world over; delegates from the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Federation of Women's Board of Foreign Missions of North America, the women who believe that the ethics and philosophy of Christ ought to be put into practice in our daily life; from the general Federation of Women's Clubs, that splendid group which links to-gether so many organizations with such a vast field of cultural and civil activities; from the National Board of the Young Woman's Christian Associations which beneficially directs the activity of the young womanhood of the entire nation; from the National Council of Jewish Women, with such a heritage of law-making.

behind them that they may well be proud and we may well be proud to have them affiliated with us in this gathering; from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, that fighting group which first said that the evil of the open saloon must go in America; and last but not least, from the National Women's Trade Union League, the group of women who do work with their hands so well competing with labor in the open market that they force the world to give them an honest living." (55)

III. Response of the audience.

Judge Allen appeals to her audiences to act. She not only states certain conditions but she appeals to her audience to better the conditions. She selects a central point and keeps it steadily before the audience by approaching it from every side. She draws her hearers along a line which the audience is able to follow. There is a simplicity and a continuity of the thought pattern. At the end of her speeches the audience is ready to respond.

As a means to this end Judge Allen uses a method described by Ross in his book, Social Control, in which he states, "The principle of individual responsibility is a great improvement in the technique of control." (56) Judge Allen makes every member of her audience feel their responsibility in civic affairs.

Speaking to the teachers at the Indiana State Federation Meeting, Judge Allen said,

"Law is the effort of the group to hold in leash its passions, and not a mere arbitrary laying down of rules. Never can we make it a living power until men and women understand their ownership of government and their responsibility for expressing it. Behind every great man and every great woman there is a teacher. You have the privilege of teaching the children how to make the law a living power." (57)

This is a direct appeal to the audience, an appeal to action.

Judge Allen cleverly appealed to the action of the audience when

(56) Ross, Edward Alsworth, Social Control, p.119.
(57) The Indiana Teacher, Nov., 1931, p.15.
she spoke at the Women's Conference on Causes and Cures of War. Instead of saying that the women of this country should demand that war be abolished, instead of telling the audience what they should do, she said, "Now the women of this country demand that this be done, they demand that war shall no longer be sanctioned; they demand that the use of law as a means of settling international controversies be adopted."(58) I am sure that each woman left the conference with a resolve to act in some definite way regarding the pursuit of peace.

Speaking before the annual Good-Will Congress of World Alliance, she said, "If the nations do not accept our propositions for substantial disarmament, we have not lost by making the sincere offer, but unless we make the offer the world will not disarm."(59) She appealed to the responsibility of her audience as American citizens to demand some form of radical disarmament.

An Analytical Study of the Speeches of Ruth Bryan Owen.

I. Characteristics of the speaker.

A. Prestige of the speaker. William Lyon Phelps has aptly expressed the reasons why Ruth Bryan Owen enjoys a favorable prestige as a speaker.

"We have with us to-day the Honorable Ruth Bryan Owen, Member of Congress from Florida. She needs no introduction to this audience or to any audience. I merely wish to say she reminds me of the person mentioned in the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, who, on being intrusted with five talents, increased the sum to ten, and won the approbation of his Lord.

"Ruth Bryan received five talents from her distinguished father and mother. A natural fluency and ease of speech, a gracious and winning personality, an intense interest in political and social questions, an amazing physical and mental vitality, a shrewd common sense. A good inheritance, which she has doubled by her own ambition, perseverance, and energy."(60)

B. Delivery. "Ruth Bryan Owen has had prolonged and varied experience as a public speaker. She has lectured to hundreds of audiences in every part of the United States. She has mastered her art by practicing it."(61) Mrs. Owen is equipped with a rich voice. Quintilian's discussion of the desirable characteristics of the voice of an orator is applicable to Mrs. Owen's voice in every detail. He says,

"Delivery will be ornate when it is supported by a voice that is easy, strong, rich, flexible, firm, sweet, enduring, resonant, pure, carrying far and penetrating the ear (for there is a type of voice which impresses the hearing not by its volume, but by its peculiar quality); in addition, the voice must be easily managed and must possess all the necessary inflections and modulations, in fact it must, as the saying is, be a perfect instrument."(62)

Mrs. Owen says that "every speaker has in his own equipment a wide vocal range, and somewhere in this range is the carrying tone which has a maximum of power and beauty. The conversational pitch is the most

(60) Owen, Ruth Bryan, Elements of Public Speaking, p.9.
(61) Ibid., p. 10.
agreeable to the ear." (63) Mrs. Owen's voice is naturally low pitched and very pleasing. She has force which seems effortless and at all times she speaks directly to the audience in a conversational manner.

II. Characteristics of the composition of a speech.

A. Method of preparing a speech. Mrs. Owen, in her book, *Elements of Public Speaking*, which she says is a glimpse of her own personal experiences both as a speaker and a teacher of public speaking, advocates the method of speaking extemporaneously.

She defines this term by saying that the method which achieves the best results is that of preparing a careful outline of the points covered in the speech.

"With the thought structure of the speech in mind, it is possible effectively to express it to the audience without other manuscript than the list of main points to be covered. A careful outline will insure not only an unbroken continuity but an effective accuracy in statement. It is an excellent practice in connection with this method to write the speech with great care, provided that the written speech is then destroyed." (64)

In speaking of other recognized methods of preparing a speech, namely: the written speech which is read, the written speech which is memorized, and the impromptu speech, Mrs. Owen points out the weaknesses of these methods. She says that there is an advantage of writing out a speech because the speaker can hand a copy of his remarks to the press and make quite sure that the reading public will receive the speech exactly as it was delivered. Mrs. Owen, however, advises against this method. She says,

"The thin sheet of paper which obtrudes between the speaker and his

(64) Ibid., p. 78.
audience is a complete non-conductor. There is a subconscious suggestion that if the speaker really knew his subject and sincerely believed in it, he would not need to refer to notes. Then there is an underlying difference between the written and spoken word. The actual phrasing which reaches the ear with most telling effect in speech is not identical with the most effective appeal to the eye. Only a few speakers are able to write a speech in the exact language which they would use in addressing an audience. Even if the speaker manages to accomplish this task, his eyes must be continually turned away from the audience to the paper before him and all contact with the audience is broken." (65)

A speech which is memorized has the advantage of allowing the speaker to keep his eyes upon the audience. Mrs. Owen, however, says that "it is difficult if not impossible to make this performance appear natural and the single and fundamental rule of this study is that any departure from the natural is a bad practice in oratory." (66)

There is an additional disadvantage in that the speaker who memorises his speech may forget a part of it.

Regarding the impromptu speech, Mrs. Owen quotes Governor Altgeld.

"We sometimes hear a speaker say that he does not know what he is going to talk about until he gets on his feet. This is a humiliating confession. It is an admission that he has not worked, and it means that it is impossible for him to reach a high standard of art. The mere fact that a speaker can work himself into a glow of excitement does not by any means prove that he is eloquent. Generally this is simply rant and wearsies the audience." (67)

That Mrs. Owen uses the extemporaneous method is evidenced in her speeches. She prepares an outline but she clothes her thoughts in different words as she delivers the same speech to different audiences. During the year 1929 - 1930 Mrs. Owen toured the country delivering speeches on the subject of citizenship. Excerpts from these speeches illustrate this method.

Speaking before the Women's Department Club, in Indianapolis,

(66) Ibid.
(67) Ibid., p.127.
Mrs. Owen emphasized the necessity of training youth for citizenship with these words: "When we criticize youth, remember it was youth who stood the test and who will always stand the test. Instead of criticizing give them a torch in their hands. Put a problem up to them and you will see how youth will stand out." (68)

In Iowa City, Iowa, Mrs. Owen said,

"The goal of political activity in the United States is the completion of the Republic. That goal will not be realized until every citizen has a vision of his own responsibility. There must be a larger place for youth in the affairs of State. The energy and idealism of youth are needed in public life. ... Public Opinion is you and me and as soon as public opinion says we want to find order we will make progress." (69)

Addressing the Nebraska Legislature, Mrs. Owen said,

"The individual citizen should shoulder the burden of good government. Dependability, service, leadership, and patriotism are the keynote of citizenship which should be sounded by the youth of America. I would rather have high school pupils count the votes at the time of election than for some of the men who do it. The pupils would be unselfish and honest." (70)

Speaking to the pupils of Technical High School, Indianapolis, Mrs. Owen said,

"The tremendous foundation of our Government was laid by our forefathers, and it is up to the youth of the country to complete the structure. It makes a great deal of difference what young people think. Public opinion is not just something, like a lump of coal or a lump of lead. It is a changing thing that is affected by what people think, by the attitude of young people." (71)

This method is again shown in the two following excerpts. The first is from a speech delivered in Congress, the second is from a speech delivered in Indianapolis.

"After every war there is a company of diplomats that meet around

a table to settle the matter. Why can we not persuade them to meet around the table before the battles instead of after the battles?" (72)

"The nations of the world should find some way to settle their quarrels instead of through armies. Can't we meet around a table before a battle instead of afterwards?" (73)

E. Technique of the sentence.

1. Use of personal pronouns. "When a speaker stands before an audience he is in personal relation with them. He should not try to avoid the implications of this relationship. He should talk in terms of I and You and We." (74) The use of personal pronouns gives directness to Mrs. Owen's speeches and it establishes an intimate contact with her audience. Mrs. Owen advocates the use of the conversational manner. Through her use of many personal pronouns she approaches the directness and intimacy of private conversation. Of the speeches chosen for especial study, I have found that they contain an average of 350 personal pronouns in a speech of one hour's length. This is six per cent of the total number of words in a speech.

2. The rhetorical question. Charles Darwin Adams describes Demosthenes as the first to embody completely the theories, devices, and embellishments of the new art of rhetoric. Adams says that "the sharp rhetorical question is particularly adapted to Demosthenes' vigorous style. The sleepy hearer is aroused, the indifferent challenged, even the stupid man is tempted to try to think when a sudden question is thrown in his face." (75) The striking example of the rhetorical question is found many times in the speeches of

(72) Congressional Record, January 11-13, 1932, p.3.
(74) O'Neill and Weaver, Elements of Speech, p.289.
(75) Adams, Charles Darwin, Demosthenes, p.60.
Ruth Bryan Owen. The following examples were chosen from one speech delivered before Congress.

"Is the Member of Congress the spokesman of his constituency, or is the member of Congress selected by the voters as a gesture of confidence?...

"May I make a personal reference to my own experience, only because I believe it parallels that of the great majority of thinking citizens?...

"Did you see the wave of support which carried forward the Kellogg pact? Did you realize how fundamentally these questions stir the minds and hearts of women?...

"I ask Congress what steps have been taken by our Nation to keep the pledge they then made?" (76)

C. Development of the message.

1. Illustration. Longinus advocates the use of illustration in the development of the message of a speech because it arouses the imagination. "Imagination introduces a great deal of vigor into one's speeches and when combined with argumentative treatment, it convinces the audience." (77) Mrs. Owen effectively employs imagery for illustrative purposes. Speaking of the functions of a Congressman she says,

"May I employ a comparison from the highly domestic and feminine profession of dressmaking? There are two schools of thought amongst dressmakers. There are the dressmakers who have a carefully prepared paper pattern which they can place upon the cloth, cutting the desired garment from it, and there are dressmakers who drape the material upon the living body of their client, and having pinned into position a becoming garment, they are able to spread the material out and see what shape it really is.

"As profound students of social and political science you are yourselves familiar with the paper pattern. I find myself confronted with a living congressional district upon which I am attempting to drape a garment at once adequate and fitted to the subject." (78)

The manner in which Mrs. Owen appeals to the intellect of her audiences through the emotions by means of imagery is shown in this striking example. Speaking of the humanity which appears even in war,

(76) Congressional Record, January 11-18, 1932, p.1-8
(77) Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 171.
Mrs. Owen paused in her speech and looked at a cross which she was wearing. She had explained that it had been given to Ahmed Pasha, the General in the Turkish Army, as the Sultan's decoration to him for defeating the allied army in the Dardanelles. Later the Turkish Army was captured and the General gave the cross to his captors because they fed his army. The cross was given to Mrs. Owen for her work as a nurse. The picture which Mrs. Owen presented as she looked at the cross was more eloquent than words. The audience felt the sufferings which Mrs. Owen had witnessed as a nurse.

2. Owmilation and climax. Longinus says that "amplification consists in accumulating all the aspects and topics inherent in the subject and thus strengthening the argument by dwelling upon it. Accumulation, variety, and climax are a most effective aid in giving ornament to speech." (79) This is illustrated by Mrs. Owen in many of her speeches. The following example is submitted:

"There are new elements in present day public opinion on the problem of war and peace. One of these is the will of women. For the first time in all the history of the world the will of women is becoming articulate. Thoughts that have lain in the hearts of women since time began are now beginning to form a part of public opinion. Did you see the wave of support which carried forward the Kellogg pact? Did you realize how fundamentally these questions stir the minds and hearts of women? Olive Schreiner said in one of her books: 'It may be possible for a man to look at a battlefield and remember an international dispute, but there is no woman who can look at a battle-field and not have her thought, other women's boys.' The most valuable commodity that is wasted in war is not battleships. It is not the shot and shell, but it is human life, and human life is the product of the home." (80)

III Response of the audience.

Mrs. Owen says that "the most intense demand which the speaker..."

(79) Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 163
(80) Congressional Record, January 19, 1932, p.2.
can make upon his audience is the demand for action. Carlyle stated that no man has a right to speak until what he has to say is so ripe with meaning and the reason for his saying it so compelling that what he says will result in a deed - a thing accomplished - now or after a while." (81) Mrs. Owen delivers a message in her speeches, then she demands a response from the audience. She appeals to the audience to act by supporting the measures which she advocates.

(81) Owen, Ruth Bryan, Elements of Public Speaking, p. 130.

An Analytical Study of the Speeches of Mabel Walker Willebrandt.

I. Characteristics of the speaker.

A. Prestige of the speaker. Mrs. Willebrandt received many unfavorable comments from Republicans as well as Democrats concerning her campaign speeches. Representative Emanuel Celler, a Democrat, sent a message to the Republicans saying that Mrs. Willebrandt "ought to be silenced, at least officially. I hope your voice will be raised in your party's councils to squelch her. She might rave all she wishes for prohibition, but setting one religious group against another is a dangerous game." (82) Although this statement is fallacious and based only on the fact that Mrs. Willebrandt addressed many Protestant groups, it is true that she did create hostility. Perhaps one reason that public opinion was unfavorable to Mrs. Willebrandt was the fact that she used sarcasm in some of her speeches. Although sarcasm is detected usually through the tone of voice, the following excerpt contains a tinge of it.

"I noticed that on September 18, 1928, The New York Times reported a speech made by a prominent Southern Senator headlined, 'SMITH UPLIFTS TAMMANY'. A significant sentence is, 'Since the happy warrior became an influence in the Tammany organization .... it has become daily more respectable as well as more powerful.' We have heard a great many surprising things about the Governor of New York since he became a candidate for President, but this certainly puts him in a new role." (83)

Emily Newell Blair has expressed Mrs. Willebrandt's position:

"Mrs. Willebrandt has made of herself a force to be reckoned with. Once I said that not until woman in politics was criticized and hated, would women really have arrived in politics. I was glad to discover Mrs. Willebrandt's face in a recent magazine among 'most hated citizens'. For it means that in some other magazine the same face will be found among the most loved. To make enemies of those who oppose one's position is to make friends of those who approve. And to do this is to make oneself the

spokesman for a group, the rallying point of a cause, and that is to become a power in Politics." (84)

Mrs. Willebrandt's ability to win the favor of a hostile audience is shown in a post-campaign speech. She was able to create favorable prestige during the delivery of a speech. Mrs. Willebrandt was asked to deliver a public lecture under the auspices of the Bar Association of the City of New York, March 22, 1929. It is interesting to note that on this occasion she carefully avoided a discussion of the prohibition question, one of the sore points of the campaign.

The New York Times comments,

"Prior to Mrs. Willebrandt's appearance there had been some objection among the members of the association to her lecturing under its auspices. When she began to speak last night she was obviously apprehensive that her remarks would meet with a hostile reception. Then, as she sat down, the audience accorded her long and hearty applause, relief replaced tension in her expression." (85)

B. Delivery. Mrs. Willebrandt first began to attract attention not only as a lawyer but as a speaker in 1913 when she became a public defender. Her ability as a cross-examiner in court was remarkable. She was described as

"suave, quick, logical; she wasted no words. She displayed a controlled almost white-heat temperature in her arguments, because she passionately enjoyed to plead. Her rigidly dialectical manner and her natural argumentative ability combined themselves with an impersonal quality that surprised everyone who heard her ... She has a clear and resonant voice." (86)

Her former secretary says that "either her book or her magazine articles give a fair idea of the subject matter of her speeches but of course there is missing from them her charm and earnestness which made them what they were." (87)

(84) Blair, Emily Newell, "The Case of Mrs. Willebrandt", The Woman's Journal, p.23
(86) The Saturday Evening Post, Sept. 24, 1927, p.190
(87) Fortex, Leora, A Reply to a Questionnaire, Feb. 13, 1932.
Mrs. Willebrandt has a singular beauty and clarity of tone in her speaking voice; in addition to this, her earnest and forceful manner makes her a convincing speaker.

II Characteristics of the composition of a speech.

A. Method of preparing a speech. In reply to a letter, Mrs. Willebrandt's secretary wrote, "Mrs. Willebrandt speaks extemporaneously. She writes an outline of her speech and commits the outline to memory. She does a great deal of research for the foundation of a speech. With this framework she delivers the speech in words inspired by the audience before her."

There is evidence that Mrs. Willebrandt does a great deal of research work particularly in legal cases. In one case Mrs. Willebrandt was called upon to defend a person who had been seriously injured by a street car. The case was intricate because the injury had involved certain inner canals of the plaintiff's ear. "In order to place her points clearly before a jury, Mrs. Willebrandt studied medicine in its relation to her case. When five months later the case was called, Mrs. Willebrandt argued brilliantly with medical as well as legal authorities at her tongue's tip. She won a ten thousand dollar verdict for her client." (88)

In Mrs. Willebrandt's campaign speeches for President Hoover we find the same general outline of the speech but the words and expressions of the speech vary to a great extent. To show the difference in her expressions before different audiences the following quotations illustrate her use of the extemporaneous method of speaking.

Speaking of Governor Smith's connection with Tammany, she said,

"He was the one Governor in all the American States who, notwithstanding

his oath to support the Constitution of the United States, pulled down one of the forty-six pillars the people had erected for its support. New York had ratified the amendment. That ratification was a pledge to concurrent effort. But the audacious Governor was unconvinced by such reasoning. Tammany wanted the least possible prohibition. Tammany had reared him; gave him his power. Tammany's desires were his convictions."

In another speech she says, "We would prefer a candidate who respects his constitution to one who juggles with it for political reasons." (90)

Again she says,

"Thus the wealthy groups of anti-prohibitionists and Tammany, symbol of predatory politics, and Governor Smith were found in early alliance. It is reasonable to assume that the Governor's oath promising to support the Constitution of the United States binds him to assist in the letter and enforcement of the Federal Constitution, but New York, through Governor Smith's leadership, has repealed the enforcement act." (91)

B. Technic of the sentence.

1. Language. Mrs. Willebrandt has been spoken of as a dialectical speaker. The clearness and logic of her sentences may be the result of the economy of her language. She places her arguments before the audience with simplicity and force. Every element of her speeches is necessary for persuasion.

The brevity and logic of her expressions may be shown in this speech.

"The Republican Party therefore offers as a contract with the American people first, freedom and recognition of their right to change the Constitution by constitutional means or, as Washington said, 'by the explicit authoritative act of the whole people'; second, it pledges that the standard bearers of the Republican party will observe the Eighteenth Amendment themselves; third, it pledges that the nominee and the party will join in vigorous enforcement of the laws; fourth, it promises that graft will be prosecuted and the public service improved. The Republican Party offers this platform to you, proudly sure of the faithful performance of its pledges in both the spirit and the letter, because its candidate in Herbert Hoover." (92)
a. Choice of words. Mrs. Willebrandt has an exceptionally vivid manner of expressing herself. She uses words which sound pleasing to the ear, words which aid the sincerity of her speech by means of their simplicity, and words which are familiar. Quintilian says,

"Words become obsolete with the lapse of years, the one sure standard being contemporary usage; and they are not good or bad in virtue of their inherent nature (for in themselves they are no more than mere sounds), but solely in virtue of the aptitude and propriety with which they are arranged, while rhythmic composition will derive its main charm from its variety." (93)

A quotation from one of Mrs. Willebrandt's speeches will give a characteristic sample of her use of words.

"Every act and utterance of my life proves that I hold both love and reverence for the high Christianity of the great Catholic leaders who began the modern prohibition movement and helped carry it on to a realization. A religion that produces saints like Father Mathew, Pope X, and the immortal Mercier needs no defense. Because with an emotion common to most Americans I love tolerance and yearn to see it a reality in our nation life, I look forward with hope and gladness for the election of Herbert Hoover; his life radiates true toleration, Christian kindliness, and high idealism. Under his example and leadership mutual forbearance and understanding between Catholic, Jew, and Protestant, and racial groups in American will reach new and higher levels." (94)

It will be noted that Mrs. Willebrandt always ends her sentences with an important word. Shurter emphasizes this when he says, "Especially the very close of a sentence, and most especially the very closing words of a speech, require the application of the principle of cadence, for any marked falling off in sonorosity at the end is displeasing to the ear." (95)

b. Use of personal pronouns. "Real oratory is fundamentally conversational, it is speaking face to face." (96) Mrs. Willebrandt

(93) Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria, p.81.
(95) Shurter, Edwin DuBois, The Rhetoric of Oratory, p.151
(96) Ibid., p.122.
gains this relationship with her audience by the frequent use of personal pronouns. She uses an average of 120 personal pronouns in a speech of one-half hour's length. This is six per cent of the total number of words of the speech.

2. The rhetorical question. "There is something sharp and challenging about a good question. The listener pays attention, he formulates his answer, and whatever the answer is, the question and answer promote that conversational directness and intimacy which is the great desideratum of all public speaking." (97) Mrs. Willebrandt observes this principle which is illustrated in the following example.

"Has the Democratic candidate not scrapped his party's guarantee on the prohibition question? ... Do you remember meatless days? So, too, we can have cocktailless parties. Do you say that was war-time sacrifice, and the average citizen won't sacrifice his desires in peace times? Of course peace patriotism is harder, but it is not impossible. ... After all, is making the amendment effective a bigger job than feeding Europe? ... Why is it not relevant to point out the $81,000,000 stolen in two years and eight months from the citizens of New York by Tammany?" (98)

3. Repetition. "Every speaker of experience knows that he must often enlarge upon the simple statement of a thought and in effect repeat it perhaps a half dozen times before his audience will 'take it in'. Iteration aids both in clearness and in emphasis." (99) The clarity of Mrs. Willebrandt's speeches is due in part to her frequent repetition of a word, phrase, or idea. This quotation furnishes an example.

"We are now faced with the astonishing spectacle of some of the leaders in American industry trying to make the American people believe that 'it can't be done' only when we are concerned with the material things of life, but that when it comes to a question of good government, that when it comes to a question of decent living, that when it comes to the question of abolishing the bootlegger and the speakeasy, that when it comes to a question of making the law of the land paramount to the vice element of the community, that 'it can't be done.'" (100)

(97) O'Neill and Weaver, Elements of Speech, p.290.
C. Development of the message.

1. Evidence. Cicero recognized that oratory must rest on a basis of accurate fact when he said, "What savors so much of madness as the empty sound of words, even the choicest and most elegant, when there is no sense of knowledge contained in them?"(101) This principle has long been recognized in debates. "When men in debate or discussion make statements that are not accepted, or which they fear may not be accepted, it is common to present evidence to prove that they are right.... Unsupported assertion is all too prevalent."(102) One of Mrs. Willebrandt's most forceful weapons is her reference to authority.

The presentation of evidence carries with it conviction.

A quotation from one speech illustrates this use: "Let us refer to no partisan report. A paragraph in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, volume XXVI, page 392, after describing various gangs of bribers and bosses that have ruled Tammany, says ..."(103)

2. Cumulation and climax. Cumulation and climax are supplements. The "heaping up" of ideas loses its force if there is no climax. Shurter combines suspense with climax when he says, "In oratory suspense also refers to withholding an idea through a succession of clauses, or of sentences or even of paragraphs ... Climax consists in the arrangement of words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs in the order of ascending power with a view of a gradual increase of impressiveness."(104)

One of the many striking examples of Mrs. Willebrandt's use of this principle is quoted.

(101) Cicero, On Oratory and Orators, p.60.
(102) O'Neill and Cortright, Debate and Oral Discussion, p.107.
"Election of the Democratic candidate this year would mean drowning our prosperity in the cheap labor of foreign countries, exposing farm and industry to world competition and the destruction of home markets. It would mean intrusting the complex economic problem of farm relief to an experimenter, politically trained by Tammany. It would mean spreading into other states the wholesale disregard of law that has grown up under the nullification policy of Tammany's Governor; it would mean taking away the jobs of American workmen by the tide of immigration; and it would inevitably result, as Democratic administrations have in the past, in an army of unemployed." (105)

4. Rewards. Lumley says that "reward is one kind of power that penetrates the innermost recesses of our lives. It is an almost sure way, among normal people, of setting off explosions within and starting activities which readily canalize themselves in approved ways." (106)

Mrs. Willebrandt used this means of control in all her campaign speeches. She showed the audience the rewards they would receive if they elected Herbert Hoover, and how these rewards would be denied them if Governor Smith were made President. This appeal may be seen in the following excerpts:

"You have a chance to prove by electing Herbert Hoover that obedience to law can be secured and that America does not retreat before organized crime." (107)

"The Republican Party offers this platform to you, proudly sure of the faithful performance of its pledge in both the spirit and the letter because its candidate is Herbert Hoover." (108)

III. Response of the audience.

The responses of Mrs. Willebrandt's audiences were varied. Since the speeches analyzed were campaign speeches, an objective study of the audience responses could not be made. Political prejudice was
a larger factor in producing a response from the audience than the effectiveness of Mrs. Willebrandt's speeches.

In a speech she delivered before the Ohio Conference of Methodist Episcopal Ministers, she appealed to the audience for action in this way: "There are 2,000 pastors here. You have in your churches more than 600,000 members of the Methodist Church in Ohio alone. That is enough to swing the election. The 600,000 have friends in other States. Write to them! Every day and every ounce of your energy is needed to rouse the friends of prohibition to register and vote." (109)

Her address was enthusiastically cheered and the Ohio Conference unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the candidacy of Herbert Hoover. This is substantial proof of Mrs. Willebrandt's ability to arouse an audience to respond.

The following analysis shows that Judge Allen is highly effective in the following particular way she is a good speaker. Her use of eye contact ensures her of a sympathetic audience. Her delivery is forceful. In addition to being relaxed with an American quality of voice, she uses this native equipment to advantage by utilizing it in a conversational manner of delivery.

The characteristics of composition of Judge Allen's speeches conform to the characteristics of good speech composition. She writes only an outline, omits this outline in speech, and delivers the speech extemporaneously. The technique of her sentences complies with the established criteria. Her vocabulary is terse, familiar, and significant. She achieves close audience contact by the frequent use of personal pronouns. (112) She obtains emotional illustrations by means of rhetorical questions. Logical and clarity of words, phrases, and ideas are obtained through her use of repetitions.

It may also be concluded that Judge Allen is a good speaker because she has a message. The forcefulness of her speeches is gained through her intense desire to educate the individuals of the nation.

(110) The analysis in this thesis of the speeches of the three women shows that Judge Allen used personal pronouns to the extent of five percent of the total number of words of an entire speech and Ruth Bryan Owen and Isabel Walker Willard used personal pronouns to the extent of six percent. Further study of many more speakers would be necessary to establish a definite criterion regarding the specific percent of personal pronouns to be used by a good speaker. The fact, however, that three of the effective speakers do use five and six percent personal pronouns indicates the possibility of a criterion.
Conclusion.

The foregoing analysis of the speeches of Judge Florence E. Allen shows in the following particulars why she is a good speaker. She enjoys prestige gained through her professional reputation. This public esteem assures her of a sympathetic audience. Her delivery is forceful. In addition to being endowed with an excellent quality of voice, she uses this native equipment to advantage by adhering to the conversational manner of delivery.

The characteristics of the composition of Judge Allen's speeches conform to the characteristics of good speech composition. She writes only an outline, commits this outline to memory, and delivers the speech extemporaneously. The technic of her sentences complies with the established criteria. Her vocabulary is terse, familiar, and significant. She achieves close audience contact by the frequent use of personal pronouns. She attains conversational directness by means of rhetorical questions. Emphasis and clarity of words, phrases, and ideas are obtained through her use of repetition.

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in the principles of world peace. In developing the message of a speech, Judge Allen employs the expedient of many simple illustrations to convey her ideas. In this way the audience becomes active in recalling experiences which are familiar to them. She presents evidence to strengthen her assertions. Psychological appeals, such as rewards and praise, are also utilized. The cumulation of ideas leads to a very definite climax in Judge Allen's speeches. This device makes her speeches clear, forceful, and effective.

Judge Allen recommends some definite reform upon which the audience is challenged to take action. Her speeches pass the ultimate test of good oratory in that each speech commands a response from the audience.

The foregoing analysis of the speeches of Ruth Bryan Owen shows in the following particulars why she is a good speaker. Although the name of Bryan alone would offer prestige to a speaker, Ruth Bryan Owen has gained a favorable reputation on her own merits. Her delivery approaches perfection. Although her voice is beautiful, she uses it only as a tool; the expression, rather than the mechanism of the expression is predominant.

The characteristics of the composition of Mrs. Owen's speeches conform to the characteristics of good composition. By using the "extemporaneous committed" method of preparing a speech, she attains force and logic in her style. Much of her charm as a speaker is gained through her sentence technic. Her words in particular are well chosen, appropriate, and connotative. She has close audience contact through the abundant use of personal pronouns. The sharp rhetorical question adds vigor
to her speech. In each speech Mrs. Owen has a message which she defines, expands, and re-states in a cogent climax. The development of her message is augmented by the effective use of illustrations.

The fact that Mrs. Owen has the ability to arouse the interest of her audiences, to hold their attention, and to convince them with her arguments gives final proof of her effectiveness as a speaker.

The foregoing analysis of the speeches of Mabel Walker Willebrandt shows in the following particulars why she is a good speaker. Mrs. Willebrandt has aroused both favorable and unfavorable public opinion. This has given her prestige only with those who agree with her ideas. As I have shown in the analysis (p. 36), she made one speech after the campaign for President Hoover in which she had to overcome the prejudice against her of that particular audience before proceeding with her message. That she was able to gain the confidence of a hostile audience shows that she was able to gain prestige during the delivery of a speech. Her delivery is effective because she has a clear, resonant voice and an earnest, forceful manner of expression.

The composition of Mrs. Willebrandt's speeches is in accordance with the composition which characterizes all good speeches. The "extemporaneous committed" method of preparing her speeches gives a lucid framework for her particular style of expression. In the technic of her sentences, there is an economy of expression in her choice of words. Her frequent use of personal pronouns lends a conversational frankness to her speeches. She uses the rhetorical question as a grappling hook to draw her audience closer to her. Her use of repetition of words or phrases gives her speeches brilliance and emphasis.
Mrs. Willebrandt is adept in developing her messages. The strength of her speeches is based on the accuracy of the assertion which she supports with evidence from reliable authorities. The audience is forced to accept her statements. Her speeches are constructed so that every word, phrase, sentence, and paragraph leads with ascending power to an impressive climax.

It has been difficult to make an objective study of the response of Mrs. Willebrandt's audiences. In her campaign speeches the audiences responded but the response was due to political prejudices rather than to the effectiveness of her speeches. In fairness to Mrs. Willebrandt the post-campaign speech, which aroused a very favorable response, was included as an indication that Mrs. Willebrandt is capable of persuading an audience to accept her point of view.

The conclusions drawn regarding the effectiveness of these three women were based on the application of objective standards to their speeches. The only comparison which can be made objectively is that they have utilized the same underlying principles of oratory. The only contrast which can be made will necessarily be a subjective conclusion. From a subjective standpoint I wish to state my impressions of the three women. Judge Allen makes one feel that she is interested in speaking not for any personal acclaim or loud applause but for the welfare of all the people in the world. Her speeches are marked by sane logic and quiet forcefulness. Mrs. Owen is slightly different in that her interests are more varied. Her reforms have a national rather than international significance. Although her message is never forgotten,
she deeply impresses one with her gracious manner and her charming personality. She has the same qualities which characterized her father as the "silver-tongued orator". Unlike these two women is Mrs. Willebrandt who enjoys speaking for the love of argument and the prize to be won. Whether it is a candidate to be elected or a ten thousand dollar damage suit to be won, she utilizes all her energy and enthusiastically completes her tasks.

In summarizing the foregoing generalizations, it may be said that the popularity of these women speakers is not "an outgrowth of the greater independence of women, achieved through the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, June 5, 1919" for there is evidence that there have always been effective women speakers in America. These particular women speakers studied have been shown to be effective speakers because they have utilized certain common principles of oratory. The principles of oratory used as standards for judging the effectiveness of their speeches were originally evolved from studies of effective speeches made by men, but from this study it is shown that speeches of women may be measured by the same criteria as those which have been defined for the speeches of men.
Judge Florence E. Allen seems to have studiously avoided the politics of her time. She was the first woman in the world to preside as a first degree murder case, and the first woman in the world to be elected Judge of a Supreme Court.

Although her parents were originally from Ohio, Judge Allen was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 25, 1894. She attended a private school in Salt Lake City before going to the Seminary of her grandparents, who had founded it in New York, Ohio. Her college education was obtained from Western Reserve University. She studied law in Chicago for the next ten years, then she returned to America and re-entered Western Reserve University, where she received the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Constitutional Law. At the same time she conducted the criminal column of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. During the next two years she studied law at Chicago University and New York University and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1914.

After establishing her own law office, Judge Allen became a counselor for the Legal Aid Society. This helped her to become known. Little by little she worked up a practice that carried her to the Ohio Supreme Court in two years to argue a municipal suffrage case that established the right of women to vote in East Cleveland, Lakewood, and Columbus.

She was next appointed Assistant County Prosecutor of Cuyahoga County. This afforded her experience, as she tried hundreds of cases in the two years of this position.

In 1920, she stopped into the office of the Judge of the Court of
A Biographical Sketch of Judge Florence E. Allen.

Judge Florence E. Allen was the first woman in her state to be installed as assistant prosecuting attorney, the first woman in the world to preside in a first degree murder case, and the first woman in the world to be elected Judge of a Supreme Court.

Although her parents were originally from Ohio, Judge Allen was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 23, 1884. She attended a private school in Salt Lake City and later went to the Seminary her grandfather had founded at New Lyme, Ohio. Her college education was obtained from Western Reserve University. She studied music in Berlin for two years, then she returned to America and re-entered Western Reserve University where she received the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Constitutional Law. At the same time she conducted the musical column of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. During the next two years she studied law at Chicago University and New York University and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1914.

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She was next appointed Assistant County Prosecutor of Cuyahoga County. This afforded her experience as she tried hundreds of cases in the two years of this position.

In 1920 she stepped into the office of the Judge of the Court of
Common Pleas. She ran on the non-partisan judicial ticket against ten candidates. Furthermore she received the largest vote ever given to any judicial candidate for that court.

In 1922 she moved one step higher to the Supreme Court. Although she is a Democrat, she again ran with no political organization behind her. With five candidates to fill two vacancies, she stood second in the number of votes cast.

Constance Marshall says,

"This is not the whole story of her work. When she was an undergraduate she elected a course in international law that interested her immensely. The fact that there has never been any code of ethics between nations struck her with peculiar force. Then came the war and she lost two brothers, one killed in action in France and the other dying as a result of injuries received in action. The consciousness of defective international relations as a barrier to peace lingered with her and her belief in peace as a practical reality became intensified. She began to study problems of peace. She went to Geneva and visited the League of Nations; she spent some time with the Sherwood Eddy party in Europe, devoting most of her vacations to the study of this question. She began to study textbooks on international law and to consider all possible avenues to peace. She gave lectures on this subject and gradually it became the thing which is the absorbing interest of her life. Judge Allen has become one of the most outstanding of the public speakers of to-day. Her opportunities for speaking engagements are so numerous that she cannot fill more than one-fifth of them."(110)

A Biographical Sketch of Ruth Bryan Owen.

Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, the daughter of William Jennings and Mary Baird Bryan, was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, October 2, 1885. She was a student in Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Illinois from 1899 to 1901. She attended the University of Nebraska for the next two years. Her political training began when her father first went to Washington from Nebraska. In the political campaign of 1908 she acted as his secretary. Her knowledge of international affairs is widely practical. She speaks three languages; she has traveled on the Continent, about the Mediterranean, and over South America with her father and mother. She married a British Army Officer, Major Reginald Owen, who was killed in the World War. During the war she served as ward nurse, surgical nurse, and operating room nurse in a hospital in Egypt. In addition to hospital service, she organized a concert company which spread cheer in hospitals and rest camps.

Mrs. Owen has had much experience as a speaker.

"She was a Lyceum and Chautauqua lecturer from 1919 to 1928. She knows every nook and corner of the United States. She has spoken to more than a million people in every State in the Union. She has taken the time and had the interest to learn all she could about whatever locality she was in by close observation. She has made a special study of industrial and welfare conditions, following her interest in civic affairs in Florida." (111)

When she went to live in Miami several years ago, she became interested in Parent-Teacher Association work on account of her children, and she did such brilliant work there that Miami University urged her to take charge of the Public Speaking department, which she did for several years. She was also Vice-President of the Board of Regents.

for that institution. She organized the Miami Theatre Guild and was its chairman.

Mrs. Owen has the distinction of being the first woman to be elected to Congress from any of the States of the Old South. She was elected a Representative from Florida in 1929.

One of the most delightful descriptions of Ruth Bryan Owen was given by Hamilton Holt, President of Rollins College in Florida, when in 1927 she was awarded by that college an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Mr. Holt said, "Good daughter of a good father, mistress of the spoken word, statesman of both achievement and promise, for your womanly service in the world crisis brought on by man's ignorance, obstinacy, and folly: for your high conception of civic duty and for your many services to your State and Nation, Rollins College bestows on you the degree of Doctor of Law." (112)

Mrs. Willebrandt's first position was teaching school in Busena Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, where she remained a year. Then she was appointed principal of the Lincoln Park School in South Pasadena. Grits by accident she took her first step toward the path of a legal profession. She decided to study law in order to write a civic textbook.

When Mrs. Willebrandt had been studying in the College of Law at the University of Southern California for two years, Mr. James Pope asked her to join him in his work as assistant public defender. She was attorney for two thousand cases as public defender of women. After passing her bar examination in 1918, Mrs. Willebrandt opened an office with two young men who had been fellow students at the University. Her practice, consisting of damage suits, land title suits, mortgage foreclosures, actions of emancipation and will contests, grew up naturally.

A Biographical Sketch of Mabel Walker Willebrandt.

Mabel Walker Willebrandt, the daughter of David and Myrtle Eaton Walker, was born May 23, 1889, near Woodsdale on the Kansas Prairie. The first thirteen years of Mrs. Willebrandt's life were spent in wandering with her parents. The family moved to Kansas City, where Mrs. Willebrandt attended public school for the next six years with the idea of later attending college. An early marriage to Mr. A. F. Willebrandt of Buckley, Michigan, changed her plans. It became necessary to take Mr. Willebrandt, who was threatened with tuberculosis, to a mild climate. The Willebrandts moved to Phoenix, Arizona, and Mrs. Willebrandt attended the normal school at Tempe, from which she graduated in 1911.

Mrs. Willebrandt's first position was teaching school in Buena Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, where she remained a year. Then she was appointed principal of the Lincoln Park School in South Pasadena. Quite by accident she took her first step toward the path of a legal profession. She decided to study law in order to write a civics textbook.

When Mrs. Willebrandt had been studying in the College of Law at the University of Southern California for two years, Mr. James Pope asked her to join him in his work as assistant public defender. She was attorney for two thousand cases as public defender of women. After passing her bar examination in 1915, Mrs. Willebrandt opened an office with two young men who had been fellow students at the University. Her practice, consisting of damage suits, land title suits, mortgage foreclosures, questions of guardianship, and will contests, grew rapidly.

On September 27, 1921, Mrs. Willebrandt was appointed Assistant
Attorney General of the United States. An article in the Literary Digest, January 17, 1925, described the duties of this office.

"Mabel Walker Willebrandt, who is in the early thirties, brings before the Supreme Court of the United States all matters of jurisdiction concerning prisoners, prohibition, internal revenue laws, evasion of income tax, smuggling of liquor, minor acts to regulate commerce, and a few other matters. In all these she represents the Department of Justice before the highest court of the land and she does this with a clearness of vision and a virility of mind that has brought forth the admiration of those with whom she has to deal." (113)

Mrs. Willebrandt resigned as Assistant Attorney General in May 1929. Since that time she has practiced law with the firm of Willebrandt and Horowitz in Washington, D. C.
A speech delivered by Judge Charles Z. Allen at the Conference on Women and Work Issues.

Appendix B.

Guests of the Participating Organizations and Friends:

While I listened to the splendid exposition by the distinguished military officer, I noted how timely and wise his appeal to the delegates to take advantage of this opportunity. I have before me delegations from each splendid group, delegations from the American Association of University Women, who have had the training that a hundred years ago was needed to win the world over to freedom; from the Council of Women for Peace Missions and the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, the men who believe that the ethics and philosophy of Christ ought to be put into practice in our daily life; (Applause) from the General Federation of Women's Clubs, that splendid group which likes to gather as many organizations with such a vast field of cultural and civic activities; from the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations which beneficently directs the activity of the young women of the entire nation; from the National Council of Jewish Women, with such a heritage of teaching behind them that they will not be proud and we may well be pleased to have them affiliated with us in this gathering; from the National League of Women Voters, a league whose membership qualifies over the entire country, a league which believes "every woman an intelligent voter," and thereby every man shall be made a more intelligent voter (Applause); from the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, that fighting group which stated long ago that the evil

Members of the Participating Organizations and Friends:

While I listened to the splendid expositions by the distinguished military officers, I have been wishing that I had the force and eloquence to take advantage of this opportunity. I have before me, delegates from such splendid groups, delegates from the American Association of University Women who have had the training that a hundred years ago was denied to women the world over; delegates from the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, the women who believe that the ethics and philosophy of Christ ought to be put into practice in our daily life; (Applause) from the general Federation of Women's Clubs, that splendid group which links together so many organizations with such a vast field of cultural and civil activities; from the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations which beneficially directs the activity of the young womanhood of the entire nation; from the National Council of Jewish Women, with such a heritage of law-making behind them that they well may be proud and we may well be proud to have them affiliated with us in this gathering; from the National League of Women Voters, a league whose membership qualifies over the entire country, a league which believes "every woman an intelligent voter", and thereby every man shall be made a more intelligent voter (Applause); from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, that fighting group which first said that the evil
of the open saloon must go in America; and last but not least, from
the National Women's Trade Union League, the group of women who do
work with their hands so well competing with labor in the open market;
that they force the world to give them an honest living.(Applause)

When we think of the ramifications of these organizations,
their territorial extent, the numbers which they represent, can we
underestimate the power which resides in this particular group? And
more than that, it is significant that this is a group of women, not
because the war problem is primarily a woman's problem. Women suffer
hideously in war but so do men. Every boy who lost his life in the
World War had the greatest human right denied him. We find these truths
to be self-evident — that all men are endowed by their Creator with
certain inalienable rights, rights that can not be given away — among
them the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.(Applause)

Did you ever think what a deprivation of the right to life
war is?

And we are here as a group to make a new declaration of
independence, to say that henceforth we will be independent of the
curse of war; that we hereby demand that the tyranny of the most
colossal evil that the world has ever seen shall cease. And, my friends,
it is significant that this is a woman's gathering, because while men
suffer with women in war, and while men work with women to do away war,
as the presence of these distinguished speakers evidences, the fact
does remain that woman's task is peculiar with regard to the abolition
of war.

Women have to teach the human race that ethical standards can
be set up and maintained between nations, as well as between individuals.
(Applause) Women have to teach the coming generations that the rules of right and wrong can be applied, women have to teach the race that this is not impossible; that law can be substituted for the use of armed force in the settlement of international difficulties. And in the long run, my friends, over and above and behind and underneath all of the plans which will be urged here for the cures of war, and I undoubtedly am in accord with the spirit of all of them and with many of their features, the fact remains that you and the women of the world who believe that this evil can and must be abolished, have to go out to change the convictions of men's minds that war is legal and sanctioned and necessary, and that is primarily a task for women.

And then, too, women have another peculiar responsibility in this matter, because they have within them that thing which Kidd calls the emotion of the ideal, that long-range power of looking far off into the future; that power of working for something which they see not, something which they only hope and dream will come to pass. Thousands and thousands of women in this country joined the ranks of those who demanded that liberty should be given to women, as well as to men, and died before we ever had the vote. That spirit within women comes, perhaps, partly from our physical nature and partly from the long, sad training of the ages which has compelled us to achieve a masterly self-control.

(Applause) That power makes it possible for us to sacrifice and renounce and work for something which will not immediately be accomplished, and, of course, my friends, in spite of advances which have been made in our lifetime in the peace movement, you and I know that it will be a long hard progress, and that years and centuries will go by before the peace fabrics will finally reach full completion.
Now this emotion of the ideal present in women makes us perhaps see with a certain clearness certain fundamental facts, because we are looking forward to the attainment of the final consummation. We look forward to the abolition of war itself, and nothing less. Because of that perhaps we see more clearly certain practical aspects in the situation, and we wonder, as women, how it comes that government spends so little money and such little effort for making peace, and so much money and so much effort for making war. We say to ourselves that if centuries ago the finest minds of the nation had been gathered together to develop peace, instead of to keep war machinery well oiled, perhaps by now the peace fabric would have been built. We say to ourselves that if in 1500 A.D. the great energies of the races had been poured into substituting law for war, the World War would never have been fought. (Applause) And then we say, too, that we demand substantial steps toward peace. We care little in the mass just how it is done in detail. Women are not particular as to who does it; they are not particular as to who gets the honor of the great achievement. They are not particular as to the name by which the thing is called, but women want war branded and made criminal; they want the sanction taken away from war and adjudication substituted for war. They want, in a word, law not war. (Applause)

And just because we have within ourselves this great power, this emotion of the ideal which is essential toward achieving causes as colossal as this, we confront particular dangers. It has been said here in America since the women got the vote that we ought to be used mainly as a channel for engendering enthusiasm. (Laughter) My friends, creating enthusiasm is worthy of certain objects, but let us by all
means scrutinize the objects. Let not these groups, let not these fine
groups act as cheer leaders in a game in which they do nothing but the cheering.

And we face other pitfalls, I shall speak particularly of one this afternoon. It contains correlative dangers. We face the danger of thinking that we can help to do away with war without actual knowledge, and we face the correlative danger of thinking that we can be of no use in eliminating war unless we are experts. I shall first speak of the need of actual knowledge. We must not emotionalize. Every step we take; every measure we demand must be based upon our knowledge of actual facts. Let me illustrate very simply with regard to one subject which is to be considered by you in this conference. I speak of the codification of international law. Now, some people think that the codification of international law would have great weight in doing away with war because they think that if law could be gathered together governing the conduct of nations, then we would have laid the groundwork for orderly adjudication of internal disputes. And, my friends, if codify means to enact, then I agree that codification of international law is very necessary; but codification in its usual sense, in the sense in which lawyers generally use it, does not mean to enact law. It means to make a compilation, to make an orderly, systematic assemblage of laws already existing. But there is practically no international law existing enforced by the courts with regard to the conduct of nations. Take the latest books on international law - Scott or Stowell or Munro—and look through those textbooks in which courts have enforced international law, and you will look in vain for any case which has held any nation guilty of the crime of making deliberate, premeditated, aggressive
war. You will look in vain for any case which finds any nation guilty of stealing, or guilty of extortion. Because of my legal experience I perhaps particularly see the need of such law. I have presided in a number of murder trials and sometimes I ask myself, how I ever could have impaneled a jury in a murder case, or how the jury could have convicted the prisoner or how the prisoner could have been sentenced by the court if there had been no law making murder a crime. And I wish to explain here very simply what to me the phrase "outlawry of war" means. It does not mean that the enactment of law making war a crime will of itself prevent war. I am one of those people who believe in securing peace by all means, and I do not pin my faith to one method only; but, my friends, how can we enforce a law before we declare the law? The first step in law enforcement is the declaration of the law. And, perhaps, I might put it simply in an illustration like this: Suppose that your child did something that you did not like, and you wanted to stop him doing it; suppose that Johnnie tells a lie; do you say to him: "Johnnie, all fine little boys tell lies, but you know I, myself, personally, do not like to have you do it, so please do not do it in the future." Is that what you say? Or suppose that Mary takes a piece of pie right out of the pie that is saved for the family supper. I used to do that when I was a child; I still want to. Do you say to her: "Mary, all little girls with spunk and initiative go to the pantry and take the thing that was saved for the family, but just for my sake I wish you would not do that in the future." Is that what you would say? Of course not. You say to Johnnie: "All straight, upstanding little boys are honest and truthful; they do not tell lies, and I want my boy to be honest and truthful." And you say to Mary: "It is selfish to take the
things that were for the whole family; it is selfish and I don't want
my little girl to be selfish." You lay down a moral basis upon which
you begin to enforce moral law. And, my friends, again I repeat, I am
not one of those who believe that the mere enactment of law, making the
making of war a crime, would, of itself, stop war; but I am at a loss
to understand how the World Court or the Hague Court or any tribunal
which is constituted can brand the making of war as illegal and dis-
reputable so long as we recognize and tolerate and sanction the making
of war. (Applause) In other words, in addition to the machinery for
enforcement, in addition to the World Court, in addition to some kind
of permanent, continuously operating international organization which
must exist, the world needs to declare moral law as applicable between
the nations. The world needs to lay down a "Ten Commandments" between
the nations: "Thou shalt not war; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not
oppress."

And by whom can this law be laid down? It can be laid down
by treaty; it can be laid down by conference; it can be laid down by
the League of Nations. A beginning has been made in the protocol at
Geneva, with its declaration of the outlawry of war. A beginning has
been made in the Borah resolution, pending in the senate for the out-
lawry of war. These declarations have not as yet been accepted and en-
acted, but they are a very important start.

Other laws must follow, the law of enacting crimes between
nations just as those crimes exist between individuals. Suppose, for
instance, you were to cut out of the law of New York State, or Ohio, or
California, the laws making murder and arson, rape, and burglary crimes,
the whole bottom would have dropped out of your moral and social fabric;
you would have lost the very basis upon which all law is built. The first step in law enforcement is to declare law. Now this Ten Commandments could be declared by the Hague Court or by the World Court, if these tribunals could lay down law. And, my friends, what I am about to say to you I want you in no sense to construe as criticism upon arbitration or as opposition to entering the World Court. I wish the world would employ arbitration to the last possible degree, and I favor our entering the World Court but neither court of arbitration nor the World Court as now constituted can lay down law.

A court lays down law in quite a simple way. It has a given case before it, and upon the facts of that case it enunciates legal and moral principles. When another case based upon the same kind of facts comes before the court, the court applies the legal and moral principle laid down in the first case to the second case exactly as if that law had been passed by the legislature.

Let me illustrate by a case with which we are familiar in Ohio. We had what we called the East Cleveland Municipal Suffrage case before we got the vote. The city of East Cleveland had a home rule charter and it gave the women the vote. We went to the Supreme Court of Ohio, upon the legality of our enfranchisement in municipal matters, and the Supreme Court said that a home rule city in Ohio could give women the right to vote in city elections, and the women of East Cleveland secured the municipal vote. Shortly after the women of Columbus induced their Charter Commission to give them a vote in the Columbus charter, and the charter was submitted to the electors and carried. Now, if the Supreme Court of Ohio had not been able to lay down law the women of Columbus would have had to apply again to the Supreme Court
to see whether they had a right to vote in Columbus elections. But the Supreme Court had held in the first case: "A charter city has the right to give women the power to vote in city elections." And so women of Columbus did not have to try their case because law was made by the Supreme Court when it laid down legal principles in the East Cleveland case.

Now, in an arbitration moral principle is not laid down. Arbitration simply decides the case. It decides who wins, but not who is right or wrong. And as to the World Court, it is bound by this provision in the statute. Article 59 of the statute which creates the court states as follows: "The decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case."

And so, my friends, the World Court can not lay down law. I believe in adhering to the World Court because it can interpret law; because it can adjudicate cases which come within its jurisdiction, but we shall have to have law, not codified but enacted, declaring the primary crimes between nations before we can properly go forward to enforce that law. Sometimes when I think that we have asked of the World Court, and the Hague Court, and the League of Nations, asking them to prevent war, when up to this time in history the whole so-called Christian World, the whole civilized world tolerated and sanctioned war, it seems to me that we have been asking an impossible thing, because the sanction must be taken away from war before we can enforce provisions against war.

And now, the women of this country demand that this be done; they demand that war shall no longer be sanctioned; they demand that the use of law as a means of settling international controversies be adopted.
And some people say this is impossible. Why, my friends, human history shows that this is the next step in our social development. There was such a thing as war between individuals; there was private warfare between individuals; that private warfare has been abolished. There was warfare to determine legal questions. Men used to go out and fight to decide questions of titles to land in what was called the "wager of battle". That has been abolished, and the duel, which clung so long and so persistently — that has gone with the advance of civilization. Shall we say that men, men who swim beneath the sea in boats and who climb the sky in airplanes, are incapable of applying to themselves in groups the same law which they applied to themselves as individuals?

Now, I shall speak to you of another danger which we face that is, the danger that we shall think we know too little to assist in solving this problem. I was interested to read the other day in a statement of a speech made by a distinguished officer for whom I have the highest personal regard, that he said that pacifism in the United States was rampant because of the women's insatiable desire to mix in things which they did not understand. And he said that we did not understand war, because war is a question of mathematics and science. (Laughter) Of course, I do not know whether this distinguished officer said what is ascribed to him, but the fact does remain that that view exists. I grant that science goes into the making of war. I could not calculate the trigonometric formulae of our great modern guns; moreover, very few men could. (Laughter) Science, of course, governs military tactics; science must always come into play when war is made; but the question of keeping out of war, the question of maintaining peace, and the question of establishing
peace is not a question of science and mathematics; it is a question of establishing moral principles between the nations as law, enforceable as law, and that is not a question of the curve or the momentum or the velocity of a gunshot.

And then, on the other hand, there are some people who think we cannot help to establish peace because there is so much to know about the Dawes plan, there is so much to know about the whole question; and if we are really to understand the workings of the League of Nations, our treaty relations in the Senate, the World Court, and the workings of the Pan-American Union, we shall need much more expert knowledge than we have. I go so far as to say that no woman's club or organization in this country ought to function longer without having one member, a committee of one, to read the League of Nations' documents, to keep in touch with things that are going on in the Senate, to be posted upon our relations, particularly with South America and Central America and the Caribbean, and to report back to her own club.

But after all, the great basic policies which underlie the making of peace are not difficult of comprehension. Any ordinarily intelligent person can understand them. I will even say that never until in this country the ordinary person, the non-expert voter, is taken into the confidence of the peace expert, never until that time can America take her place among the leaders in the peace movement of the world. (Applause)

I remember there was a great meeting held once at the Masonic Hall in Cleveland at which Mrs. Catt spoke. Will Irwin had told us what would happen to the world in the next world war; that war would be directed against the whole civilian population; how the advance of
chemical warfare would make the next war something undreamed of. Mrs. Catt had some scholarly address to make, and instead of making it she threw down her manuscript and came down into the center of the stage and called upon the women of the United States to end war. That call we are still hearing. I suppose I have quoted one hundred times something which she said that night. She said: "The women in this room can do this thing; the women in this room can do this thing." And when she said that she said something truer than she knew. She said something which she knew from her own experience to be true for she had seen the woman's suffrage movement start when women had no training, no education, no money, nothing but the inherent rightness of their cause; she had seen it sweep over the whole civilized world in her lifetime. The women in this room can do anything which is right and just, my friends.

Think of the colossal absurdity that we should have lived through last year of our Lord, 1918, and the law for nations during all this time until very recently has been, "The State can do no wrong." We have to change that law; we have to write new law, we have to say, "The State shall do no wrong." We have great odds against us; we have great interests and great powers against us; we have something, on the other hand, to inspire us. The boys, you know, went out and met six times their number of the crack troops of Europe, and sent them reeling back in their tracks; and, of course, they fought for a number of things, but they fought principally because they thought that that would end war. If we have any conception of their sacrifice we will never let that standard fall; we will make this war the war which did end war.

Sometimes I am depressed over the international situation,
but I heard something this summer which I intend to keep before me as a symbol of our hope. I know a girl, Marjorie Johnson, who did war work in Italy and France and Germany. This summer she visited all of her little villages and she personally investigated and knew that this thing happened. At Montfaucon, in France, which was so shelled that it seems nothing but a remnant was left of the town when the armistice was signed, a man came one night at dusk and knocked at the door, and he asked if she was the woman of the house. He spoke French— a strange kind of French. She said, "Yes I am the housewife." He said, "Perhaps you won't want to talk to me, because I am a German." She said, "Go on, monsieur." "I had a son who was killed in the war," he said, "He was killed near here and he was buried somewhere near here. I came over this morning as early as I could to hunt for his grave and I could not find it; I thought perhaps I could find some cottage where I could stay all night and go on tomorrow morning in the search, but probably you won't want me to stay under your roof because I am a German." She said, "Monsieur, I had a son who was killed in the war, killed fighting for France in self-defense; your son was killed fighting under orders, and I suppose he was killed doing what he thought was right; but shall anyone say that as between a father who lost his son in battle and a mother who has lost her son in battle, there is a gap that can not be bridged? Come in, monsieur, and stay this night."

I do not know how many of us could rise to that height; but, my friends, the great forces of human affection, the great love of fathers and mothers for children the world over are fighting this battle. With that irresistible aid the women in this room can do this thing; they can do it because it is eternally right. There is no
situation in the world in which the rules of right and wrong can not function. There is no group in the world to which the laws of right should not apply, and you and I have to study this problem in this conference, and go out to teach the race that we will have law, not war. (Applause) (114)
The Duties of a Congressman.

A speech delivered by Ruth Bryan Owen before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, at Philadelphia, November 27, 1929.

One hundred and forty years of usage have not sufficed to determine definitely the function of the Member of Congress. Our Constitution names certain necessary qualifications; the mode of election is exactly determined; a certain attitude of mind has developed on the part of the electorate toward the duties expected from their Representatives, but the actual function of this official remains a subject for academic discussion.

Is the member of Congress the spokesman of his constituency, expressing the collective opinion of the electorate, whether or not this opinion coincides with his personal conviction, or is the Member of Congress selected by the voters as a gesture of confidence in his judgment and integrity in order that he may express on their behalf his own considered judgments?

These two widely divergent concepts form the basis for interesting discussion, and the evident nebulousness of public thought on the matter places the Representative in an anomalous and frequently unbecoming position. The condemnation of the press is visited alike upon the Congressman who votes "dry" when he is by personal conviction "wet" and the Congressman who votes "wet" in accordance with his conviction, when he knows the sentiment of his district to be "dry". The former is unhesitatingly labeled "hypocrite" on the same page of the newspaper which calls the latter "traitor".

The plan of the congressional representation, outlined by
the authors of our governmental formulae was drafted for a homogeneous public largely agricultural in its interests, and with a fairly uncomplicated economic pattern. This plan must now be applied to a rapidly increasing heterogeneous population, with unexampled industrial development and a corresponding complexity of social and economic problems.

An interpretation of the Representative's function, which expressed the original intent of the framers of the Constitution might well find itself affected by the tremendous changes which a century and a half have produced.

There are also practical considerations involved in the acceptance of either definition of function. If the Congressman is to be regarded as the mouthpiece of the people of his district there must be a technique by which he can accurately ascertain their will. This implies a continuous and efficient contact between the public and their Representatives if the Representative in Congress is to voice the opinion of from 250,000 to 500,000 people on any question which may arise.

Unless the Congressman exerts his ingenuity to devise some individual method of liaison, he has only two accepted sources of information regarding public sentiment, the press of his district, and the letters which come to his desk.

While there are individual communities in which the editors are so close to the feeling of the community that they can and do reflect public opinion accurately in their columns, there are many other communities in which, either through political partisanship or a lack of the necessary sympathy and understanding, the local editor does not reflect in his column the feeling of the community.

In all events, there remains a wide gap in regard to questions
of a technical or international nature, which, being outside the scope of immediate interest of the local press, are scarcely touched upon at all. Even the most careful perusal of the press of a district can not give the Representative a reflection of the public attitude of mind on many questions which are presented for his consideration. As a medium for supplying the Representative with the public opinion of his district, the press, unaided, is not sufficient.

If a volume of mail provided an accurate gauge of the feelings of a constituency, the Representative ought to be well equipped. Hundreds of letters on a great variety of subjects pour onto the Congressman's desk and furnish a number of straws to indicate the direction in which the wind of public opinion may be blowing; but there are factors which militate against the accuracy of this gauge - one, the organized propaganda efforts frequently stirred up by some single active individual or group; another, the fact that it is not always the most insistent and vocal opinion which is the most trustworthy of public sentiment.

The practice of printing in the newspapers or broadcasting over the radio the appeal "Write to your Congressman about this" often results in an avalanche of mail which indicates nothing more than the power of suggestion on the human mind and a regrettable misinformation about the actual source of help for some particular local difficulty.

Frequently an individual or an organization can produce the appearance of public opinion by an organized demonstration, and this ability renders the Congressman's mail a not entirely accurate gauge of public opinion unless there is a continual exercise of discrimination and a judicial weighing of evidence.

The legislative committees of various clubs direct frequent
impulses, which produce a voluminous correspondence. In illustration, the Norbeck bird bill seemed to affect powerfully the imagination of women's groups. Although I heard of no opposition to this bill, I received a continual stream of letters from my district which urged upon me the duty of assisting in its passage, and long after the bill had been passed and signed and had become law I continued to receive appeals urging me to support it.

It is evident that if the Congressman is to be the mouthpiece of his people he will need additional means of familiarizing himself with their thought, a continual close contact not furnished by the local press or by the letters which come to his desk. A technique must be developed for obtaining those opinions from the collective mind of his constituency, of which he is to be the voice.

On the other hand, if the function of the Congressman is that of leader rather than mouthpiece of his constituency, another technique will be required. The problem then lies in disseminating to the citizens a knowledge of the position which their Representative has taken. The public must be acquainted in detail with the Congressman's opinions and diatribes, and some machinery is required to disseminate this information.

There are three methods by which the Representative may, with more or less success, acquaint the public with his stand upon public questions. The Congressional Record probably has some such purpose for its raison d'être, but there are several circumstances which prevent it from completely filling the function of interpreter to the public. There are only 60 copies of the Congressional Record assigned to each Representative for distribution to his district.

In my own congressional district this provides approximately
one copy of the Record for each 8,333 of the population. Although I have in practically every instance assigned these Congressional Records to public libraries and institutions in which they will be available for public inspection, I can not venture to hope that crowds are now elbewing their way to these libraries in an eager effort to find out what stand I have taken on the Hawley tariff bill.

I would be interested to know how many people in my district read every copy of the Congressional Record. I feel certain that it is not a large number, and that this publication, invaluable for occasional reference, can not be regarded as an efficient method for acquainting the entire public with the opinions and utterances of the Representative in Congress.

A second method of disseminating this information is through the campaign speeches of the Representative. The fact that the Congressman must seek re-election every two years helps to insure a certain frequency of campaign trips and public utterances in the nature of a report of congressional service. The use of the radio has tremendously increased the scope of campaign speeches and has brought a far wider public into touch with the voice and thought of the political candidate. But assuming that circumstances compel the Representative to present himself for a biennial tour of his district and that a scrupulous conscientiousness forces him to furnish his public with an account of his attitude on all public questions, there remains the fact that two years is a comparatively long space of time for the public to wait for information, although it may seem to the Congressman a painfully short interval between campaigns for reelection. Also it is arguable that the exigencies of the political situation and the urgency with which the
candidate must plead his cause may sometimes prevent a complete and dispassionate record, and certainly the mental atmosphere of a campaign is not one in which the public can calmly and correctly inform itself on the details of a Congressman's record.

There remains the third method by which this dissemination of information may be accomplished, the issuance of news to the national press associations or special news bulletins to the press of the district. If a matter is of sufficient importance to justify the interest of the national press, the former is the effective medium, but unfortunately many of the questions which are of vital interest to the local voter in any particular State can not be regarded as national news.

The issuance of news bulletins from the Representative to the press of his district offers two problems, that of the time required and the cost involved. The Government allowance of $5,000 a year for secretarial aides to each Congressman does not provide a margin for a publicity expert concerned with the compilation of news. The work which must be accounted for by the Congressman's staff is unremitting and heavy. This can be increased almost indefinitely in the measure that the Congressman desires to expand the scope of his work, but it can not be decreased below a certain minimum of service, and the duties implied tax the staff of any conscientious Congressman. If the Representative is impelled to furnish a press service from his own purse, the demands will not be light upon it. In my own district I have approximately 90 newspapers. A weekly or monthly news-bulletin service to 90 newspapers would be a costly undertaking, although if I had the means to undertake some such project, I would welcome the opportunity to render the very definite service which I believe it would give to the
public which elected me.

We have in considering the function of a Congressman, as
either spokesman for or leader of his constituency, to carefully consider
the two techniques implied in gathering from the public an accurate
sense of its verdict on all questions or disseminating to the public a
complete account of the leader's own expression on their behalf.

In presenting my individual definition of the function of a
Congressman, and certain applications of the theory of congressional
representation, which I have made as a result of my own earnest desire
to discharge the responsibility laid upon me by the electorate, I
present these conclusions before such a group as is represented here
with a certain diffidence.

May I employ a comparison from the highly domestic and
feminine profession of dressmaking? There are two schools of thought
amongst dressmakers. There are the dressmakers who have a carefully
prepared pattern which they can place upon the cloth, cutting the
desired garment from it, and there are the dressmakers who drape the
material upon the living body of their client, and having pinned into
position a becoming garment, they are then able to spread the material
out and see what shape it really is.

As profound students of social and political science you
are yourselves familiar with paper patterns. I find myself con-
fronted with a living congressional district upon which I am attempting
to drape a garment at once adequate and fitted to the subject. In this
spirit I present my conclusions in all humility.

I offer as my suggestion that the function of the Representa-
tive in Congress is neither exclusively mouthpiece or leader, but a
combining of these two functions in a carefully considered dual relationship, with a gradual trend, as the beginner in Congress becomes after years of service a senior member, and as relationship in confidence is built up through the years, a gradual trend from the function of spokesman only to a greater and greater degree of trusted leadership.

While there are purely local and personal questions on which the individual citizen has his strong convictions, which the Representative must at all times respect, there will always be a large field of national and international action in which the individual voter, being unqualified to judge with technical skill and breadth of vision, should be able to trust his Representative's judgment.

As this dual capacity necessitates the serious consideration of the establishment of an intellectual contact between the voter and the Representative, I submit as a corollary to my definition of function those methods by which I hope to inform myself and my district.

I have selected at about the geographical center of my district a resident secretary to serve as a liaison officer between my office in Washington and the people of my far-flung district. By personally attending local conventions and conferences, my resident secretary can keep me informed on the public attitude of mind, and by means of a set of questionnaires we are making surveys upon which my efforts in Congress on behalf of the district will be based. We are at the same time organizing advisory groups, representative of the opinion of the public. For instance, we have obtained, by asking the suggestions of chambers of commerce and editors of newspapers, a list of those who are qualified, by actual experience, to be regarded as experts in agriculture in every county in the district. A list of some 500 leading growers of
fruits and vegetables has thus been compiled. To these growers questionnaires were sent by my resident secretary as to the unmet needs of the farmer in every section of our district. From the replies to these questionnaires we have been enabled to formulate a comprehensive picture of our agricultural problems.

If in one county there is a need of soil survey and in another it is a lack of water transportation which constitutes the farmer's problem, or if a protective tariff against destructive competition with Cuban or Mexican products seems to the local farmer to be necessary for his prosperity, I want to visualize this whole situation, and by the means I have just outlined I have been able to do so.

The problems of my coast line, its harbor and inlets, its lighthouses and its Coast Guard, are the subject of another survey, which will not only supply the required data to give me a perspective for my congressional work but will also, as in the case of the farmers, develop a list which will continually grow — a list of those persons best qualified to represent public opinion in a specialized field.

To the technique of disseminating to the public a knowledge of the position of its Representative I contribute the annual report.

At the adjournment of the special session last spring I visited every county in my district, and practically every town, and made my first annual report to more than 60 towns, speaking to over 40,000 people face to face, exclusive of that far larger public which my report reached by means of the radio. If there was any question as to the interest which the American citizen feels in his Government, it would be answered by the way in which those report meetings in midsummer, without the excitement of a political campaign, were attended.
Gatherings which represented the whole population of little rural communities listened attentively to every detail of my report. In every instance I not only gave an accounting of my legislative stewardship but I attempted also to outline briefly some of the mechanisms of government which are little known to the general public, with the idea that by such means I could each year add to the public consciousness of my district a technical knowledge of governmental institutions. I also outlined in every report those pending measures which were closest to the interest of the people in order to direct their attention and study.

By the resident secretary and those conferences held in every town, in which the people were invited to bring their problems personally to me, I want to gain that close knowledge of the thought of the people as well as their problem, without which I can not hope to accurately voice their sentiments. And by the annual report, I hope to disseminate to the public not only information regarding my individual stand on public questions, but a knowledge of the more obscure bureaus and departments of Government which are equipped to render a valuable service to our people and a knowledge by which my public can tremendously benefit.

The foregoing discussion has occupied itself with the duty of the Representative in relation to the electorate. I frequently hear the term "electorate" used in a way which implies that the electorate is static — something already formed and fixed in its quality. These references fail to take account of the accretions represented by tremendous numbers of young voters, who in each election cast a first ballot and bring fresh minds to bear on political problems.
Surely the individual selected by the voters as their Congress-
man bears some relation not yet analyzed and defined to these newcomers
in the field of political endeavor. When the high school or college
gives the graduate a diploma which marks the close of his school life,
surely there should be some gesture of welcome on the part of the
Government of the Republic when the duties of citizenship in the school
are exchanged for those of citizenship in the Nation.

The American's Creed, in which William Tyler Page has so
finely set out the fundamental attitude of mind of the patriot, I am
having engraved on sheets of parchment similar to those used for diplomas.
Each youth will be welcomed to participation in the functions of Govern-
ment by my presentation of the American's Creed to every graduate from
a high school, college, or university in my district.

And in each of my 18 counties I have instituted citizenship
contests. The students of the high schools will select by vote, each year,
the three boys and three girls from their number who have been the best
citizens — not the best scholars necessarily, but those who have given
the most unselfish service to their school. From this group the faculty
will select the one boy and one girl in each county who is their choice
as representing the highest degree of individual citizenship.

At Easter I will take these 36 young people to Washington for
a week's study of Government. Following the same general plan which I
have used for more than 100 Florida children, I will attempt to give these
boys and girls a bird's eye view of American history and institutions.
First, we will read the Declaration of Independence in the original, where
it hangs in its gold case in the Congressional Library.

Then we will walk in the footsteps of Washington at Mount
Vernon and, standing in front of the Capitol, where its dome rises against the sky, we will see those legislative halls where the Senate and the Congress of the United States assemble, I want the students to visit the Supreme Court. No one can fail to respect the dignity of law if they have seen our Supreme Court in session. These young citizens will meet the President and realize that the President of our Republic has a word of warm commendation and welcome for students who represent the best citizenship in their communities. I want this pilgrimage to give to these young people not only a bird's-eye view of our history and institutions but to place as a background for all their political thinking those high, white columns and symmetrical marble structures which give our National Capitol its dignity and beauty.

In offering certain conclusions which I have reached in my desire to formulate applications of the theory of congressional representation at once efficient and accurate, I realize the inadequacy of any review of the function of the Representative which deals with the technical formula and omits the deeper spiritual significances.

There are certain callings which by the loftiness of their intent set themselves apart from the material occupations of mankind. When, by virtue of his office, an individual is given the title of "justice" he has been invested with the symbol of a divine, not a human, attribute. Clothed in this dignity he is charged with the balancing of scales in which the results of human frailties and strength must be weighed for the safeguarding of society.

And in like manner, when an individual is chosen by a quarter of a million of his fellow citizens as "Representative", and, by virtue of this office, becomes the voice of the inarticulate and the
defender of those whose condition places them in need of the special consideration of their Government, this is a responsibility which not only calls for an accurate technique and a material efficiency, but one which places in the hands of the Representative a measure of the destinies of those who have expressed their trust in him by the ballot.

Because I am personally familiar with every community in my district, I found myself visualizing all that wide territory when I took my oath of office. I could see each city and each little village; I found myself picturing the stretches of Everglades land, with the farmers out working under the sun. I could see the fishermen in their boats on the blue water, and I thought, "If anything should go wrong with my people now it will be my fault, for they have trusted me."

I wonder if there are any hours too long, or any work too arduous to be given willingly in the discharge of such a duty as representation lays upon the official. I think that there is not, and I know that the major portion of my colleagues in the House of Representatives share this attitude of mind.

It is natural that the visitors to the gallery of Congress are often filled with a sense of disillusionment when they see the apparently casual and irrelevant procedure in that Chamber. There should be some way to acquaint them with the fact that they are able to see from the gallery of Congress only a small fraction of the actual work which the members accomplish in their individual offices, in committees, and in those errands on behalf of the constituency which carry them into all parts of that labyrinth of departments and bureaus in which the Nation's business is administered.

The long hours of painstaking and selfless effort can not be
perceived by the casual visitor, neither are they reflected in the
general tones of the press comment. It is natural that some piece of
buffoonery or some catchy phrase of sensational epithet should find
itself in heavy type on the front pages of the newspapers, while a
vast amount of quiet, conscientious effort is by its very volume
rendered a commonplace. It is not news that some Congressman gives so
generously of his time and effort that his health and strength, and
even his life, are laid down as his contribution to government. There
is nothing striking here - there is no word or act to focus public
attention - and yet how much more secure our public would feel, and how
much more proud in the right to citizenship in a republic, if the real
quality of congressional service were apparent to all.

I have not heard this conception of public service in Congress
formulated in words by my colleagues, but I have seen it expressed in
their lives.

A recognition of their vision and integrity, as well as my own
sense of the trust imposed in me by the voters of my district, invest
the office to which I have been elected with a significance which can
not be compressed into an analysis of methods or technique.

Those strange, strong currents which sweep through the hearts of
men, transmuting toil into joyful service, can not be measured. The sense
of having been given, through participation in the high calling of a
Representative, the right to clasp in my hand the hands of half a million
people extended to me in friendship - to bear to them a close, human re-
relationship bound up with their present well-being and their future hopes
and aspirations, goes too deep into the emotions to be expressed in words. (115)

It Can Be Done.

A campaign speech for President Hoover delivered by Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt in Warren, Ohio, September 28, 1928.

The stationary stores of the country sell postcards with the legend "It can't be done" excepting that the letter "T" in can't has been crossed with a red line. Although the card is a flippant one, it truly reflects the state of mind of the American people. The thought that there is anything they, through their Government, cannot do is obnoxious. Because of that state of mind America has produced inventions, the full significance of which has not even been approximated. Through sheer will power and the unwillingness to admit defeat, the unwillingness to admit that "It can't be done", America and the world in general have been made a better place to live.

An example is the development of the automobile industry, and particularly the part that has been played by Ford and General Motors. We are now faced with the astonishing spectacle of some of the leaders in American industry trying to make the American people believe that "it can't be done" only when we are concerned with the material things of life, but that when it comes to a question of good government, that when it comes to a question of decent living, that when it comes to a question of obeying law, that when it comes to a question of abolishing the bootlegger and the speakeasy, that when it comes to a question of making the law of the land paramount to the vice element of the community, that "it can't be done".
There are, of course, many who do not believe that
the prohibition law is a good one. There are those who sincerely
believe that the Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed. It
may be conceded that they are now in the minority just as the
prohibitionists were once in the minority. The right to diverse
views on this subject is undoubted. Such divergence of views
is not only proper but is wholesome, since it focuses the
attention of the nation on the different aspects of the question.

But when any considerable number of the American
people and especially when some leaders industrially and politically press upon the public the thought, the state of mind that
they, the American people, are incapable of enforcing the
prohibition law, or any law, then such leaders are inflicting
upon the American people a wound and a hurt beyond the power
of such leaders to calculate.

So far we have rapidly grown in power, in wealth,
in culture and spirituality. Whenever we get to the point
that we really believe of any national job nobly and honestly
undertaken, that "it can't be done", we will have reached
the apex of America's achievement.

That is why there has been so tremendous a recoil
against Governor Smith's policy of retreat on prohibition.

This retreat and effort to restore the beverage
liquor traffic is in line with his years of Tammany training.
Tammany always protected the saloon.

One serious reason for the opposition to the Democratic
nominee is his Tammany connections. A man's horizon is always
limited by his contacts and the persons whom he serves and
the enterprises he undertakes. So, the average thoughtful voter
will look at the experience of the two men, one of whom will
guide the nation for the next four years. All honor to a man
born humbly whether it be in the tenements of New York or near
a blacksmith forge in Iowa.

Humble beginnings are laduable and no man has a
choice as to where that beginning will be; but the test when
men submit themselves for the highest public office in this
land is whether they have enlarged the horizons that may have
surrounded early life.

Those who oppose Governor Smith believe he has not
done so, but has used the forces of Tammany and the underworld
as stepping-stones, with the inevitable political obligations
thereby imposed. We observe much effort to apologize for
Tammany and point out that it has now reformed and is
engaged largely in charitable enterprises. In fact, the
managers of the Smith campaign have put forth an official
document dealing in a delicate and rarefied way with
Tammany and pointing out that organizations service to the
South in Reconstruction days.

If what Tammany did to the South in the late
sixties has any bearing on this campaign, why is it not
relevant to point out that $81,000,000 stolen in two
years and eight months (see Encyclopedia Britannica, the
eleventh edition, Volume 26, P.391) from the citizens of
New York by Tammany during the Tweed, Croker, and Murphy period.
In fact, speaking of this reformation, I noticed that on September 18, 1928, the New York Times reported a speech made by a prominent Southern Senator headlined "Smith Uplifts Tammany". A significant sentence is "Since the happy warrior became an influence in the Tammany organization ...... it has become daily more respectable as well as more powerful".

We have heard a great many surprising things about the Governor of New York since he became a candidate for President, but this puts him in a new role.

I would not for the world wish to do Tammany an injustice or disparage Governor Smith's undoubted talents, so in picturing just how big a task he has undertaken when he becomes the uplifter of Tammany, let us refer to no partisan report. A paragraph in the Encyclopedia Britannica, eleventh edition, Volume 26, P.392, after describing various gangs of bribers and bosses that have ruled Tammany, says:

"The grosser forms of corruption that prevailed under Tweed did not as a rule prevail in later years. Instead the money raised by and for the Hall and its leaders has come from the blackmailing of corporations, which find it easier to buy peace than to fight for their rights; from corporations which desire concessions from the city, or which do not wish to be interfered with in encroachments on public rights; from liquor dealers, whose licenses are more or less at the mercy of an unscrupulous party in power; from other dealers, especially in the poorer parts of the city, whose business can be hampered by the police; from officeholders and candidates for office, and, lastly, indirectly
through corrupt police officials, from the criminal classes and
gambling establishments in return for non-intervention on the
part of the police."

Of course, Tammany's Governor may be equal to the task
of reforming Tammany, but I want to say far above a whisper that
I doubt it.

There is no need of discouragement. The Eighteenth
Amendment with all its high purpose, is safe with Herbert Hoover.
He believes in it. He has no handicap of Tammany associations
or obligations. He has the training and the experience to tackle
it. He sees it in terms of its economic advantage, in terms of
patriotic and unselfish sacrifice.

He sees it in terms of observance of law more than
enforcement of law. After all, is making the amendment effective
a bigger job than feeding Europe? It is not bigger than any one
of many of his administrative achievements. The core of the task
is leadership to lift our national morals to give the law a
fair chance.

Food won the war; but it meant getting loyalty and
cooperation from every kitchen. A great administration in whom
all had confidence did that. This same administrator can instil
confidence in the Constitution and give new meaning to law
observance.

Do you remember meatless days? So, too, we can have
cocktail-less parties. You say that was war-time sacrifice, and
the average citizen won't sacrifice his desires in peace times.
Of course, peace patriotism is harder, but it is not impossible.
Respect for the Government and the Constitution is patriotism of peace.

Herbert Hoover carries no timidity of defeat in his heart. He has the amazing spiritual leadership to make each law-abiding household want to do its bit. Governor Smith says it can't be done. With Herbert Hoover we know it can be done. (116)
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