

and from attacks of foreign ene-
mies. I know of no finer display
of these ^{steeled} qualities than ~~shown~~ in
his noble attitude toward the
conduct on the Seminole war.

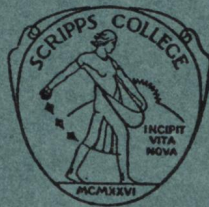
His love of country was of the
truest type of patriotism. He loved
her institutions because he believ-
ed them to be conducive to the
highest development of the liberties
of the people and he was faithful in his
of the ~~advantages~~ ^{advantages} of their ~~possession~~
ness. He wanted his country to be
great ~~and to be believed in the great~~
~~He was willing to do all things that would~~
~~advance that greatness as a citizen~~
consisted in his clear vision of
what would advance ~~that destiny~~
and what would threaten ^{also} its
~~success. Hence of no and~~ ^{glory} He had
a marvellously clear understand-
ing that the greatness of his coun-
try depending upon its adherence
to law as laid down in its Consti-
tution, of unflinching courage in

the defence ³ of its rights; and
in scrupulous integrity and
magnanimity and self-control in
dealing with its enemies, whether
they be strong or weak. I know
the period including the war of 1812 and the
demanded ~~in his long career~~
that ~~illustrates~~ ^{before} these qualities ~~than~~
his great ~~speech~~ ^{before} the Seminole
war, ~~just a few years ago~~ ^{in 1817} and afterwards in
the ~~war with the Seminoles~~ ^{war with the Seminoles} He was
in ~~the danger to our~~
national rights by submission to
the encroachments of Great Brit-
ain upon our rights ^{of navigation}
~~seas~~, he had led in bringing
about the war of 1812; He had
helped to ~~bring~~ ^{bring} ~~seas~~ had seemed
a feeble nation in comparison
to the ~~power~~ ^{power} of the mistress of the
seas: But his courage was not
dismayed, ~~because~~ ^{because} he believed
in the justice of our cause. He had
helped to bring that war to an
honorable conclusion, But the
greatest triumph of our arms was

of England upon our ~~rights~~
several rights he had led us
bringing about the war of 1812.
Ours had seemed a feeble
nation in comparison with the
power of the mistress of the
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conclusion. ~~Singularly enough,~~
~~owing to the slowness of communi-~~
~~cation,~~ ^{Singularly enough,} the greatest triumph of our
arms was the battle of New Orleans,
singularly enough, ^{which} owing to the
slowness of communication, ^{was} fought
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tary pride and no doubt added to
the wholesome respect for our

Oct 1926

SCRIPPS COLLEGE BULLETIN



The Education of Women

AN ADDRESS BY

LADY OGILVIE

PRINCIPAL OF ST. ANNE'S COLLEGE

OXFORD

SCRIPPS COLLEGE BULLETIN

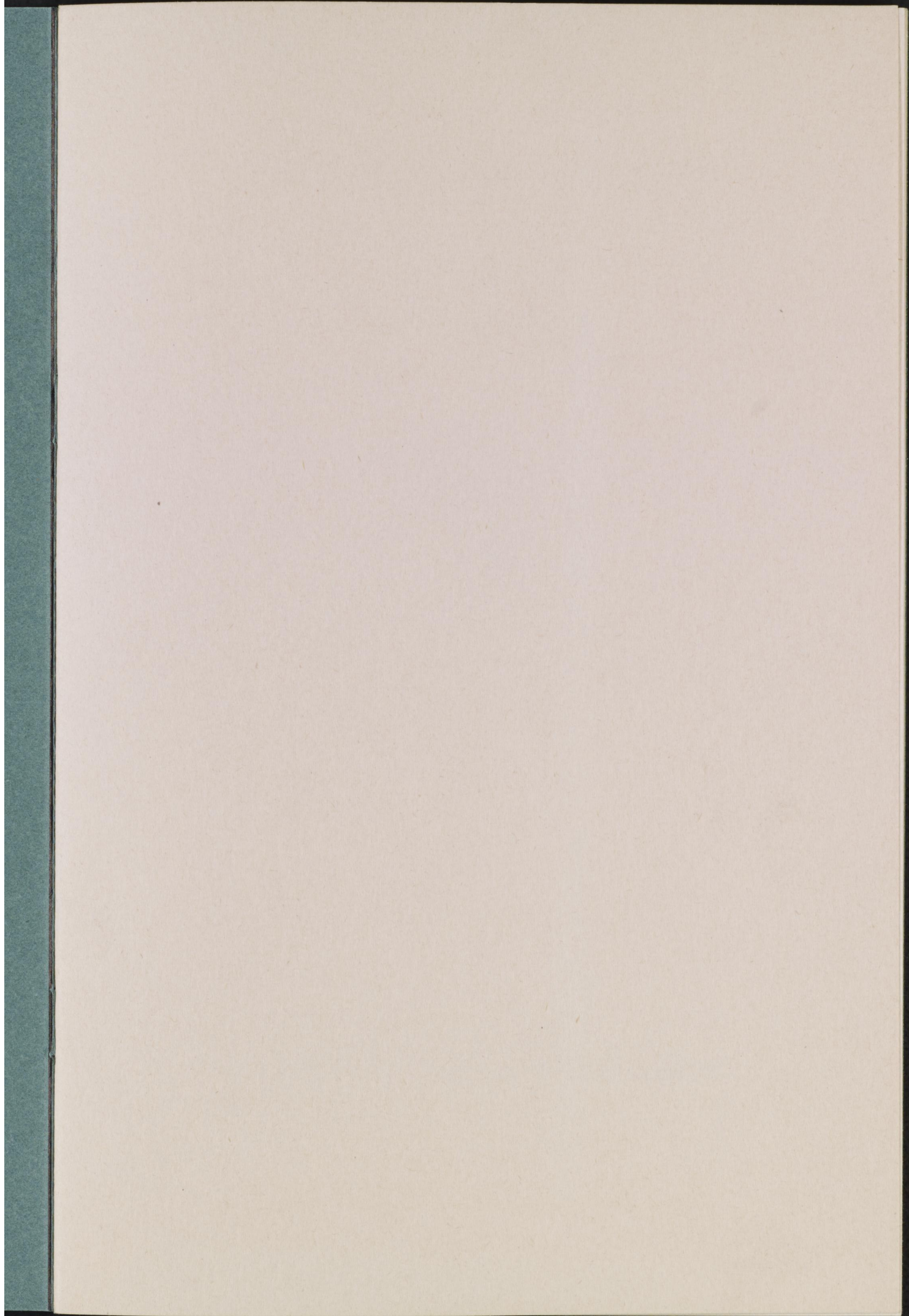
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The Education of Women

AN ADDRESS BY

LADY OGILVIE



SCRIPPS COLLEGE, CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

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FOREWORD

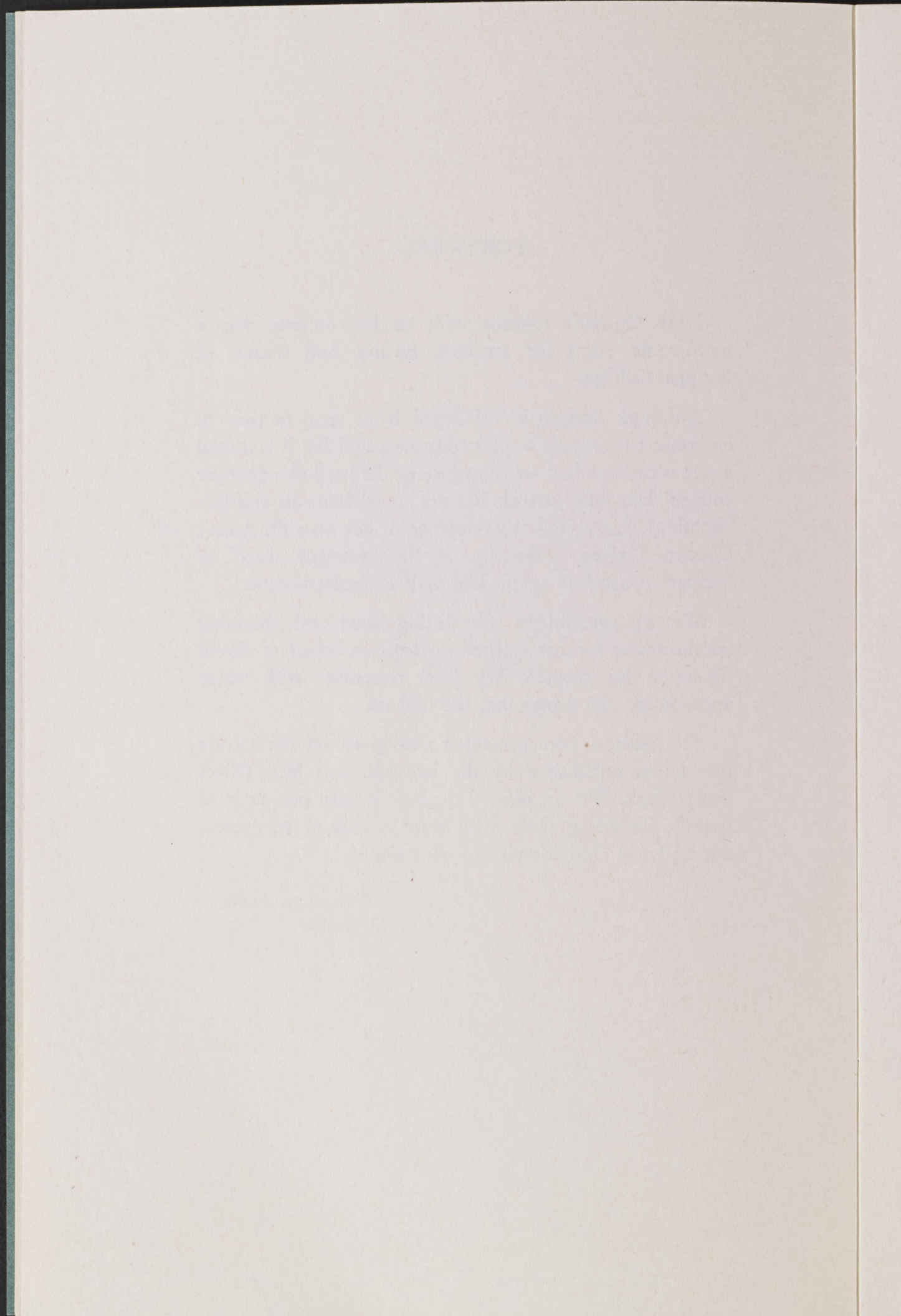
Lady Ogilvie's sojourn with us last autumn was a memorable event for students, faculty, and friends of Scripps College.

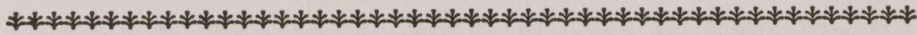
Although Scripps is privileged from time to time to entertain educational leaders from near and far, it is indeed a rare occasion when we can welcome the head of a younger college than ours (which has yet to celebrate its thirtieth birthday). Lady Ogilvie's reference to her own St. Anne's College, Oxford University, as the "younger sister" of Scripps is therefore as gracious as it is almost unique.

We are grateful to this distinguished and charming administrator for her spirited *apologia* in behalf of liberal education for women. We shall remember with warm appreciation the things that she told us.

The address here presented was given on the lecture foundation established by the late Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Perry Clark. We are pleased to share it with our circle of friends, including those who were unable to be present during Lady Ogilvie's visit to our campus.

FREDERICK HARD
President





THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

I am greatly honored by being invited to come to this lovely college to deliver the Clark Lecture. I am only too well aware of the fine tradition of Clark lecturers, and I know, too, of the great reputation which Scripps College holds in the world of education as a vanguard of liberal learning. In the words of the President of this college: "Scripps believes that sound education is the supreme means of ennobling and enriching the resources and capacities of the human mind and heart." These are noble words, indeed, and words which reach out far beyond the bounds of this campus.

I come from an older foundation, but a younger college than Scripps. I bear with me messages of greeting and good wishes from a younger sister college seven thousand miles away — St. Anne's College, Oxford, England. When I landed off my plane in Boston, in the middle of a hurricane, I lined up with the other passengers — one of a somewhat battered and storm-tossed party — in order to satisfy the immigration authorities as to the reason for my journey. An official scanned my papers, rather dubiously, I thought. Then light dawned. "Ah," he said, "you're an educator." And all was well. Today, all of us in this hall are educators, either of ourselves or other people, or even of both. Because of this, I make no excuse for the title of my lecture — "The Education of Women."

I believe the time is ripe for much thought on this whole matter. I am strengthened in my conviction that you are thinking of this problem in America as we are in Great Britain, for I have been fortunate to have been able to study the findings of the Commission on the Education of Women of the American Council of Education. Their report — written by the Director, Althea Hottel — is packed with wise and good things. I recommend it to all of you who have not already seen it. Its title is "How Fare American Women?"

Mary Donlon, in her stirring conference statement, is quoted as saying: "This we know, the free way of life draws on

woman power for survival almost as heavily as it draws on man power. What we seem not yet fully to have learned is that woman's work and woman's special talents, if used in attacking community problems during less critical times, might obviate the recurring crises that threaten to destroy the already weakened fabric of our society. Women ask full partnership both in opportunity and responsibility because it is also their homes and their children whose well-being ensures the survival of civilization. . . . The home, citizenship, health and welfare, the armed forces, production, education, the best use of our leisure, and the control of everyday economics that underpin the national economy, all these are facets of women's responsibilities and opportunities in the defence decade." Surely this is a challenge to us all. Are we preparing ourselves, as women, for such a task? Is the education we are giving to women in high school and college of the kind to meet their expressed needs?

I realize a great deal has been said and written on the education of young women, more perhaps in the past than at present, and throughout history various experiments have been tried. Some of these experiments are worth remembering today. There was — perhaps the most continuous and successful of all — the domestic education of young women at home, or in the great household. Plato wanted them to learn "to make men's and women's garments, also pastry and bread, living indoors and supervising the wool and the loom." This was the pattern for centuries. Alongside of it, in Christian times, went their monastic education, the curriculum advocated by St. Jerome, consisting of religious instruction, reading, writing, grammar, and spinning. For the daughters of the poor there was education with an industrial emphasis carried on, often in dreadful conditions, in charity schools. For the daughters of the rich and noble the Renaissance gave a real meaning to the advanced literary education of young women which had its origins in the ancient world — the education of aristocratic ladies, of the Lady Margaret Tudor, Princess Elizabeth, and Margaret Roper. This was followed by the advanced social education into which the literary experiment dwindled and degenerated — the education of accomplishments and virtuous

maxims. And finally, in our own day, the parallel education of girls and boys for equal opportunities in professional, cultural, and social life.

The end of an old story: "They *learned* happily together ever after." But will they? I wonder. There is nothing more potentially dangerous, it may be argued, than to suggest a differentiation of the education of girls from that of boys, particularly in an age when public and domestic responsibilities are very much more evenly shared between men and women than ever before. Why dig up long-dead issues? Why make old scars bleed anew?

My answer is: That is not what I am trying to do. I am not looking backwards, but forwards. I want to pause for a moment and say: "Where do we go from here?" There are several reasons why I think we ought to pause. One is the speed at which women's education has travelled in the last hundred years. Looking down from my plane yesterday on the vast Arizona desert, I realized that a hundred years is a long time and that much can happen in it. It is a far cry from the days of the covered wagons to those of the crowded roads between here and Los Angeles. But the point I want to make is that one hundred years ago the pattern of men's education was already set, and had been so for generations, and yet there were no women's colleges and only a handful of girls' schools.

In the women's movement of the second half of the nineteenth century America led the way which Britain was slowly to follow. In 1846 an anti-slavery convention met in London. The assembly was shocked to find the American delegation contained four women, and decided they could only be suffered to attend the conference shut away in a little gallery behind curtains. When the four American women returned home they were instrumental in summoning the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls. The women's movement had begun — and in America. England followed, but the opposition was great. The spearhead of the feminist movement was higher education of women. These early pioneers in Britain had to face not only suspicion and stonewall opposition, but what women find even harder to bear — ridicule. In the sixties Godey was writing in his *Lady's Book*: "The great mis-

fortune which lies in the path of highly cultivated women is the absence of active occupation for their mental energy. Stimulate the sensibilities of your boys and blunt those of your girls." And thirty years later Oscar Browning could say, and get away with it: "The best woman is intellectually the inferior of the worst man." Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely; they are period pieces and must be treated as such. But they make sense of the seemingly blind spot in the women who planned girls' education even fifty years ago.

The Buss-Beale generation in England and the early protagonists in America had to be fighters; they had to *prove* that women had the intellectual equipment to justify a higher education — and they did so abundantly. But they could not stop, as we can, to examine how far the curriculum they had taken over — a man's education for a man's world — was relevant to their particular problems as women. Later generations of women have come to realize this.

Miss Buss and Miss Beale
Cupid's darts do not feel.
How different from us
Miss Beale and Miss Buss!

But we should not have been here today if these early women "educators" had not had the courage to be "different." They won their battle and we have entered into our heritage.

Today, in the 1950's, there are new factors which affect the whole situation of women's education, and of which we, who care about it, should be fully aware.

The most important of these is the direct result of population trends. For the first time in our history in *England* we are faced with the prospect of an equal number of men and women in the age group 25-35. This, taken in conjunction with the high marriage rate and low average age of marriage, will result in an almost complete lack of employable spinsters. Whether we like it or not, the essential services, such as teaching and nursing, will have to be carried on, part-time, by married women. In *America*, the Commission's report tells us, al-

though women still outnumber men, the pattern is similar. Women are marrying younger and having their children earlier than in the 1920's. Today 50.7% of the women working are *married*, as compared with 30.3% in 1940. 33.4% — over 19 million women — are employed outside their homes. The Commission considers that in more than four million families, or one out of every ten, in the United States, a woman carries the main responsibility for financial support of the family.

In both countries the dual role women will have to play has been intensified by the spread of education. During the first decades of this century college education was still only for the few scholarly-minded girls from well-to-do homes, and it led, in most cases, to a "career." Many women graduates did not marry, and others married late, after some years of professional life. Few, if any, foresaw a life whose most active years would involve a concentration of thought and energy on the day-to-day business of child-minding, cooking, washing, and cleaning. It is not surprising that there was no question of preparing them for such a fate by teaching them the domestic arts. In 1880, it is true, Miss Buss required all entrants to the North London Collegiate School to show proficiency in making a buttonhole — just one. But thereafter no serious attention was given to needlework. When I was at school forty years ago, cookery classes were limited to the stupid girls in the class; the clever ones learned Latin and algebra instead. Now thousands of girls, many helped by scholarships, make their way each year to college, on both sides of the Atlantic. After they graduate, a few will carry on with their careers, nearly all will marry within a few years of leaving school. With the disappearance of paid domestic help both in America and England all will have to combine competence in the traditional domestic skills along with the hard-won intellectual freedom which they have inherited from their grandmothers and great-grandmothers.

With the general spread of education, too, the role of the older woman in the community assumes a new importance, "the dowager's dilemma," as it has been aptly called. There are many reasons for this dilemma. These include the younger age of marriage, the pattern of the smaller family, the narrowing of the wife-mother role owing to families sharing so many

of their functions with other social institutions, the greater expectation of life, and the prolongation of youthful energy through recent advances in medicine. The failure of society to employ the older woman when the period of her child-rearing is over has been called "one of the most senseless wastes of American life, that of the energy and intelligence of the millions of women whose sons and daughters have left home." In England, too, the community is slow to use them, yet we need them for volunteer services outside the family and, if they wish to work, in the labor forces of the nation. As for themselves, many of them are restless. What are we going to do about it?

Here then is the crux of the whole problem for us in England, and for you in America. Women in the foreseeable future will lead increasingly complex lives, encompassing homemaking, gainful employment, and community service. Will the society of the next twenty-five years look upon women chiefly as homemakers and secondarily as economic and political contributors? Or will society expect women to manage their many responsibilities in some sort of balance, retaining the awareness, reflection, and thought necessary for wholeness at each stage of their lives? How can the school and other social institutions aid women to achieve wholeness in their various patterns of life? How can they, I quote the words of the Commission, achieve "tranquillity"?

As a result of all this, there has arisen an entirely new school of thought on women's education. For many in England it is associated with Newsom's book *The Education of Girls*, but similar ideas are to be found everywhere — in the press, on the radio, and among people interested in women's education in general. In America, Lynn White states the same problem and approaches the same solution. The pendulum has begun, slowly, to move backwards. Newsom states the problem in this way: "We have to discover how far the present education, and particularly the education of girls, is related to *the function of women in modern society*." It is not concerned with what the function may ultimately become but what it is now, in the fifth decade of the twentieth century. Mr. Newsom then describes the function of women in modern society as he sees it. The

great majority of young women leaving school will, in due course, marry and have to face the day-to-day tasks and responsibilities connected with child-bearing and homemaking. It is indeed a worthy and dignified function which may be deeply satisfactory to the emotions, and one which makes insistent calls on a high degree of common sense, adaptability, and altruism. But Mr. Newsom is insistent on its intellectual demands. He says to produce *Homard a l'Americaine* to perfection requires as much wit as to construe one of the more obscure passages of *Berenice*. I don't know if he is right, because I can't do either. He would like high school education, examination requirements, and college faculties to be directed more specifically to the performance of that function. Mr. White wants his young women to study the theory and practice of "Basque paella, lamb kidneys sautéed in sherry, and authoritative curry." He also quotes Tisserant approvingly that "women should be educated so that they can argue with their husbands." He believes that "the neglect of the family by our world of scholars damages the unconscious attitudes and value judgments not only of women but of educated men as well." Why won't college graduates have more babies, love their husbands more, and run better homes? Something is wrong with their education, obviously. Well, perhaps he is right. The chapter of "New Approaches to the Education of Women" in the Commission's report is full of stimulating suggestions which should be taken to heart by us all.

And yet I think there is an element of danger in both Mr. Newsom and Mr. White. Their doctrine sometimes gets ominously near that of a certain Mr. Greg in the *Saturday Post* in the '70's — "The essentials of a woman's being are that they are supported by, and minister to men." Let us consider for a moment Newsom's phrase "the function of women in modern society." Man's function is more varied perhaps, more connected with things than people. We remember the words of Simone de Beauvoir: "Man masters by act and by conceptual thinking. Woman prefers to shape an environment for living." But the *function* of a great number of boys in the modern world is to become scientists, engineers, technicians. Yet who amongst us would dare to say that a purely scientific education was

enough to train them for their function in the modern world? We would all agree that science, for all its power and beneficent activity, has its limits. "Science is dumb," writes Sir Richard Livingstone, "when we ask it to explain the greatest human works or experience or emotions, exaltations, agonies and love, and man's unconquerable mind." In their absorption in education for their function in a modern world we would want neither our boys nor our girls to risk losing, in the phrase of Socrates, "the sight of the eye of the soul."

What sort of education, then, do we want for young women? In general, I think *who* teaches her and *how* she studies matter more for a girl than the subjects studied. I do not mean by this that the necessary disciplines in the curriculum should be neglected, but the freest possible scope, in spite of the bondage of examinations, should be given to people to follow their own choice. It is sometimes said that girls and boys cannot possibly know what they want to learn. This has never been my experience, although sometimes the choices are rather startling. But here wise advice, rather than direction, from deans and counsellors, can do much. What is so important is that the spark of real enthusiasm, without which no subject can come alive, should not be quenched. You remember the words with which Celia, in T. S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party*, is sped on her journey:

She will pass between the scolding hills and through
the valley of derision
Like a child, sent on an errand, in eagerness and
patience.

Patience is something all women have to learn, and learn early. We wait for so many things to happen — for the menfolk to come in from the garden for their meal, for the cake to bake in the oven, for the clothes to dry on the line. Later on, we wait for our children to be born. But eagerness is more illusive. It can so easily flicker and die, damped down by the pressure of everyday cares. Yet without it the life of the spirit dies, or is never born. To foster eagerness, even in a strange place, is the greatest task of any teacher. And this enthusiasm should,

in college, be primarily found in work, not in extra-curricular activities however inviting. I always remember the story of the little girl in tears over her paint-box. When asked what was wrong, she answered: "I do so hate my hobbies." But it is a far greater tragedy not to find genuine satisfaction in work which must always be the core and focus of college life.

Secondly, I think that girls should learn at school and in college the things they will *not* learn on the job as, in the course of time, they develop the technique of homemaking and child-bearing. They must learn the habit of systematic thought and mental concentration. Just because "their function in the modern world" is to be what it has to be, their education must give them scope for "thoughts which wander into eternity." "The ability to think straight, some knowledge of the past, some vision of the future, some skill to do useful service, some urge to fit that service into the well-being of the community — these are the most vital things education must try to produce." So Virginia Gildersleeve in *Many a Good Crusade* sums up the aims of women's education. For some this will be difficult, but all, I believe, should be given an opportunity to get to grips with the best, even if they have to "tag along" — even if they do not do as well as the people at the top of the class. A little Scots boy once uttered a profound truth on this subject. He was reproved by his mother because every week found him at the bottom of his class. At last he grew tired of her remonstrances. "Dinna fash yersel', Ma — the eddication is the same at the bottom as at the top." And for some at least will come the opportunity to experience that spiritual illumination which charms

Magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

They will experience Housman's "shiver down the spine" — the supreme climax of intellectual excitement. Girls must learn, through the discipline of *reading books*, and not only through the too easy medium of television and radio, of people, of places and ideas far outside the range of their own function in modern society. Vast stretches of a woman's life

consist of absorption in practical detail, preoccupation with personal relationships; there will be much boredom and monotony. Only by what we learn when we are young are we given the strength and resources

*To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.*

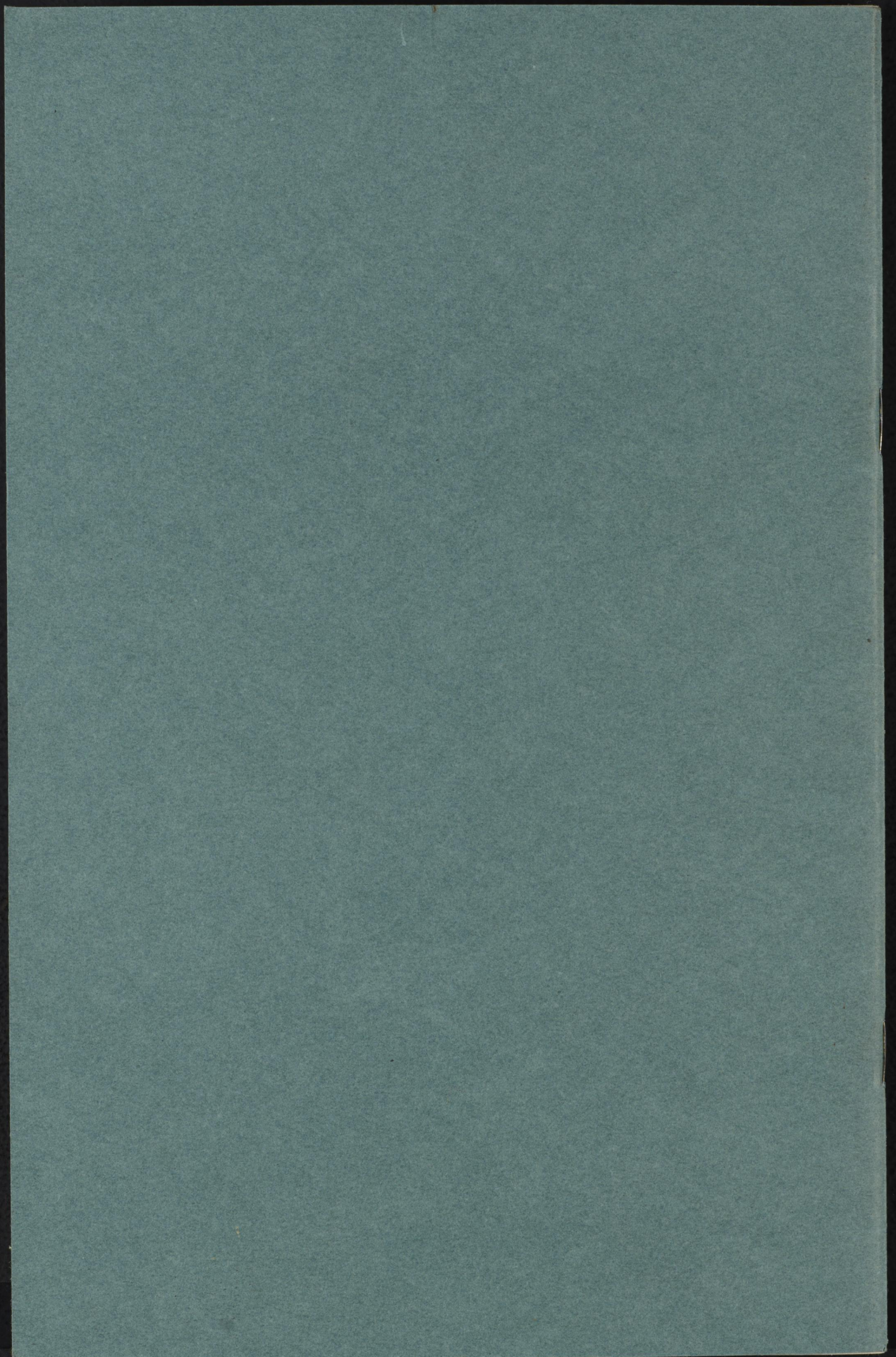
In fact, what Mr. White calls "Education for Catastrophe." This chapter of his book I would recommend to you all. It is full of nobility and vision. "Clearly," he says, "education for 'success' in the usual sense — whether as a man or a woman — is inadequate. We must educate not only to achieve success in building careers and families but likewise for success in meeting, handling, and transcending tragedy. In part, at least, we must educate for catastrophe." In other words, we must make it possible for girls to live, as mature people, in their modern world.

And, in addition, *they must learn a skill* which will be their very own, and which they can share, if need be and when the time comes, with the community at large, as well as with their own family. The dowager can then return to her skill in middle life. *When* they learn this, is a matter for experts, of whom I am not one. This skill need not be an intellectual one, and in the vast majority of girls it will certainly not be so. But there must be mastery in it, no matter how narrow the field, whether as scholar or research worker, in industry or in nursing, as a teacher, a secretary, or a cook, each girl should be trained to the limits of her ability and become a real mistress in her own particular field. The ablest must serve most and take most of

life's burden. The other skills will come, I believe, as they are needed. Only in this way, at this juncture of history, can we help women to perform their dual role of homemakers and citizens; only in this way can we satisfy the chief need of girls, and of women generally, which is to be themselves.

All of what I have been trying to say — of education in the "humanities" in the broadest sense of the word — is what you are doing here so magnificently. To you, students of Scripps College, I would say: "You are indeed fortunate: the lines are fallen unto you in pleasant places. You have a goodly heritage." But just because you are here, the world will expect much of you when you leave the campus. You will be expected to be wise, capable of forming balanced judgments on people and affairs. You will be expected to be able to weigh evidence, keeping what is good and discarding what is false. You will have to be ready to refuse second-hand opinions and cheap, lazy values. You will have to have the courage of your convictions always. Because you have lived in a community like this, your sense of obligation to others must spill over to them from your private life, and you must be willing to share your gifts and your skills with people outside your own homes. Above all you must show the tolerance and compassion which spring from true understanding. Of course all this will not happen at once. Nothing worth while ever does. Quiller-Couch once said that passing judgment on children in their school years — and, I would add, girls at college — is like judging an apple's flavor in June. Given the right conditions in youth, we shall have a rich maturity. The right conditions must take into account the development of the spiritual life and the emotions as well as the intellect, and only thus can we have a rich maturity.

It is the third part of us, the life of the spirit, which makes for the real "function of women in the modern world," without which schools and colleges and curricula and teaching, however good, can mean nothing. Let us not forget that "we are such stuff as dreams are made on." "We are born not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. . . ." Thank God we are. . . .



150th Anniversary of Henry Clay. April 12, 1927.

Mr. Chairman:-

I am glad it has fallen to me, in paying tribute to the Great Commoner, to dwell upon those qualities of his mind and heart which ~~may~~ inspire even the humblest citizens to learn from him the principles which make their country safe from insidious foes to liberty working within as well as ^{from} attacks ~~of~~ foreign enemies.

His love of country was of the truest type of patriotism. He loved her institutions and he was faithful in his obedience to them. He wanted his country to be great and he was willing to do all things which would ennoble her. His eminence as a citizen consisted in his ~~clear~~ vision of what would advance and also ^{of} what would threaten her glory. He had a marvelously clear understanding that ^{its strength} ~~its greatness~~ depended upon ~~the~~ adherence to law as laid down in ~~the~~ Constitution; ^{upon} ~~an~~ unfaltering courage in the defence of ~~his~~ rights; and in scrupulous integrity, magnanimity and self-control in dealing with other nations, whether they be strong or weak.

^{two} The episodes of the war of 1812 with England and then the little war with the Seminole Indians illustrated his lofty views. Early in perceiving the danger to our nation in submission to the encroachments of England upon our naval rights he had led in bringing about the war of 1812. Ours had seemed a feeble nation in comparison with the power of the mistress of the seas; but his courage was not dismayed, for he ~~believed~~ our cause was just. He had helped to bring that war to an honorable conclusion. Singularly enough, the greatest triumph of our arms was the battle of New Orleans which owing to the slowness of communication, was fought after the treaty of peace had been signed in Ghent. That battle had no effect upon the war, but it had filled our people with military pride and no doubt added to the wholesome respect for our military efficiency in foreign countries. It made

General Jackson the hero of his countrymen.

Then came the pitiful little war with the Semigale Indians, also conducted by Gen. Jackson, with some lapses from recognized law which caused Henry Clay to make his noble defence before Congress of the right of the Indians to receive from our government and our army ~~that~~ ^{obscurance} scrupulous regard for established law. He showed that the very weakness of our foe should be ^{his} protection, because it should warn our people to watch over themselves lest military prestige or arrogance of power should eat into our respect ~~for~~ law and the Constitution which are the safeguards of our own liberties. ^{towards high ideals}

When we see the unfaltering attitude of Henry Clay [^] during these contrasting events we ~~may~~ catch a glimpse of the ^{from example} uplift which Providence would give to the people when He bestows upon them the gift of a ~~great~~ ^{xxx} citizen. with a great vision, like that of Henry Clay.

THE SPIRIT OF '76.

ADDRESS

OF

SENATOR A. O. STANLEY,
OF KENTUCKY,

DELIVERED AT TAMMANY HALL, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y., JULY 4, 1922.

[Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD July 6, 1922.]

"In the mental and physical vigor of her children, in industrial enterprise, in financial strength, in martial achievement, this Nation, unconquered and invincible, commands upon the one hundred and forty-sixth anniversary of her birth the envy and the admiration of the world, the acknowledged premier of the planet, holding in her youthful and puissant hands the destinies of a distracted globe.

"In reviewing the proud annals of the past, rich in historic incident, one supernal fact stands, a thing apart, rising tower-like above the material mastery of a continent, above the discoveries of inventive genius, the immortal labors of philosophers and sages, above valor's inspiring victories on land and sea—for that one and mighty thing is at once the inspiration and the reward of all that we have ever hoped or thought or done—the declaration of our independence of the domination or control of any power on earth; it is more than a national liberation, it is the eternal guaranty of personal freedom, it is the inestimable heritage of every citizen, rich or poor, high or low, under the protecting aegis of the Stars and Stripes.

"After 4,000 years of vain endeavor and blighted hopes, weary wanderers in the wilderness of oppression found in the New World freedom's promised land, where all men may stand erect and unawed by human power, free to live their own lives, speak their own thoughts, shape their own destinies, bending the knee only to God, to whom alone they owe their independence and by whose grace they will forever maintain and defend it. For, said the immortal Declaration—

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"The fathers never contemplated a sort of ubiquitous governmental Santa Claus, however benevolently disposed in the exercise of unlimited and autocratic powers. The Federal Government was not made the source or custodian of a people's wealth or the censor of its manners or its morals; it was not its function to prescribe its regimen or its faith, to curb its indolence or reward its industry. No; its one mission was, not to create or bestow or limit 'these rights,' but to secure them.

"To bestow a right implies its previous possession in the hand of the grantor, and the rights secured by the Declaration came not from governments, for it is self-evident—

"That all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.

"No government having created, none save a despotism will ever dare to invade or restrict them. It matters not whether the abominable thing be attempted by a monarch or a majority; no name however euphonious, no form however popular or delusive can excuse the execrable act of oppression. For 'whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.'

"For long and weary years patriots, patient but vigilant, without a thought of secession or rebellion, sought to preserve these 'unalienable rights' secured by the great charters and denied by a stupid king and a bigoted ministry; revolution came only when reform was impossible.

"'In America,' said the calm Andrew Elliott, of Boston, 'people glory in the name and only desire to enjoy the liberties of Englishmen.'

"Before the Battle of Lexington, Franklin had 'never heard of the least expression of a wish for a separation,' and John Adams declared that the charge that 'any part after independence' was a 'slander on the Province.'

"'Before the 19th of April, 1775,' relates Jefferson, 'I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain.'

"In 1774 Washington wrote, 'No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America,' and two years later he asserts, 'When I first took command of the Army I abhorred the idea of independence; but now I am fully convinced that nothing else will save us.'

"The author of the Bill of Rights, George Mason, aptly expressing the opinions of his compatriots, declared that prior to the wasting of their fields, the devastation of their cities and massacre of their sons he had been 'well affected to the King personally and to his Government; one who adored the wisdom and happiness of the British constitution and preferred it to any that then existed or ever had existed.'

"It was not to overthrow this 'constitution' or to supersede it that the Continentals took up arms, but as free Englishmen to retain and maintain their 'unalienable rights' under it.

"'We will,' swore the minutemen, 'to the utmost of our power and abilities defend all and every of our charter rights, liberties, and privileges, and will hold ourselves in readiness at a minute's warning, with arms and ammunition thus to do.'

"What were those precious 'charter rights,' liberties, and privileges for which the ragged Continentals with their flint locks stood ready 'at a minute's warning' to do and to die?

"They are the 'unalienable rights' of the Declaration of Independence, they are the body of the Constitution of the United States, they are the Bill of Rights, the 'holy of holies' of that instrument, without which the Colonies would never have adopted it. They are Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Declaration of Right all in one. They are the sum of the solemn guaranties of every government proud scions of the Saxon race have ever acknowledged or obeyed in a thousand years, for which here and beyond the seas, from Yorktown to Runnymede, they have stood willing and ready to fight, and, if need be, gladly to die.

"As their valor maintained them then, O God of nations and of battles, may our wisdom preserve them now, inviolate and eternally ours.

"Liberty to the Saxon is not the dream of some doctrinaire obscured in a philosophic haze; it is not without, it is within him—a vital, living, pulsating thing, a part of his very soul. It is concrete. It is sensitive to the touch and, like his body, to threaten or profane it is an intolerable degradation.

"This passionate, jealous, indomitable devotion to personal liberty and personal independence is the very hall-mark of the race. To it is due its puissance in war and its moral grandeur in peace. It glorifies all its history, and when history is lost in the twilight of tradition it lends dignity to the savage and illumines the hut and the hearthstone of the barbarian in the wilds of Schleswig and Friesland.

"The institution of trial by jury had its genesis in this stubborn maintenance of the inviolate sanctity of his person and the privacy of his home, forever free from any form of governmental intrusion save by the consent of his fellows and his peers.

"The basis of their society was the freeman"—

"Says Green.

"He alone was known as 'the man' or 'the churl.' He was 'the free-necked man,' whose long hair floated over a neck that had never bent to a lord.

"According to Tacitus—

"Each dweller within the settlement was jealous of his own isolation and independence among his fellow settlers.

"Older than our civilization, older than our faith, are these institutions, cherished by our Scandinavian forbears still clad in the tawney hides of wild beasts and the worshipers of Thor and Woden. Upon the independence of the individual, upon the sanctity and security of the home, upon local self-government, Saxon civilization is builded, and to it that civilization owes the dominance of the world and the highest measure of freedom ever enjoyed by the children of men.

"The Saxon conquest of the British Isles was not the invasion of a hostile army; it was the exodus of a whole people.

"War was not sooner over—

"Says Green—

"than the warrior settled down into a farmer, and the home of the peasant churl rose beside the heap of goblin-haunted stones that marked the site of the villa he had burnt. Little knots of kinsfolk grew together in 'tun' and 'ham' beside the Thames and the Trent as they had settled beside the Elbe or the Weser, not as kinsfolk only, but as dwellers in the same plot, knit together by their common holdings within the common bounds. Each little village-commonwealth lived the same life in Britain as its farmers had lived at home. Each had its own moot hill or sacred tree as a center, its 'mark' as a border; each judged by witness of the kinsfolk and made laws in the assembly of its freemen, and chose the leaders for its own governance, and the men who were to follow headsman or ealdorman to hundred court or war.

"For 10 centuries has he cherished these institutions with an idolatrous devotion, defending them with dauntless bravery, and in defeat and disaster, still precious as life, he has still clung to them in the midst of servitude and of chains.

"Magna Charta is in its essence the embodiment of 'unalienable rights,' temporarily denied by a Norman conqueror and restored perforce by his reluctant and degenerate son.

"Perfectured by experience, developed by civilization and by culture, these rights assumed a more definite and concrete form.

"Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors," says Chief Justice Taft, "hammered out their civil liberty by securing from their would-be royal oppressors

not general declarations of principles of freedom, like a French constitution, but distinct and definite promises that certain rules, not of substantive but of adjective law, should obtain. * * * Run through the Magna Charta of 1215, the Petition of Right of 1625, the Bill of Rights of 1688, the great charters of English liberty, and you find in them an insistence not on general principles but upon procedure.

"In the maintenance of these 'inestimable privileges,' hoary with the prescription of centuries, the colonists went from reform to rebellion and from rebellion to victory. Even at this hour we are lost in wonder and in admiration at the valor, the moderation, and the wisdom of that band of heroes and of sages who at a nation's birth pledged it eternally to the inviolate preservation of these ancient, these 'unalienable rights' sacred as life itself, and, like life, they come not from governments but from God.

"Well might the great Chatham exclaim—

"I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master States of the world—for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia.

"The very apostles of human liberty, profoundly learned in the history and character of all the despotisms of the past, their sagacious vision penetrating mere forms, dissected the very essence of government and exposed all the hidden arts by which avarice, ambition, or bigotry had ever deluded or enslaved mankind.

"In framing the Constitution they incorporated into the organic law all those 'checks and balances' which experience had shown were best calculated to prevent the unwarranted extension or abuse of Federal power and, above all, imperative and categorical inhibitions against the exercise of any authority by which a government in any form, State or Federal, might exercise an authority inimical to the 'unalienable rights' mentioned in the great Declaration.

"They reaffirmed the seasoned guaranties of the great English charters against every abridgment of the freedom of conscience, of speech, or of the press, against unlawful arrest, the imposition of excessive fines, or the infliction of cruel or unusual punishments. The person, papers, houses, and effects of the citizen were forever immune from unlawful searches and seizures. There was to be no denial of the writ of habeas corpus or the right of trial by jury. Local self-government was effectively preserved by vesting in the Federal Government only specifically delegated powers and by the further and sweeping assertion—

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"And—

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

"The Constitution was a compend of the wisdom and the ripened fruit of the experience of 2,000 years of Saxon civilization.

"It is ours to proudly boast and justly maintain that the fathers of democracy were the authors and signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution of the United States.

"The fundamental principles of freedom and the tenets of democracy form the woof and warp of our personal liberty and our national independence.

"The stability of our institutions, our national puissance, our territorial expansion, our amazing growth in wealth and population, and, above all, our long and unalloyed enjoyment of personal independence and domestic felicity, all are due to the fact that the administration of the law for more than half a century after the adoption of the Constitution was in the wise and strong hands of those who had fashioned that instrument, or of their successors who professed their political faith and emulated their illustrious example.

"From the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson to the Civil War, the Democratic Party lost but three elections, and no two in succession; and from the adoption of the Constitution to the inauguration of the first Republican President, a period of over 70 years, there was but one attempt on the part of the Federal Government to invade the reserved rights of the citizen or the sovereignty of a State—this attempt by the authors of the alien and sedition laws to abridge the freedom of speech and of the press by conferring Federal jurisdiction over alleged seditious libels brought an instant anathema from the Sage of Monticello and from the alert and indignant democracy of the Nation.

"For—

"Says Jefferson—

"the Constitution of the United States, having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies, and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses committed against the law of nations, and no other crimes whatsoever; * * * therefore the act of Congress passed on the 14th day of July, 1798 (the alien and sedition act), all other acts (which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than those so enumerated in the Constitution) are altogether void and of no force; and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory."

"The Republican Party, born in the throes of sectional hate and fratricidal strife, poisoned in its vitals by the virus of federalism, has, during all the years of its evil existence, never ceased to advance with steady and stealthy tread 'over the whole field of jurisdiction.' At this hour we are faced with a bald proposal to abandon all the sage precepts and principles of the fathers.

"For when you make a centralized government and not the citizen the source and repository of all power, you will not have amended, you will have abolished, the Constitution of the United States. You will have inverted the whole system upon which for a thousand years the structure of Anglo-Saxon liberty has rested.

"This disreputable political organization is at present torn by a number of warring factions, and of them all the so-called 'progressive' is the most ingenious inventor of new ways and means of invading the vested rights of the States and the liberties of the citizen; like a legislative ghoul, exhuming the dead and buried despotisms of the past, unmindful of the wise aphorism of Edmund Burke that 'all innovation is not progress.'

"The great trouble with these vociferous 'progressives' is that they are forever moving in the wrong direction. Their energy and ingenuity is in the main confined to the discovery of some new method by which a centralized and omnipotent power

may extend its inquisitorial and ubiquitous authority over distant Commonwealths and remote communities and into every nook and corner of the moral, political, and industrial life of the citizen.

"From the crushing weight and the inordinate expense of this abominable system of endless and irresistible Federal interference there is no escape. Great States are to be stripped of all actual control over their penal, eleemosynary, and educational institutions. The citizen is to be left helpless and exposed to the prying interference and vexatious intermeddling of the delator and the spy, even in his most intimate and domestic relations.

"Weddings are to be supervised by a hygienic expert and marital rights determined by some eugenic fool.

"Babies are to be born by Federal aid and suckled under Federal supervision.

"You can not milk a cow without a Federal inspector at your heels. The factory, the mill, the counting-house, the office, and the home literally swarm with a horde of petty and pestiferous representatives of this paternalistic régime.

"Senator Foraker in 1907 bemoaned the multiplication of useless offices and officers in his degenerate day, declaring that—

"The little band of 167 special deputies, agents, and inspectors on the pay rolls of the Government 10 years ago has been swelled to an army of more than 3,000.

"Three thousand agents and inspectors! There are over 30,000 now.

"In an address recently delivered in this city, ex-Governor Haskell, of Oklahoma, indignantly declares:

"Less than a quarter of a century ago, in the greater enjoyment of individual rights and local self-government, our Federal authorities found it necessary to have upon the pay roll of the Federal Government fewer than 200 sleuths and special agents and inspectors to aid in the enforcement of Federal laws. Will anyone defend the policy of the Federal Government which to-day employs more than 42,000 inspectors, sleuths, and inquisitorial agents to dog the footsteps of him who should be, in the exercise of his constitutional rights, enjoying the hitherto dignity and freedom of an honest American citizen?

"From this depressing and sickening scene turn back with me to the dignity, the independence, the peace, happiness, and prosperity which for more than half a century marked the wise and just administration of national affairs by Presidents and parties reverent of the Constitution and obedient to its wise and manifest limitations.

"At home—

"Said Jefferson in his second inaugural—

"fellow citizens, you best know whether we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices or useless establishments and expenses enables us to discontinue our internal taxes. These, covering our land with officers and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation which, once entered, is scarcely to be restrained, reaching successively every article of produce and property. * * * It may be the pleasure and pride of an American to ask what farmer, what mechanic, what laborer ever sees a taxgatherer of the United States?

"The Federal Government was administered from the beginning of Jefferson's to the end of Buchanan's administration—a period of 60 years—for less than a billion dollars. That will not meet the expenses of special commissions incurred during a single year of the present administration.

"During the last 10 years the appalling cost of a hundred different commissions, boards, and bureaus, employing an innumerable army of deputies, inspectors, supervisors, spies, and political parasites, has actually exceeded by 400 per cent the total cost of the Federal Government for the first half century of its existence.

"This insatiate lust for inquisitorial power daily begets new boards and bureaus. The appetite for attending to other peoples' business grows by what it feeds on, and their devastating cost increases by leaps and bounds. We are told that this insufferable burden of taxation is the result of the war. A casual analysis of the receipts and expenditures of the Government explodes this groundless contention.

"For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, the amount appropriated for governmental purposes, not including the cost of the War and Navy Departments, pensions, Veterans' Bureau, or reduction of the national debt, is \$1,115,517,366, an increase of 500 per cent over 1916 and within a few hundred thousand dollars of the total cost of maintaining the Federal Government from the inauguration of George Washington to the advent of the Republican Party.

"There is no limit upon Federal power and no bottom to the Federal Treasury, and, acting upon the preposterous assumption that national wealth can be multiplied by Federal taxation, Washington has become the Mecca alike of the visionary and the necessitous, each hour furnishing some new legislative nostrum or some new means of harrassing or plundering an outraged public. They glory not in the character but the amazing amount of grist turned out by the legislative mill.

"Mr. MONDELL, the leader of the majority in the House, has just blandly assured us that—

"This Congress has up to this time placed upon the statute books 398 separate laws, of which 311 are public and 87 are private, including claims. This is at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ laws per legislative day for the entire session.

"And the worst is yet to come, for, notwithstanding this furious and indiscriminating grind, bills are now pending in the Federal Congress to regulate, supervise, censor, or control the public press, public utilities, the sale of securities, the mining of coal and minerals, and the weaving of cloth; horse racing, football, baseball, moving pictures, Sunday amusements, everything in fact from the birth of the baby to the burial of the corpse, and from the operation of a railroad to the setting of a hen.

"Under the terms of a bill proposing to regulate horse racing by censoring the mails and the press a lad at college writing to his mother and stating the odds on a football game is liable to a fine of \$5,000 or imprisonment in the penitentiary for five years.

"Under the terms of Senate bill No. 23—

"any person who shall teach, incite, propose, aid, abet, encourage, or advise the unlawful injury or destruction of private or public property, etc., shall be guilty of a felony and shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding 40 years or by fine not exceeding \$50,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"One act provides for the payment out of the Federal Treasury for all wheat, shell corn, or raw cotton or raw wool produced in the United States, and another supported by 1,425,295

alleged petitioners has just been read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which imposes a fine of \$10,000 and long terms of imprisonment upon any person or corporation running a freight or mail train, opening a post office, or publishing a daily newspaper on the Sabbath Day.

"There is still another bill proposed but not yet introduced boasting the approval of 91,000,000 supporters which denies the right to hold any National, State, or municipal office, either elective or appointive, to vote, own bonds, stocks, securities, mortgages, etc., or to hold any meeting or meetings, service or services whatsoever, other than by persons acknowledging and proclaiming the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus Christ.

"There is not at this hour left a single 'inestimable privilege,' one 'unalienable right,' mentioned in the Declaration of Independence and secured by the Constitution of the United States which is not openly invaded or secretly undermined by some paternalistic project or socialistic propaganda.

"In the enforcement of this insane and pernicious saturnalia of socialistic legislation, the honest toilers of America are being literally devoured by a veritable army of hungry political parasites.

"Even the Dearborn Independent is appalled by the number of pensioners upon Federal bounty.

"Not more than 30,000,000 persons"—

"Says this paper—

"are actually engaged in producing and distributing goods, clothing, and other necessities of life. Every two actual producers now maintain, in addition to dependents and other nonproducers who draw from production, the equivalent of one individual that is maintained by Government expenditure of some sort. Do you know, furthermore, that 10 per cent of the national earnings now go for governmental operation, etc.?"

"In short and in fine, we have come to the parting of the ways. The Old Guard, impotent and discredited, is left to the mercy of the Nonpartisan League and a triumphant socialistic organization masquerading under the emblem of the Bull Moose.

"Is the spirit of democracy dead in America? Is constitutional government to be despised and forgotten? Shall the followers of Jefferson and Jackson and Tilden sit idly by or tamely and silently submit to the clamorous and turbulent determination by an organized mob of the right to review the decisions of courts and to supervise and to determine the most intimate relations of our social and domestic life? Shall every constitutional restraint and every constitutional limitation be removed at the whim of omnipotent numbers maddened by the blatant appeals of blind fanatics and flannel-mouthed demagogues? Then, have we passed from democracy to mobocracy, from a government by laws and courts and Congresses to a government by hysteria and a government by emotion, from order to chaos?

"There is no better place than here, no better time than now, to sound a trumpet call to the spirit of a once undefiled and invincible democracy, to rally to the preservation of the Constitution and the salvation of the country on this, freedom's holy Sabbath Day, on the 4th of July, and amidst the unterrified braves of Tammany Hall."

Speech to Democratic Women's
Club - must be post-1920?

Madam Chairman & Friends, Fellow Citizens,

It al-
ways seems to me ^{a noted} a triumphal exclamation
when I look in the faces of an assemblage
of women and call them fellow citizens.
A new page of history has been turned for
women. Not for women only, but for all, men, women
and children; for no part of society can rise without
all rising together, and woman rise, and all with
them, when ~~the way~~ the new Liberty ^{affording} was open to
women, that liberty as vital to the development
of human nature as the air to the body. The enfranchise-
ment of women was a glorious triumph of
Jefferson's principles of government, as laid
down in the Declaration of Independence. It is
a proud thought for Democrats that we can
lay claim to Jefferson as the founder of our
party. ^{and embodied in} It is true that the principles of that great
instrument, woven into the Constitution adopt-
ed in 1787, ~~are the basis of~~ is no monopoly of
the Democratic party, and there more can be

differentiated from that of men seems to me a foregone conclusion. If it were otherwise, the old taunt of the anti-suffragists ~~that~~ would ~~be~~ true, - that ~~would~~ ^{voting} women would add nothing, but citizenship, but would ^{at least} nearly double the number of voters, without materially ~~changing~~ ^{changing} the result. That was an absolutely mistaken idea of the anti, because it was based on a false idea of the nature of womanhood itself. Women have never been mere copies of men. Womanhood is as distinctive in its characteristics as manhood. True, men and women are much more alike than they are unlike. But the qualities that make them unlike are as fixed in women as in men. In fact, both have all the elements of human nature, but some of these qualities are more highly developed and accentuated in men and others more in women. They are ^{unequal} not contraries, but ^{one by other} equivalents ^{to the ones}. It takes both in harmonious cooperation to show forth the full

4
powers of humanity. I think a philosophy founded
upon the basic facts of human society will
inevitably lead to the conclusion that the fem-
inine force in human progress always has
been and always will be as powerful as that
of the masculine. Sometimes, indeed, it may have
seemed to have been suppressed in ~~some~~ ^{and thereby} ~~some~~ ^{some} ~~spurs~~ ^{and thereby} ~~of a~~ ^{some} ~~charm~~ ^{spurs}; but a careful analysis
will show that such a result is only appe-
rent, and that it has ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~diverted~~ ^{diverted}, and possibly thereby made
an obstacle rather than a hindrance in that phase of human
~~development~~ ^{development} and ~~necessarily~~ ^{necessarily} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~result~~ ^{result} of their
equal progress. When, therefore, we acclaim the vic-
tory of woman suffrage, we do not acclaim a
victory of woman over man, or even a victory
for women ^{only} over an obstacle which had stood
in their path of their advancement. It is
a victory of humanity in outgrowing and
throwing aside one of the bonds that had held
back the symmetrical growth of the race
of political liberty. Men were as much enfran-
chised in its broadest sense as women were;
and men will have to adjust themselves to the
new situations just as women are doing, though
familiar phrases make us think it is only wom-
en who must do so. Because women's part in build-
ing up our political system was not as much in ^{conspicuous}

5

in the public view as that of men, yet it always has been just as real and just as fundamental as the work of men. George Washington was a great hero when he led his bare-foot soldiers at Valley Forge, but no greatness ^{of his as} a leader would have carried him to victory if the men he led had not ~~been~~ ^{possessed} of the same quality of heroism as himself; and the men of a race are no more than the counterparts of the women of their race. Their achievements can never go beyond what the qualities of the women make possible. Therefore, when we glory in the principles and the Constitution which our forefathers have handed down to us, we use generic terms, and do not lose sight of the fact that we ^{mean} the men and the women of that heroic period. The granting of suffrage to all the women of the United States in 1920 was another advance in the political progress of America, but it was an evolution, and not a revolution, in its political principles. Still less did it make a change in the amount of the ^{duration of} influence of women, or in the nature of that influence in the national life. The broad current of human nature flows on, disturbed only on the surface and not in its depths, by all these changes.

in the outward forms⁶ of the feminine force¹¹
which has been working ~~separately~~ ^{step}
with the masculine since human life ap-
peared on our planet. Perhaps it is a little
difficult for women to adjust themselves to this
disturbance on the political surface, particularly
as it came at the time of other disturbances ^{of the world},
~~fanned as that was by the overthrow~~ ^{of so}
many social and political systems. Nevertheless,
it helps us as women to bear in mind that
though we have that new instrument, the
ballot, to work with, we can do our full duty to
our country and our party, without attempting
in any way to alter ^{and to create the new woman, whatever that may mean,} womanhood. What the
age has always needed from womanhood
it still needs and always will need. It is
no part of the new woman voter to make over
women. The task is rather making adjustments
to new circumstances, by discerning ^{wisely}
what is really fine and worthy ⁱⁿ ~~distinction~~
in womanhood, throwing aside ^{only} ~~con-~~
ventions ^{con-}
which have ceased to be useful, and
ideals which ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{now} ~~are~~ ^{no}
longer fitted to the new circumstances.

One of those ^{political} ideals for women, which has proved
untenable in modern circumstances, was the
one maintained by the anti-suffragists, and
ably, too, - let us never underestimate the strength
of our opponents, that women would do their
best work by indirect influence rather than
by demanding an authoritative expression
of their opinions. On the other hand, the
suffragists claimed that women had too much
stake in the actual operation of law to allow
laws to be made without an equal expression
of women's views on what those laws should
be. The suffragists ~~was~~ I think there is an
interesting and instructive resemblance be-
tween this first adventure of women into act-
ive politics and the political course of men
in the early days of our political history.
When the thirteen original colonies threw off the
yoke of England in 1776 for eleven years they
were loosely bound together by the Articles of
Confederation. But that bond among them did not
make a sufficiently strong government to meet
the exigencies for an independent nation. They
were compelled to seek a closer union and
grant more power to the central government.
Then began the contest between two schools

of thought,
one demanding that the central government
should altogether predominate over that of the States,
and the other determined to retain the greatest
amount of authority for the States. ^{people} Here followed
that remarkable compromise, which is the
distinctive and unique feature of our Govern-
ment, and I believe the one which is the chief
source of our national greatness. The States retained
the sovereignty for themselves and for the people;
and they conferred upon the central govern-
ment certain delegated and enumerated pow-
ers, dealing only with matters of national import-
ance, which embrace foreign relations, and such
others as interstate commerce, monetary systems,
post office, post roads, patents & copy rights, and to
the States all other things were reserved. This tremen-
dous compromise was effected and incorporated
in the Constitution. The controversialists seem to
have thought their work was done; and gave so
little thought to political parties who were to carry
into effect these ideas that it was possible, by
the electoral system they placed in the Constitu-
tion, for our second president, ^{in 1796,} John Adams, the leading
Federalist, to have as his vice president, Thomas Jef-
ferson, the leading Republican, that is, anti-federalist,
and the founder of the Democratic party; and it was
not until 1804 that the Constitution was so amended

that a repetition of ^{this} anomaly in administrative offices was made impossible. This close contact between the leaders of the two great schools of thought taught our people that in representative government political parties are a necessity, so that the wishes of a majority of the people should be established in law without being subject to the waves of passion or personal preference of the multitude. After that, political parties became the recognized instruments of the political thought of the people. Political tendencies have not absent in women because they were not voters, for when in the course of development of political liberty they, too, became voters, they seem to have shown no more vacillation in their choice of parties than the young citizens who become of voting age each year. A great difference, however, is that woman suffrage brought into action at one time a greater mass of inexperience than the young voters do. And this inexperience is likely to lead women into mistakes, just as we have seen it led our forefathers into mistakes; for no amount of theoretical knowledge can ever take the place of experience altogether. However, we have a right to hope that the inexperience of women may not be so harmful as it would be in men, for it seems that one of the most marked difference between

[1921]

3.

Germany an instance of individual thinking handed over to others.

6 Individuality to be cherished; its contributions the best the individual can contribute to society. The sum of wholesome thinking the best guarantee of a nation's wisdom and safety.

The laws of life are laid in love.

Valuable service rendered by psychological study of the mental state of delinquents in courts. Popular belief that delinquents are smart, since they dare defy the powers of society. Science reveals them as below par in intelligence; and the same logic is applicable to infringements of right which do not reach the courts. They point to feeble-mindedness and abnormality.

Impossible to have wrong mental concepts without its being followed by wrong actions. Case of individuals and also of nations.

This world a much pleasanter place for women than half a hundred years ago.

4
Newly recognized intelligence well employed in grasping the laws of life, for they are laid in intelligence, and need thought to comprehend them.

Neither man nor God is served by ignorance or willfulstupidity. The laws of life must be comprehended and obeyed by intelligence as well as by conscience. Intelligence a powerful adjunct of conscience. Is this action sensible?/

The penalties attached by life to folly are severe. Laws intertwined.

Commencement Speech at

*Margaret Hall
Vanderbilt
1921*

Express pleasure at taking part in this auspicious occasion.

To some of them it will be leaving behind the old life of books, and entering the new school of life, whose lessons we must learn without the helpful intervention of parents or teachers/

All hope for success of some kind, and true success is possible for all who grasp the laws of the school of life and abide by them.

The impartiality of the schoolmaster.

Recall commencement at Sayre Institute in 1865. Time seems short
whether the years be few or many,- to correct mistakes, if
mistakes be made in choice of object.

Only one choice, between good and evil- for the laws of Life are

2.

laid in righteousness. The choice of obeying them or running counter.

3

Destinies are not in our decision. A thousand precepts carried out
no surety for success of any lesser object. Running counter only
certain defeat in the end.

Speech to Democratic
women

Sept 1920

Madam Chairman + Friends,

It is a great day for the cause of the liberty of the people when women are assembled for the purpose of organizing a political club. In 1916 every political party in its national platform advocated extending the right of suffrage to women, and since that time more women ^{in our country} have received ^{suffrage} in whole or in part than in all the previous years of agitation for woman suffrage. The presidential suffrage granted to women of Denmark by the legislature of 1920 is a part of the fruitage of the platforms of all parties in 1916. Hence, this meeting to form a ^{political} club of Democratic women

is in pursuance of a right conferred by the men and women of all parties; and is in accordance with the teachings of the best political writers that in representative governments political parties are necessary for the successful enactment and execution of the best laws for the government of the people. The ^{individualistic} idea of voting for the best man independently of his party principles must in the long run yield to the more co-operative idea of voting for the best man to execute the principles of the party which elected him. Both view points demand candidates of excellent qualities of character, but those qualities are somewhat different. The

great point³ for the voter is to de-
cide on the principles he ap-
proves, and then to join with others
to elect officers who will carry
them into execution with honesty
and efficiency.

The Democratic Party in this State in-
vites the women ^{of this} to join on equal rights
in its councils and efforts to
elect ^{the} best president and vice-
president for these United States.

It presents to the people ^{as the}
basis of its policy a ^{series of} principles ^{adopted at}
the State convention on ^{the} basis of the
Intelligist and ^{only} vital revolution ^{Democrat} they pledge
their belief in and devotion to
the undying principles of the
party.

Those undying principles were
first ^{introduced} in the Declaration
of Independence, set forth by

4
Thomas Jefferson, the founder of
the Democratic party in America,
After a history of 144 years it stands
~~unchallenged~~ ^{unmatched} as the greatest instru-
ment for human liberty ever written.
We hold these truths to be self-evident
On these principles the colonies, states
under the ^{umbrella} of Confederation
sought their independence and
conducted the government for
seven years; and then, desiring
a more perfect union, the people
substituted for it in the ^{more} ^{ends} the Con-
stitution of the United States, in
which in the "usable" language
of Justice Story "The instrument
was not intended to provide merely
for the exigencies of a few years,
but was to endure through a long
lapse of ages, the events of which
were locked up in the inscruta-
ble purposes of Providence."

5.
Immediately, in the strife of parties
under the new Constitution, Thomas Jeffer-
son, first as Secretary of State under
George Washington, ^{then} vice-president
under John Adams, and finally
as the third president of the
United States, stood forth as the
leader for the rights of the people,
as against all form of privilege
of individuals or classes. He believed
in the rights of liberty for the
African slave, and contempla-
ting the system of slavery which
against his principles had gained
foothold in the Constitution, his
clear moral sense caused him
to exclaim, "I tremble for my
country when I remember
that God is just."

His statesmanship placed
in the forefront of the principles
plus of his party a strict limitation
of the Federal government
to the enumerated powers granted
to it by the Constitution, ~~for the~~
~~conduct of national affairs;~~
and guarded with jealous
care the rights of the people
to the largest practicable meas-
ure of local self-government
guaranteed to them by the
State constitutions, which
were the repositories of all
powers of government not
specifically granted to the
Federal government. So much
for the principles of the great
founder of the Democratic party.

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Those principles fixed in the
Constitution were constantly
developed in the progress of
events for the greatest good
of the greatest number on the
lines of equal rights for all, spe-
cial privileges for none. They have
been prolific of wise and progres-
sive statesmanship at every point
of our history. The Monroe doctrine
had its birth in a Democratic
administration. The unity of
the nation and the sovereignty
of the States were both clearly
maintained in the brilliant ad-
ministration of Andrew Jackson.
He put down with a firm hand
in 1832 the threat of secession
by South Carolina. The movement
was started in opposition to a

tariff, yet though Jackson him-
self was in sympathy with this
opposition, yet he was prompt
and effective in resisting any move-
ment affecting the integrity of
the Union.

Such ^{I conceive} are the principles to
which the Democratic party is
pledged. They are so sound in
theory, so beneficial in operation,
that in the degree to which they
have been adhered to, whether under
the name of one party or another,
we owe all the glory and prosper-
ity of our country. But no princi-
ples however true, and no leader-
ship however wise, can altogether
control the masses of men, and
save them from the disasters
of selfishness, greed and arrogance.
The indefiniteness of the Constitu-

retention on the right of ^{the States to} secession
and of the supreme object of the loyalty
of the citizens, together with
all the evil passions engendered
by the violation of every principle
of human liberty and the institu-
tion of slavery, finally brought
upon the nation that retribu-
tion of justice which the clear
vision of Thomas Jefferson had
foreseen. The nation's evil
doing was cleansed through a
baptism of blood. The Democrat-
ic party, ^{hitherto kept} which was largely formed
of the seceding states, sank into
a minority. Yet it is worthy
of notice that the new Republi-
can party, with its great leader,
Abraham Lincoln, the people
discouraged by the result of
war.

Principles and Policies of the Democratic Party.
Given at Georgetown, Ky. Apr. 12, 1924, to Women's Dem. Club.
Madam Chairman and Friends,

It gives me great pleasure to address this Club of Democratic women, and to help by some suggestions what I hope will be a sympathetic study of the great Principles and Policies of the Democratic Party.

The people of the United States are more fortunate than other nations in having the fundamental principles of our government written down in words of surpassing dignity and simplicity. They are found in those sentences of the Declaration of Independence: We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just

powers from the consent of the governed". The language is that of Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party. They breathe the spirit of 1776, in which our forefathers threw off the yoke of England. In that spirit the thirteen original sovereign and independent states entered into the compact of the Articles of Confederation for their mutual support and protection. Eleven years later finding the Articles of Confederation were not sufficient for a strong and stable government the people of all those states ^{according to the noble preamble of the} entered into a new compact ^{Constitution}

~~and~~ ordained and established The Constitution ^{136 years ago, on Sept. 17, 1787,} of the United States of America. Thus the spirit in which the people delegated to the federal government certain rights ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~general~~ ~~states~~ ~~to~~ ~~secure~~ ~~a~~ ~~strong~~ ~~and~~ ~~stable~~ ~~government~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~general~~ ~~welfare~~ ~~of~~ ~~all,~~ ~~assuming~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~States~~ ~~existing~~ ~~into~~ ~~approve~~ ~~these~~ ~~two~~ ~~great~~ ~~documents~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Declaration~~ ~~of~~ ~~Independence~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Constitution~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~all~~ ~~other~~ ~~powers,~~ ~~thus~~ ~~guaranteeing~~ ~~the~~ ~~largest~~ ~~possible~~ ~~protection~~ ~~of~~ ~~local~~ ~~self-government~~ ~~and~~ ~~pro~~ ~~tection~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~rights~~ ~~of~~ ~~minorities~~ ~~in~~ ~~States~~ ~~widely~~ ~~differing~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~several~~ ~~States.~~ ~~Thus~~ ~~the~~ ~~goal~~ ~~is~~ ~~evident,~~ ~~however,~~ ~~operated~~ ~~in~~ ~~distance,~~ ~~industrial~~ ~~interests,~~ ~~and~~ ~~local~~ ~~circumstances~~ that in application written documents must

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be interpreted, and laws must be administered by men, whose understanding of them may differ widely from one another. The constitution of the United States. In the impressive language of Justice Story "The constitution unavoidably deals in general language. . . . The instrument was not intended to provide merely for the exigencies of a few years, but was to endure through a long lapse of ages, the events of which were locked up in the inscrutable purposes of Providence". Again he says: "The constitution of the United States was designed for the common and equal benefit of all the people of the United States." But being the document ~~that~~ of the nature it is, only a little time was necessary to prove that the people needed a means to interpret and administer it to meet their needs in the best and fairest manner. For these and similar purposes party organization began to develop; and as we find them today.

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they are the means by which the people ^{progressively} direct their ^{government} along the lines of the principles and laws laid down in the two great documents which are the foundations of our system of government. But we must observe that party organizations are not provided for in these documents. Indeed, it is a notable fact that so far were they disregarded in the ^{original} constitutional provision for the election of president and vice-president, that when our second president, John Adams, was elected, ~~who~~ belonged to the party called Federalist, Thomas Jefferson, ^{the leader of the republ.} was elected vice-president, though he was the president, ~~by~~ the Federalist, Thomas Jefferson was chosen vice-president, though he was the leader of the Democratic party, or Republican party, as it was called at that time. This situation ^{was corrected} called for the 12th constitutional amendment, which ^{became effective} was adopted in 1804. The principles and policies of parties, therefore, are not ~~to be looked~~ defined in the constitution or the laws but are to be learned from the history and decla

actions of the great parties.

But though party organization was not recognized, from the beginning there have been at least two great schools of thought, leaning upon variations in interpretations of the constitution. ^{* Federal State, a great check, in polit.} The constitution itself was a ^{first science, De Tocqueville.} splendid adjustment between the advocates of a strongly centralized Federal government, and the advocates of the rights of the several States. both as limitations of the power of the central government, and as the best protection of the right of self-government and the protection of minorities, in states widely separated by distance, customs, climates and industrial interests and local circumstances, from the tyranny of mere majorities, acting through the force of numbers only, and guided more by self-interest than by a desire for the well-being of the whole people. The regulation of the tariff, ^{principles of taxation, as applied in the} or taxes on trade with other countries, was another line of division of political thought. Internal free trade between the several states was firmly established in the constitution.

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as the ^{power} ~~right~~ to impose import or export duties, either be-
tween the several states themselves or with foreign coun-
tries, which had previously been exercised by each
state, ~~had been~~ was one of the powers delegated
to the Federal government. The importance of free
trade between the states cannot be overestimated,
as all during our history domestic trade has
completely overshadowed all foreign trade.

Address to Per. Teach. Soc. of Ravenna, Sept. 7, 1823, at
home of Mrs. George Hamilton.

Some Legislative Questions.

Madame Chairman and Ladies, It is an auspicious occasion for political liberty when an association of women, responsible for their selection of men - the law-making Assembly of Kentucky invited a woman candidate to address them upon some of the legislative questions which are uppermost in the minds of the people. Three short years ago this was not possible in Kentucky. Women were parents and teachers then as now, and the responsibility rested upon them then as now to train up the children in the principles of good and patriotic citizens of our State and our country. But when the opinions of the people were gathered in the ballot-box as to what legislators were to be selected to make the laws to govern all the citizens, women's opinions were not counted, and still less was it possible that a woman should be chosen as a fitting legislator to enact the opinions of her own sex into law. But all that has been changed. After many long years of labor and petition women stand on equal footing with men in opportunity and responsibility to take an equal share in all that relates to the science and practice of government, ~~usually called politics~~ the noblest theme that can occupy a citizen's ~~thought~~ ^{mind}, though it has been demeaned in the popular thought

I.

Jan 12, 1920

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Vestry,

I have availed myself of this permission to speak to you ~~for a few minutes~~ because the action of this parish in combining the campaign for the Endowment Fund of Sewanee University with the Nation-Wide Every -Member campaign is causing me much solicitude for several reasons. I may say that, not being present at the parish meeting where this course was decided upon, I have endeavored without complete success to learn exactly how the combination of the campaigns is to affect the contributions of the members of this parish. I do not doubt that others are in the same incertitude, and my especial ^{here} object is to ask the Vestry to explain at the next Parish meeting what has been the Parish action, and to remove the objections, if possible, which have arisen in my mind, and probably in that of others, to this combination.

I will briefly state what these objections are. As I understand, Sewanee University is the property of about twenty dioceses of the Episcopal Church in the South, which designs it for the higher education of the young under religious influences and especially Episcopal influences. As its resources have never been sufficient for the University to do its work on the broad scale its supporters desired economy has been used by limiting entrance to it to men alone. This species of economy has squarely ^{in the attitude} presented the Church in these dioceses as leaving women either to do without collegiate training or to find it outside of Church influences. This course gives cause to ponder to those who believe ^{painfully} it is the duty of the Church to administer its benefits without sex discrimination. However, as this parish is only remotely responsible for the action of the Directors of the University I am not here to call it into question. Neither do I care to call ^{its campaign} into question to raise a million dollar endowment fund, presumably largely from Church members, for the benefit of men only, because as that campaign was launched ^{originally} contributors were left to decide for themselves the merits of the institution. I wish only to be certified

[Jan. 12, 1920]

about the extent of the connection between the Sewanee Campaign and the Nation-Wide - Every- Member campaign in this parish. ^{for} ^{as} I understand, the Nation-Wide campaign is designed to bring strong moral pressure upon Every Member of the Episcopal Church to use self-denial and self-sacrifice to contribute to all the the objects specified in its budget. I learn

from Bishop Burton that the union of the Sewanee Campaign with it has been ^{by the Central Board controlling the Nation-Wide campaign} permitted to parishes desiring it in those dioceses which own Sewanee;

and that while some parishes in ~~our~~ Diocese have refused to do so, this parish has united them. Therefore, it rests upon this parish to explain

the exact grounds upon which it proposes to enjoin upon women and girls ^{as a duty of Church loyalty} ~~to support~~ by self-denial and sacrifice ^{to give to} the million dollar endowment of a University which is running on the basis of a sex privilege for men.

Having left women to find places of higher education for themselves, without assistance from the Church, why is this strong pressure brought upon them to contribute out of their means which are already too little to give them the advantages the Church has provided for men, in order that those men may have still greater advantages? In short, why are women and girls called upon to maintain a sex privilege of men? I have been told that no sex privilege is recognized, since the budget of this Diocese includes the the support of Margaret College, which is exclusively for girls. But there is no proper parallel between the two. Margaret College and institutions like it both for immature boys and girls, is little more than a High School, of which there are 400 in Kentucky alone. Reasons for a difference between these schools and the only University the Church supports in many States will occur to all of us; but it is sufficient to say that that the Directors of these institutions are themselves of the opinion that there is a difference, and while it is believed Margaret College cannot fulfill its sphere of usefulness except by being exclusively for girls, the University could be opened for women without ^{travailing from} derogation of its usefulness ~~if there were money~~ and that its present policy is a matter of finance

[Jan - 12, 1920]

I have ~~expressed~~^{authorities} told even that in literature sent to some persons the University expresses ~~the~~^{the} intention to open its doors to women on equal ~~terms~~ terms with men when this million dollar endowment is ~~received~~^{raised}. I have received much of the literature sent out by the promoters of the Sewanee campaign and I have failed to find in it any intimation that its Directors have any ~~definite~~ intention to open its doors to women; and I hold that ~~any~~ promises to that effect in any of its literature should be made universally public before they are allowed to be taken into account in this campaign; The contributions to Sewanee are to continue weekly for three years, and all the people should know very certainly the reasons particularly why women and girls ~~are included in those~~^{why they may be} asked to subscribe to them. ~~without which impartially~~^{emphasize}

It appears that this combination of the campaigns had the assent of the parish meeting which voted it on the presumption that all the congregation would be willing to abide by it. I am not able to answer for others, but for myself I hold that it presents a pernicious example of sex privilege upheld by the Church ~~in the name of Christianity~~ in which I will not allow myself to be involved. I am asking therefore that the vestry shall make known in exact terms whether ~~it is imperative that all funds passing through the hands of the parish treasurer shall be~~^{have made} subject to the payment of a certain quota assessed upon this parish for Sewanee. I have been certified, it is true, that any contribution which excludes Sewanee will be used strictly for the objects specified; but that in pursuance of the plan of the combination any deficiency created in the Sewanee quota by these limitations ~~will~~^{can} be made up out of funds not so limited; and the effect will be exactly the same to Sewanee as though no limitations had been made against it. This ruling would of course exclude any persons who refuse to contribute to Sewanee from a point of principle from taking part at all in the Nation-Wide Every -Member campaign in this parish. The question therefore remains: Has there been any provision made

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whereby members of this congregation may contribute to the current expenses of the parish and to its benevolent expenses without contributing to Sewanee directly or indirectly through the indirect mens described?

Gentlemen, I have written down my several ^{inquiries,} requests and I leave them with you, respectfully asking that you will, if consistent with your duty, ~~comply with them by giving~~ the desired information at the next Parish meeting.

[Jan. 12, 1920]

- (1) What are the exact obligations assumed by this parish for the distribution of funds subscribed to the Nation-Wide Campaign by reason of its combining it with the Sewanee Endowment Campaign?
- (2) Do these obligations affect all funds contributed to this parish, or only those subscribed to the Nation-Wide Campaign?
- (3) Do these obligations affect funds derived from endowments or property owned by the parish?
- (4) Are these obligations subject to modifications by later parish meetings?
- (5) Will it be possible for any person to make contributions to the current or benevolent expenses, excluding Sewanee, without nevertheless making an indirect contribution to Sewanee by freeing a larger proportion of other funds not so limited which can or may be used for making up the parish's quota to Sewanee?
- (6) What are the promises of the Directors of Sewanee University for the future admission of women to the University on equality with men which may remove or mitigate the charge of their maintaining an institution of sex privilege for men in education on contributions from the general church, including women and girls?

Panic of our 1920's
prosperity - see part
of the answer in the
"free" bank within the
48 states - only 8%
of our "bank" were
foreign

6
science of government and John Marshall, ^{Justice} Story and
others ^{produced} a literature of that science unsurpassed
in ^{profound} ^{under-} ^{standing} ^{of} ^{thought} ^{and} ^{beauty} ^{of} ^{expression}
standards of the science of government, and in the
exposition of it in lofty and pure literary ^{expression} style.
Moreover, our ^{equally} ^{admirable} ^{is} ^{of} ^{dignifying} ^{of} ^{government}
provides means for the whole people to be trained
in the ^{knowledge} ^{principles} and practice of this science
of self-government ^{so} ^{that} ^{they} ^{may} ^{never} ^{be}
lost to us. Our dual government of an indissolu-
ble union of indistructible States is the ^{very} ^{genius}
of our ^{individual} ^{sovereign} State, retaining all powers
not delegated to the Federal Congress, can never be
so large in territory or so populous that every citizen
in it will not have the opportunity to ^{acquire} a
certain training in the principles of what constitutes
good government, and an opportunity to help to in-
corporate those principles into laws suitable to
the conditions which affect his daily life. It is
possible for any group of citizens, if they possess

(7)

6 continued

can be done by a centralized government. It is also the most effective check to the ^{unwise assumptions} growth of a ruling class, whether in State or nation, ^{or in business} whose natural tendency is always towards selfish interests and an arrogant disregard of the rights of the masses. It seems to me that a study of this natural effect of ~~our~~ State governments, and the reaction on the minds of the people, effectually disproves the theory sometimes advanced, that other governments present features more democratic than our own.

The investigators of our national prosperity will seek other ~~sources~~ than the extensive free trade in our own territory. It is likely they will find other causes in our government which they had not realized before. It is worth our while to follow them in our study of History in the Making as they will compare what they see with their own systems which will give us opportunities to form sounder judgments ourselves. (6 1/2 hours)

Our system of a dual ^{6.} government, State and Federal, is equally admirable ^{for dispensing} ~~possessing~~ the whole people the knowledge and practice of this science. The State is ~~not~~ ^{While the Federal government exercises the delegated powers which} ~~so~~ ^{so} extensive or so populous as to make it hard ~~to~~ ^{concern subjects of general interest and foreign relations} ~~for its citizens~~ the States retain ^{all} ~~all~~ ^{power} ~~power~~ ^{not} ~~not~~ ^{open} ~~delegated~~ ^{matters} ~~to the United States~~, and ~~these~~ ^{power} ~~cover~~ ^{open} ~~all~~ ^{matters} ~~those~~ ^{of} ~~objects~~ of legislation which concern the citizen more nearly, and touch his life at points under his own observation, ~~and~~ ~~be~~ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ ~~judgment~~ ~~of~~ the ordinary citizen may form an intelligent opinion. A State is not so extensive or so populous that every citizen ^{may} ~~will~~ not have the opportunity to acquire a ^{practi-} ~~cert-~~ ^{acquaintance with} ~~ness~~ in the principles of what constitutes good government as suited to his local conditions and the internal affairs of his State. He is also closely enough in touch with ~~the~~ ^{the} instrumentalities of State government ~~to~~ to have an appreciable part in the enactment and execution of laws his interests approve. This power and practice of local self-government as exercised in the States afford a protection to the rights of the people, especially of the minorities as never ^{Continued}

To the President and Members
of the Convention of the Ver-
mont Woman Suffrage Associa-
tion:

Dear Fellow-workers,

You know
that the last convention of the
National American W. S. A. ~~con-~~
~~vent~~ recommended that dou-
bling the membership should
be made a principal object of
the state associations during
this year; and that it consider-
ed this object so important
that it created a ^{nationally} Special Com-
mittee on Increase of Member-
ship, of which I was appointed
chairman.

~~While you are assembled to plan~~

I ~~desire~~ very earnestly desire to

Office of

The Woman's Journal,

call your serious ~~attention~~ to the

No. 3 Park Street.

importance to ~~the success of our~~
cause of a increase of numbers.

Boston, Mass.,

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A ~~the~~ thoughtful consideration
of the requirements of suffrage
work will make it evident
that a very large part of the
^{what is}
~~work~~ necessary for the propaga-
tion of our ^{principles} ~~cause~~ may be done
by the comparatively few whose
circumstances or abilities fit
them ^{to conduct it}
for the various branches now
~~usually conducted in each state~~
~~association~~ such as the Press
~~department~~ ^{and its}
~~reports~~, its ^{legislative} petition and ^{educational} legislative
work, as well as its various ^{educational} depart-
~~ments for educational~~ In fact
all these have already proved so
effective that the principal p-

success of our cause if hun-
^{red} dreds of thousands were raised
~~on our side instead of~~ instead of
thousands in our state and
National associations; and let
us ~~put into~~ ~~some~~ ~~our~~ ~~best~~
~~and~~ diligently endeavor to ~~convince~~
these sympathizers ~~to~~
~~these~~ ~~with~~ all sympathizers to
give us the moderate amount
of co-operation necessary to
to enlarge our ~~ranks~~ by mem-
bership, by drawing into it ~~some~~
and let us bend our energies to
gather gathering into ^{our} ~~these~~ ~~multitudes~~
who at present add by; and then
importance of increase of member-
ship, and then let ~~the~~ ~~thought~~ lead
to a diligent endeavor to gathering
~~members~~ from ~~this~~ ~~multitude~~ of ^{great}

position to conveying our demands

Office of

The Woman's Journal,

is based on the smallness of the

No. 3 Park Street.

numbers of those who make them.

Our great ~~present~~ need, ^{therefore,} is the

Boston, Mass.,

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"argument of numbers." To gain
this, we ~~must succeed~~ better than

we have done in exhibiting
~~our sympathizers~~ in direct

To gain this, we must devise
means to gather into our associ-
ations those multitudes who sym-
pathize with our principles
but who cannot give time
and labor to active co-operation.

A conservative estimate of our
sympathizers places the number
far above a million of persons
outside the four enfranchised
states. Let us think of what
it would mean to the speed

tion, humiliating both to women and to men would in demand for relief from it through a State amendment to remove the discriminating word "male" from the election clause of the State constitutions.

The first section therefore is negative in many features. But when we turn to the second section we find no accepted principles or negative provisions in it. It bristles with antagonism to the fundamental and distinctive principles of our Government by proposing an accession to the ^{en} Federal government which would make Congress the most autocratic constitutional legislative body of any country, and would effect a veritable revolution in our form of government. It provides that: "The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article". In other words, it gives Congress power to legislate on State elections where women are involved, both in states where women are enfranchised already, as well as in those where they may become so by the operation of the amendment.

When the constitution was adopted in 1789 there was established a dual system of government differing in that respect from that of the mother country, consisting of the Federal government, ~~upon which certain powers were delegated~~ to which were delegated ~~merged with~~ only certain enumerated powers relating to the general welfare, and the State governments, with constitutions and legislatures which exercised all the remaining governmental powers which in the mother country were exercised by Parliament. Article 10th of the Constitution provides that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people". These separate governments, each within its own province, were to make laws and provide for their administration. The rights of the people were guarded by strict ~~laws~~ lines of demarkation between the legislation of Congress, acting only with the enumerated powers delegated, and all other legislation which each State