

[1928]

I. Smith,

The President of the United States has two constitutional duties with respect to prohibition. The first is embodied in his oath of office....

The corruption in enforcement activities which caused a former Republican prohibition administrator to state that three fourths of the dry agents were political ward heelers named by politicians without regard to civil service laws and that

2. Smith
prohibition is the "new
political pork-barrel I
will ruthlessly stamp
out. Such conditions
cannot and will not
exist under any admin-
istration presided over
by me.

The second constitution-
al duty imposed upon
the President is "to recom-
mend to the congress
such measures as he
shall judge necessary
and expedient". . . . The plat-
form of my party is silent
upon any question of
change in
the law.

3. Smith,

I personally believe that there should be change and I shall advise the congress in accordance with my constitutional duty of whatever changes I deem "necessary or expedient" It will then be for the people and the representatives in the national and state legislatures to determine whether these changes shall be made..... I will never advocate nor approve any law which directly or indirectly permits the return of the saloon."

J. Hoover,

[1928]

I do not favor the repeal
of the 18th Amendment.

Our country has delib-
erately undertaken a
great social and e-
conomic experiment
noble in motive and
far reaching in purpose.
It must be worked
out constructively."

Common sense com-
pels us to realize
that grave abuses
have occurred-abu-
ses which must

be remedied. ^{Howver} In ¹⁹²⁸ organized searching investigation of fact and causes can alone determine the wise method of correcting them.

52 lines, Howver, 201 Smith

"fact-finding investigation"

July 3, 1928

Mr. Chairman & Fellow Citizens.

We are assembled tonight for preparation ^{observance of} for one of the great ~~days~~ patriotic days of our country. When patriotic days are mentioned, our thoughts of course will resort first to the Fourth of July, the anniversary of the birth of our nation, and in the last nine years, to Armistice Day, which ended in victory for the safety of our country the greatest war that the world has ever seen. But between these two days ^{one} of stormy ~~severe~~ struggle and ^{danger} ~~other~~ peaceful assurance of safety there lies another day, election day, upon whose rightful observance hangs all the promise of the ^{4th} ~~1st~~ and all the ~~to~~ peaceful prophecies of ~~Mar. 11~~ Armistice Day. It is the day of the General Elections, ^{the day in which} when a free people

To the Presidential Nominating Conventions of 1904

MEMORIAL

MEMBERS:
You are respectfully requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to place the following plank in your platform:

RESOLVED: That we favor the submission by Congress, to the various State Legislatures, of an Amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding disfranchisement of United States citizens on account of sex.

In the history of the rapid evolution of democracy which has marked the past century, no argument for the enfranchisement of men can be found which is not an application of what are known as the American principles of democracy: "Taxation without representation is tyranny"; "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"; "Yet women are taxed and women are governed." The plea that "those who obey the law should have a ballot's share in the making of the law," must be true, or false. If it is true, it must apply logically to men and women without discrimination; if it is false, by what guarantee does any man hold his right to the suffrage?

Although our own United States gave the watchwords of democracy to the world, other nations are applying our principles more rapidly than our own. Women possess the right to vote in all elections, except for members of Parliament, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Norway and Sweden. They possess limited suffrage with property qualifications in nearly every other country in Europe. Since the last presidential election in the United States, Australia, by act of parliament, has out-Americanized America by extending the Federal franchise in that progressive Commonwealth to 850,000 women. Shall the United States continue to be a lag-gard in the democratic movement to which it has been the most conspicuous leader?

The idea of a republic is the idea of people governing themselves and that idea includes another, that of people possessing a sufficient amount of intelligence and virtue to be capable of self-government. Yet our country witnesses the inconsistency of a 35,000 men, or 11 per cent. of the total number of men, eligible to vote, who are totally illiterate, while millions of educated, and intelligent women are disfranchised. There is no man so idle, so corrupt, or so vicious that he is not permitted his "ballot's share" in the making of the laws which govern him; yet there is no woman, not a citizen of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, so intelligent, so industrious, so moral and law abiding that she is not compelled to obey the law with no political right to assent, or object.

exercise the right of self-government long before those of the men with the blood of our forefathers, and in the day in which they affirm their determination to maintain their country's rights as principles of their free government against all foreign aggression, so gloriously vindicated by Armistice Day, World War, and celebrated in Armistice Day.

It is only seven short years since women were called into full participation in the patriotic activities of Election Day, by the adoption of the 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Perhaps many of them did not welcome the privilege the Amendment gave them, they were not ready for the new form of duty presented to them. ~~But if we accepted our duty~~ But woman suffrage, like all other great social movements, did not come by ~~choice~~ ^{unavoidable} deliberate choice. It was a part of the great social forces, which pushed irresistibly forward, in the way of progress beneficent in their action, if rightly received, but in any case, irresistible. History gives us no reason to suppose that the long chain of events which led to the Revolution of the colonists, and Independence Day, which we celebrate on July 4th, was the deliberate choice of our forefathers. And all of us here will know that it was not willingness on the part of the U. S. that thrust us into the World War, ~~which~~ though we celebrate our glorious victory on Armistice Day. So it is with the third great Patriotic Day, Election Day. It came ~~not on a happy day~~ ^{unavoidably} to the women in 1920, ~~and it will come to every young man on his 21st~~

Wednesday, unthought³ and unwon by any effort of his own, and so women stand on equal footing in that respect with men, except that there is no long tradition behind them of election held in different form. Reflection teaches us that the most sacred duties of ~~them~~ ^{in our country} come to us with out any action at all on our part, as our duties to our families, and in general our duties to our country, though we had no choice in the selection of either of them. The point of honor for noble manhood or womanhood is to accept them when they come, and to fulfill them from an honest and faithful heart.



So then, ~~to~~ all who ⁴believe that patriotism is a virtue, Election Day stands out as the day in all the year whose due observance is binding upon us. In that day we do not celebrate the love of freedom which inspired our Revolutionary forefathers. On that day we do not pay homage to the heroes of our own time, who ~~also~~ ^{in our time} offered their lives and tens of thousands made the supreme sacrifice, to preserve from foreign aggression, the rights which belonged to our Nation. But on election day is the time when we ourselves, we called upon to do our share, only a small share, when divided out among all of us, to pursue those principles and those institutions which have called for so much terrible sacrifice from the heroes whom we honor, on the other patriotic days.

Now we all know that the ballot in the hands of free men and free women in the weapons wherewith we fight the battles of freedom in times of peace. We all know, therefore, that the duty of election day is to go to the polls and cast our ballot for the candidates of our choice. We all know that the right to cast a ballot is the supreme right of citizenship and the one which secures all other rights. And yet, ~~statistics~~ ^{statistics} election statistics ~~teach~~ ^{inform} us that it is a right neglected by a large percentage of citizens. If this neglect could from real indifference to the blessings of political liberty, it would be a sure sign of the

SESAN B. ANTHONY, Honorary President.
 RAY ANNA H. SHAW, President.
 CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Vice President.
 KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.
 DR. CORA SARRH BAYON, 2nd Auditor.
 LAURA CLAY, 1st Auditor.
 HARRIET TAYLOR LYTON, Treasurer.
 ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.
 WARREN, Ohio, Headquarters, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

All extensions of suffrage to men since the Revolution have been made at the demand of political parties and all the later extensions have been effected by act of Congress or Amendments to the National Constitution. Is it not "fair play" to give to women as fair a chance to secure enfranchisement as was given to men? Do you say, you will wait till all women want to vote? Did the wage-earner, the Negro and the Indian, the last classes enfranchised, ask for the suffrage? In the presidential election of 1900, 13,961,560 votes were polled, but 130,000 men were eligible to vote. Would you think it logical to disfranchise 14,000,000 of men because 7,000,000 did not care to vote? Or if the cases were reversed, would you think it just to disfranchise 7,000,000 of public spirited, patriotic men, because 14,000,000 were indifferent and careless? We make the appeal on behalf of the millions of women who wish to vote. By the Declaration of Independence, by all laws of equity, by every rule of logic, women, as well as men, are entitled to the right of self-government. We, therefore, appeal to the great National Delegates Conventions, gathered to determine National policies, to adopt in their platforms, a declaration approving the submission by Congress of an amendment enfranchising women.

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dradence of the national spirit which nothing could correct except some national catastrophe which again would arouse the people to a sense of the value of what they were allowing to slip away from them. But we are persuaded that the evil is not so deep-seated, but arises from carelessness rather than indifference. Therefore, the case seems to require what our good Methodist friends would call a revival what I say shall be to exhort, as our Good Methodist friends call it, that every one of us do the duty of casting a vote. Perhaps, all women have been enfranchised so few years my remarks may apply more particularly, though the percentage of ~~women~~ women voters nearly equals that of men. For the men in fact, have not set the women that good example they should have done, seeing they were in the field before the women. Both sexes ought to show an improvement on what they are now doing. Perhaps the women are allowing the traditions of their younger days to linger too long. Perhaps they are allowing themselves to be too much engrossed in the duties they have always understood to adjust themselves readily to new ones. But I am not here to make excuses for women. I want to exhort them selves to rouse themselves to a perception of new duties under the new conditions. Women have always been as patriotic as men. Whatever peace we may give to men for the freedom with which

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WARREN, OHIO.
Headquarters, National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

which they have performed the sternest duties
 tasks of patriotism (and words of mine would
 fail to express what is owed to them) it is also
 true that in every ~~case~~ the spirit of the
 woman has matched that of the man.
 How could it be otherwise, when man
 and woman are just the two sides of the
 same human nature and neither can rise
 or fall without the other? But now patriotism
 in women must take on the form of accepting
 certain political duties, the primal one of
 which is to vote on election day. There are
 no intelligent women who do not observe
 changes in the industrial and social position
 of women. The older people are finding it
 hard to keep up with the new views of the
 younger generation. Whether they are willing
 or not, they are yielding up their former views
 of life in many directions. There is ~~no~~ ^{no} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~just~~
 as they have to do in the political field.
 Our government is founded on the principle
 that the ^{voice of} people should rule. It differs from all
 governments which allow a privileged class
 and permit a selected class to have governing
 predominance, whether it be from heredity, or wealth
 or education. But how can the voice of the people
 be heard if they do not utter that voice on
 the day and in the manner that is author-

CHAPTER I
 You are respectfully requested by the National-American Woman Suffrage Association to place the fol-
 lowing plank in your platform:
 RESOLVED: That we favor the submission by Congress, to the various State Legisla-
 tures, of an amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding disfranchisement of United States
 citizens on account of sex.
 In the history of the rapid evolution of democracy which has marked the past century, no argument for
 the enfranchisement of men can be found which is not an application of what are known as the American prin-
 ciples of democracy. "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Governments derive their just powers from
 the consent of the governed. "Yet women are taxed and women are governed." The plea that "those who
 obey the law should have a ballot's share in the making of the law" must be true, or false. If it is true, it
 must apply logically to men and women without discrimination; if it is false, by what guarantee does any man
 hold his right to the suffrage?
 Although our own United States gave the watchwords of democracy to the world, other nations are ap-
 plying our principles more rapidly than our own. Women possess the right to vote in all elections, except for
 members of Parliament, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Norway and Sweden. They possess limited suf-
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 in the United States, Australia, by act of parliament, has out-Americanized America by extending the Federal
 suffrage in that progressive commonwealth to 850,000 women. Shall the United States continue to be a lag-
 gard in the democratic movement to which it has been the most conspicuous leader?
 The idea of a republic is the idea of people governing themselves and that idea includes another, that of
 people possessing a sufficient amount of intelligence and virtue to be capable of self-government. Yet our coun-
 try witnesses the inconsistency of 2,276,000 men, or 11 per cent. of the total number of men, eligible to vote,
 who are totally illiterate, while millions of educated, and intelligent women are disfranchised. There is no man
 so idle, so corrupt, or so vicious that he is not permitted his "ballot's share" in the making of the laws which
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MEMORIAL
 To the Presidential Nominating Conventions of 1904

itative? There is always danger in a silent electorate, for it gives no guidance to those in whom the direction of affairs is confided. When it does speak, it is more than apt to speak from impulse and emotion rather than from sound judgment and principle. How shallow are the excuses that some ~~sub~~ citizens make to themselves for neglect of their duty to vote. They say they are too ignorant of the issues and the candidates that are presented. Well, they can inform themselves about these as they do the other matters of life. And if they cannot do this thoroughly, these people are the very last to admit that the people who do ~~not~~ ^{do} their duty and vote are any better fitted than they are to do so. And how fatally do they harm themselves when they fail because politics are not good enough for them. This would be a much worse one than it is if people failed in their duty in other lines because the world is not good enough for them to do their share of the world's work. Some deceive themselves by thinking that one little vote will not change the decision. But here they underestimate the value of little things. Elections have been known to be decided by a single vote. And anyway, the result of any one election is not all the tale that is told of what the people think. Those who study these matters catch the spirit of the people even when they

MEMORIAL

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GENTLEMEN:

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seems to be hidden by defeat. The demagogues and other selfish interests desire nothing of such self-styled "good citizens" except that they simply do not vote. ~~They~~ Every thing human thrives on human interests, and cannot live without it. If all the citizens who want good government will do their little share of getting it by going out to vote, they may make mistakes sometimes in voting, but they will learn by their mistakes, and the spirit of intelligent and honest citizenship which they show is ~~the~~ the atmosphere in which good government thrives and it cannot always be defeated. My friends, if you call yourself patriotic, show yourselves to be so consistently, and vote when it is the ^{right} duty at hand for you to do for your country.

All extensions of suffrage to men since the Revolution have been made at the demand of political parties and all the later extensions have been effected by act of Congress or Amendments to the National Constitution. Is it not "fair play" to give to women as fair a chance to secure enfranchisement as was given to men? Do you say, you will wait till all women want to vote? Did the wage-earner, the Negro and the Indian, the last classes enfranchised, ask for the suffrage? In the presidential election of 1900, 13,961,560 votes were polled, but 21,330,000 men were eligible to vote. Would you think it logical to disfranchise 14,000,000 of men because 7,000,000 did not care to vote? Or if the cases were reversed, would you think it just to disfranchise 7,000,000 of public spirited, patriotic men, because 14,000,000 were indifferent and careless?

We make the appeal on behalf of the millions of women who wish to vote. We make it too, on behalf of generations of women yet unborn, to whom the ballot should come as a heritage.

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DR. CORA SMITH EATON,
2nd Auditor.
Headquarters, National-American Woman Suffrage Association,
Warren, Ohio.



July 17, 1928

I have a singing in my head which goes
I stopped my ears with my fingers and hear it just the same.
It does not seem to me to be heard by my ears,
apparently in the upper, back part of my head.
As it is unnatural or a diseased sound, it
cannot come from Spirit, because God does not
cause physical pain or disease and there is
neither in Spirit.

It does not come apparently from the body,
as it does not seem to be heard by my ears.
Is this therefore false testimony (it certainly is
false by all my means of judging) of false mate-
rial sense (page 108, lines 24-30) of mind in matter?

It seems I must be under the illusion that
I have other means of information than through
~~the~~ ^{the} ~~body~~ mind which I believe in, which is not
separate from God. Is not this an illusion
that there is mind ^{sense or senses} (perception through the in-
tellekt, Webster) in matter or the mortal body, which
Mrs. Eddy calls mortal mind?

Does Mrs. Eddy use the word matter in two senses? One
the sensationless manifestation of Spirit? The other,
the supposed opposite of Spirit, ^{in belief} ~~itself~~ endowed with quali-
ties belonging only to Spirit? Pages 91, 108.

Page 108, line 17. A subjective state of mortal mind necessarily
has a mentality. The error consists in attributing the men-
tality of a false belief to inanimate and sensationless
matter; and confusing the different natures of the two, by
calling this false belief matter also, and mind in matter.

Is not this Mrs. Eddy's definition of matter?

(July 17, 1928)

c19282

Madam Chairman + Fellow Democrats + Citizens
 This is a proud and happy occasion ~~to~~ to
 the Democratic Women's Club of Fayette County and
 Lexington when it welcomes to our city the represen-
 tatives and officers of the Democratic Women's Club of
 Kentucky. Eight years ago, ~~almost to the month of~~ ^{almost}
~~up to the month~~ this meeting, our Club was formed under the
 impetus of Presidential Suffrage granted by the
 General Assembly of 1920. The Democratic women
 recognized ~~that~~ ^{the importance of} the Presidential Election ~~was~~ ^{as} the
 most important of the year, and by their quick
 organization under the new law they did their
 full share to keep Old Kentucky safe in the
 Democratic ranks in that year of startling
 upheavals. It is very fitting that in another
 Presidential election year the Kentucky State Meet-
 ing of Democratic Women's Clubs of Kentucky should
 be held here, where we all with hearts firm in
 the Democratic faith, shall take counsel together
 how to meet the emergencies of another election,
 and, as we trust, bring in a glorious victory in
 November. Our sister ~~clubs~~ of the Ky. & State Club
^{you} are most welcome, for yourselves and your patriotic
^{purpose.} ~~And you are~~ ^{we} welcome for the distinguished
 guests you bring with you. One of them coming from
 just across the ~~river~~ ^{Miss Alice Gallam} we claim as ^{really} our own, just
 next to our neighboring State, but never separated
 from us in heart, and dear to us by ^{the} ties of her

distinguished ancestry, and the warm admiration
cherished for her own brilliant gifts which are

The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment

Headquarters: 130 North Upper Street

Lexington, Kentucky

well known and appreciated in Kentucky.
We delight to welcome Senator Albert B. ~~Boyer~~ ^{Boyer} who
so long ~~splendidly represented~~ ^{splendidly represented} our State in Congress,
and then, by his honorable record there and his
splendid qualities of leadership, ~~saved~~ ^{saved} ~~led our~~
State ~~rescued~~ ^{rescued} this ~~great~~ ^{historically} Democratic State from
the abnormality of two Republican Senators.

Ms. Miss Nellie Taylor Ross, ex-Governor of Wyoming, all our
hearts are open. From the lofty heights of Wyoming,
the Star of the West, there first rose, in 1869, the pure
flame of true Democracy, the equal rights of suffrage
for men and women. No Territory and State, Wyoming
~~was~~ ^{has} ~~led~~ the world in this triumph of justice. Its light
was the star of hope for all those who claimed polit-
ical liberty for women in times when such a thing
seemed chimerical to the vast majority. But by its ~~own~~
apt and ~~sober~~ successful example it spread this
crowning glory of Democracy until it has brought all
our country, and most of the civilization of Europe to
recognize ~~the political rights of women~~ ^{the justice, the equal suffrage} of women. And still she leads
in the equal political rights of women, in electing a
woman to the highest office in the State, and she
leads the first woman who attained that honor to
~~to grace~~ ^{to grace} this meeting of Kentucky's Democratic women.
~~To our~~ ^{To our} friends and our honored guests, ~~again~~ we bid you
welcome, thrice welcome, to Fayette County and Lexington.

1928

Why I am Going to Vote for Gov. A. C. Smith

Madam Chairman and Fellow Citizens,

A few weeks ago I was asked through one of the Democratic committees to express my reasons why I am going to vote for Gov. Alfred C. Smith for president. As I have no official means of information, and know nothing of the political situation but what all of us may read in the public press, (I take this ^{as any} opportunity to comply with that request ^{what I say is wholly above} ~~what~~ ^{a woman} who desires the good of our country without regard ^{that} to party, ~~by~~ ^{is} talking simply to others who desire the same thing, why ~~am~~ ^{are} going to vote for Gov. Smith.

(Before the national Democratic convention at Houston and the nominations for the heads of the ticket it would have been comparatively a simple matter for ~~me~~ ^{any} ~~woman~~ who believes in the Jeffersonian principles of Democracy ^{as I do} to say why I would support the Democratic ticket.)
 If ever the people should ^{ought} ~~have~~ ^{to} ~~feel~~ ^{feel} since their responsibility to demand ~~simple~~

honesty in the administration² of the govern-
ment it seems to me that the ^{of corruption} record of
the period since the last Democratic admin-
istration ~~furnishes~~ ^{proves} that ~~they ought~~
~~to feel that responsibility~~ ^{is} ~~be done now.~~ Ours is a system of admin-
istration of
government by parties. Always there is
some difference in the policies which the
government may promote. Groups of citizens
unite to support some of these policies
and other groups unite to oppose them
or to support different policies. Each group
or ^{party} ~~as it is called~~ prepares its platform,
nominates its candidates and invites
the people to make a choice. The party is
just as responsible for its candidates as
it is for its platform. The party leaders
have every facility possible to choose
candidates worthy of public confidence,
and it is a part of their contract with
the people to use care and honesty in
their selection and ^{by them} watchfulness
over their official conduct afterwards.
If the party is not responsible for these
things what recourse have the people
against inefficiency and dishonesty
in the administration of the government?

When a party ~~does~~ fails in these primary duties virtues, in this government of the people, by the people. For the people, it becomes the duty of the people to ~~reproach~~ ^{overthrowing} these misdeeds, and prevent their recurrence by ~~reproaching~~ ^{repu-}diating the party guilty of them.

I wish to touch only lightly upon the dishonesty in high places which has brought shame upon the American people before the eyes of the world. The facts about the Elk Hills and Teapot Dome oil deals, the scandals in the Veterans' Bureau and in the administration of alien property are fresh in the knowledge of all. I wish only to emphasize that the responsibility of these acts lies ~~with~~ the Republican party, and judgment upon them rests with the American people. There is ^{chief} ~~one~~ moral issue in this campaign, ^{which} ~~and that~~ ^a ~~demands~~ ^{involves} obedience to the ~~command~~ ^{eternal} law Thou shalt not steal.

The Republicans ^{now} ^{4 continued} are trying to ^{treat} ~~make~~ those
~~crimes~~ as a closed incident and ~~to~~ claim
that the time is past for the people to pro-
test by voting against their party at this
election, since they did not register their rebuke
in the election of 1924. It is true the people did
not give a rebuke in 1924. But then all the evi-
dence was not in. The case of the oil deals was
still before the Supreme Court, which had not then
given its decision. Multitudes of intelligent
people, in a case where there are legal ques-
tions, wait for the decision ^{of that Court} before they ^{give their} ~~express~~
~~condemnation~~ ^{own verdict upon} of an offense. It takes a long time
to bring any facts of this nature before a nation
of 100,000,000 people and to educate them on all
its aspects. Furthermore, since 1924 ^{some just last winter, in fact,} there have been
^{made by the investigations of the Democratic Sen. Wiley} more disclosures, showing how far that corruption
and the removal of the salt ^{and} ~~grease~~ oil ^{deals} had extended through the agencies of the Repub-
^{lican} ~~administration~~ ^{party}. The testimony shows that
\$260,000,000 of a deficit ^{of \$1,800,000,000} in the Republican Campaign

5-

fund was paid with the proceeds of the oil deal. The ~~same~~ of the disclosure of this last infamy ^{pierced} burned through all the defences of the Republicans ~~for the misdeeds~~ of their party; and the distinguished Republican Senator William C. Borah wanted to wash off the blot by raising by subscription the \$260,000 and returning it to Sinclair. He succeeded in raising only \$9,000, but blots of this kind cannot be washed off by return of money. The continuation of that corruption extends at least as far as the influence of that campaign fund. And in this election it behoves Republicans as well as Democrats to administer a rebuke at the polls to the party that has brought reproach upon the nation. What is all our national pride but a shame to us, if such corrupt practices do not call out a rebuke from the voters to the party guilty of them?

When a political party has grown strong and arrogant (~~from long possession of power~~) and offers opportunities for greed and dishonesty, the people have no escape from its bondage except by substituting another party more faithful to its trusts.

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another ^{party} more faithful to the interests of the
people. ^{I must mention developments of which I have}
~~Before the convention at Houston I would have said~~
Also, I believe it is high time that this coun-
try should be roused to see how there is a grad-
ual and continuous tendency to enlarge
the power of the Federal Government at the
expense of the rights of the sovereign States.
Among the founders of our government,
there was no object more earnestly
sought than the preservation of the rights
of local self-government to the people; for
they clearly recognized it as the very
foundation of free government. The sys-
tem they evolved was admirable to combine
the liberty of local self-government and the
strength of union in the Federal government.
By the system of creating a central government
possessing only delegated powers, and reserving
all others to the several States or to the people
they attained an unparalleled degree of ~~local~~
~~freedom~~ internal freedom with strength against
outside foes. The very bulwark of internal liberty
is the right of the several States to complete free-
dom within their own domains as individual
States; and this is, as it is usually describ-
ed, States' Rights. This is the chief protection that

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our form of government affords to the protection of the rights of the minorities of the people of the United States. For while each sovereign State is represented in the U. S. Senate by the same number of senators, yet in the lower House the representation is based on population, and if local questions of domestic policy were within the province of Congressional legislation, it is evident that the more populous States would soon acquire preponderating power over the less populous ones. To illustrate this, let us observe that the three ~~the~~ contiguous States of Mass., New York and Pennsylvania have as many votes as the twelve States, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, N. C., S. Car., Geor., Florida, Ala., Miss., Tenn. and Ky. south of the Ohio or east of the Mississippi rivers; Or, to put it in any angle, they have an equal number of votes, leaving out Texas as the twenty States ~~west of~~ entirely west of the Miss. Is it ~~not~~ probable if Congress were allowed to interfere in internal affairs, ~~that~~ ~~the~~ such combinations of States would ^{not} inevitably mould legislation to suit their own local conditions at the expense of less populous States different from them in ^{circumstances} surroundings and interests? Yet there is ~~as~~ have been many insidious growths of the central

power at the expense of the reserved powers
with every transfer the States Rights, unpopular States grow stronger
of the States. As ~~there~~ is a fundamental principle
the less populous weaker, and the minorities of the people lose one of
of the Gov. government, it would not be
their safeguards against the tyranny of the majorities.
fair to claim it as a Democratic doctrine
as opposed to the Republican and other parties.
But it is a doctrine to which the Democratic
party has always been particularly devoted,
and in view of the tendency towards centraliza-
tion, I believe it would be good for the
American people to call the Democratic party
into power to emphasize again this fundamen-
tal principle of free government. These are some
of the reasons I would have given for sup-
porting the Democratic nominee before the
great party conventions. ^{In addition to dishonesty, the} ~~But~~ when Wm. Hoover
was nominated by the Republicans and Gov.
Republican administration has failed to give the promised relief to
Smith by the Democrats, ~~but now~~. It seems to
the burning Antislavery of this country, and has shown inefficiency
many sound decisions between two men instead
in the enforcement of the prohibitory laws. Because of these great reasons
of between two parties. ~~I~~ believe the contest
and other
should be between the Democratic party and
principles and ~~those~~ of the Republican party and
their ^{principles as} practiced. And I expect to vote for Gov. Smith
as an able and honorable exponent of the Dem-
ocratic principles. ~~But~~ certain personalities of the
two candidates ~~have~~ appeared, which to many have
assumed the place of the main party issues.

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Immediately the cry was raised that Gov. Smith was the product of Tammany and was supported by it. Now the Tammany Tiger has long been known vaguely as the synonym of corrupt party boss power, and the vagueness has been a terror.

It is a fact that with our system of party government there has grown up an unofficial ~~organ~~ organization of each party to look after and ~~build up~~ ^{bring} ~~into efficient~~ ^{to coordinate the} action its own adherents. Such a ~~loose~~ ^{semi-official} organization is known in every political centre, and is usually known as the "Ring". It seems that Tammany, ^{was} organized first as a sort of social group, and dating back almost to the beginning of our National history, ^{George Washington was at one time a member of it, and it finally became} is the Democratic ring of New York city. It can ~~hardly~~ be said of it that it is worse than the political rings in other cities, or perhaps that it is better than others. ^{It may be the Democratic organization that was nearest to Alfred B. Smith and} But the facts that concern the voters of the U. S. are that New Yorkers themselves ~~see~~ ^{find} nothing in the connection of Gov. Smith to prevent their giving him their confidence, as they have shown by electing him four times to the Governorship. Gov. Smith himself seems proud of his ^{membership} connection with it, and whatever scandals Tammany may be responsible for, Gov. Smith stands out unscathed as a thoroughly honest man, with a clean record of many

years' public service ⁱⁿ under the ~~pressing~~ spot-
light of public ~~observation~~. I feel that the voters
are safe in accepting ^{Gov. Smith} the valuation of his own
people.

And then, Gov. Smith is a Catholic. (Now, as I am
an old dyed-in-the-wool Protestant Episcopalian,
I would greatly prefer that he should be an
Episcopalian, and or even a member of some
other Protestant denomination. But he is a
Catholic,) that is the faith in which he
tries to walk humbly with his God. And I
am a Jeffersonian Democrat, I remember that
the illustrious founder of our party glories in
being the author of the Statute of Virginia for
Religious Freedom. Religious toleration has long
been the philosophy of my life and has become
one of my principles. I am ready to act upon
that principle in voting for president, (though
^{as I am a Protestant Episcopalian} it does not my denominational preferences
the wrong way.) Usually when people speak
of standing by their principles there is some
implication of a sacrifice in doing so. In
this case, however, there is no sacrifice
required. ^{I do} Protestants need not fear any temporal
power being given to the Pope in this country. We
can be reassured on that point by looking
at Italy where ninety per cent of the people are Cath-

olies. For centuries the Pope had political author-
ity over a number of small principalities, called
"the Papal States," but in the revolution of 1870, led by
Catholic patriots, the Pope was divested of civil and
political authority over any part of Italy except
his residence of the Vatican and the Vatican
grounds. If he could not retain political au-
thority when he had it in a Catholic country,
we have nothing to fear of his establishing
it here, where the majority of the people are
not Catholics. Other Catholic countries besides Ita-
ly have refused to submit themselves to ~~any~~
political domination of the Pope, and so far
from its being a part of the faith of Catholics
that they must acknowledge his temporal
power, it has not deprived those Catholics of their
good standing as faithful and orthodox members
of their church. As for the childish whisperings that
a Catholic president might require all children
to go to Catholic schools, and that all mar-
riages should be performed by Catholic priests,
I do not know how we can meet them
except by laughing. We must remember that
we are not going to elect a dictator ^{either Doane or Smith} ~~in Doane~~, but a
president of a constitutional government in which the people
rule through their elected representatives in Congress.
~~This is the whispering campaign.~~

X
The Syracuse Post-Standard says: "The only creatures that make a noise like a whispering campaign are geese and snakes." We may leave the geese to ~~tell~~ ^{repeat} tales told by nameless strangers and irresponsible persons; but beware of the snakes! They are lifting their heads boldly. I have ~~seen~~ a copy of a paper with the name of the publisher which employs writers skillful in preparing headlines and catch-phrases which imply things they do not say, for fear of the libel laws.

It seems that instead of the national policies stated in the party platforms this campaign is going to contend again for the principles we thought had been established as the foundation of our government. A whispering campaign has started. The religious intolerance against the candidacy of Gov. Smith is a re-embodiment of the spirit of bigotry ~~and distorted religious views which~~ alive in the Colonial days such as caused the Puritans of the colony of Plymouth to

drive out Roger Williams and the Baptists into Rhode Island and similar persecutions by the colonists in other settlements of their fellow-Christians of different denominations - persecutions of which their descendants are now heartily ashamed. We had fondly hoped that Thomas Jefferson had laid this evil spirit forever by his victory for Religious Freedom. ~~but it has raised its ugly head again and come back to plague us.~~ Our Revolutionary forefathers had learned through these bitter Colonial experiences that there can be no civil or political liberty without religious liberty. Therefore they wrote into the U. S. Constitution that:

"No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States"

~~We~~ receive the right to vote for United States' officers from the ~~Federal~~ Constitution, and ~~we~~ ^{is bestowed} receive that right without regard to ~~our~~ ^{differences of} religion. It is a subtle breach of trust to use that right against the principles of the very instrument that gave it to ~~us~~. ~~None of us~~ ^{few} would have the slightest difficulty in seeing this, if it were a trust ~~about~~ ^{concerning} some financial matter that ~~we~~ ^{seem} had placed in their hands. ~~in~~ ^{us}. We are not responsible for the principles ¹⁰⁰ laid down in the Constitution; some of them may be quite contrary to what we think they ought to be. But if we accept a trust under it, like the right of suffrage, the obligation is plain not to do anything ^{use} with that trust contrary to the principles of the instrument that bestowed it upon ~~us~~. ¹⁶²
 Notwithstanding all the history that has gone before
 Religious intolerance just now is abroad in the

land. It is an evil passion of the heart which
dies hard. In this campaign it is hiding itself
behind many disguises, diverting attention from
the main issues of the campaign so that even
people who would be ashamed of it if they recognized it
some Democrats seem liable to be led astray by
it. When it is seen without any disguise it is
a hateful thing, despised by all. This campaign is a
call to every true American of whatever party
to stand firmly for the principles of religious
freedom. It ought to give food for thought to
any who may be inclined to vote according
to a religious test to observe that both candidates,
Mr. Hoover as well as Gov. Smith, declare that
they do not want a vote that is cast from
a religious preference.

I find Gov. Smith's attitude on the prohibition question to be more hopeful than Mr. Hoover's for the future prospects of the regulation of the liquor traffic. I am now and have been practically all my life, a total abstainer, ^{and} an advocate of temperance and of reasonable and workable restriction of the liquor traffic. I believed that regulation within a State was strictly a right of the police power of the State, and therefore I supported a dry State Constitutional Amendment, though I was opposed to a Federal Amendment. Also, during the World War when conservation of food stuffs was a vital need of ourselves and the Associated nations I ^{approved the act of} endorsed the Federal administration when it used its extended war-time authority to forbid the use of food stuffs for the manufacture of drinks.

The war-time fervor for prohibition no doubt helped to place the 18th Amendment in the U. S. Constitution. While my States Rights principles objected to this invasion of the functions of the State, no one who had ever studied the ravages of the unrestricted liquor traffic could fail to watch ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{workings of the Amendment} effect with anxious hope. But I know

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that many besides myself have felt that hope slowly dying out as year by year passed by with ever increased evidence that enforcement was very defective and as proofs accumulated that prohibition lawⁿ is what a

former Republican Prohibition Administrator called it - "the new political pork barrel".

Under the last two Republican administrations "privilege and pillage" have been more firmly entrenched through the use of this "pork barrel". However, a portion of the earnest prohibitionists have continued to hope against hope that something would give a new turn to affairs and have tenaciously resisted even the suggestion that change might make the Amendment more effective.

An argument that is strong with them is that every other plan has been tried - that this is the final method and that any change must mean just a return to the old evils of the open saloon. They have seen noble lives devoted to this cause. It has been the vision of its heroes and its martyrs; and they feel that any change will be only to lose the reward of all this sacrifice.

But this is a very grave mistake and

may prove a costly³ error if it is continued.

No human law is perfect in its first form. We hold legislatures and Congresses yearly, one of whose principal duties is to amend and continue to modify to changed

conditions laws which have received the approbation of the people for generations.

But the idea of national prohibition has had only a short trial as history goes in Christian countries and its course has been upon new and untrodden ground. To suppose that the very first device for National help on this difficult issue is final is a hasty conclusion and may ~~be~~ easily ^{cause} a backset for an eventually wise settlement.

Not even the most ardent supporters of the present status of the prohibition measure can claim that it is satisfactory. But they reiterate that county local option was tried but success was impossible because liquor could be obtained or brought in from other counties and State constitutional amendments were hampered in the same manner by imports from other States or from foreign countries.

There are thirty-three States which have adopted prohibition amendments ^{to their State constitution,} Kentucky being

one of them and there⁴ was much dry legislation
in the remaining fifteen States; and it is true
that the efficiency of the law was injured by
imports from wet territory. What was needed was
protection from outside interference with the
legally expressed will of the people of the several
States. But under the Constitution as it was
then Congress could not legislate to control
entirely interstate and foreign commerce ^{so as} to pre-
vent this outside interference which is all
the States ^{ought to ask} ~~have a reasonable justification~~
~~emerging~~ from the Federal government accord-
ing to the States Rights principles. It has been
suggested to me that this ^{protection} might have been
obtained by a much ^{less complex} simpler amendment
than the Eighteenth - one that only enlarged
the power of Congress over interstate and foreign
commerce, declaring that no imported liquors
should be brought into this country and that
no State should invade the territory of another
State with the liquor traffic. The 18th Amendment
contains these provisions, which are all in
accordance with the spirit of the Constitu-
tion and in conformity with States Rights.
But it contains other provisions which are
considered by many able minds as subversive
and annulling to other sections of the Consti-

tion, and are plainly ^{51 (first part)} an invasion of the right of each State to control its own internal affairs. They are the features which are causing the discontent with the Amendment and making its enforcement more difficult

Both Mr. Hoover and Gov. Smith pledge themselves to enforce the Amendment and the laws pursuant thereto as long as they stand. Mr. Hoover says he is satisfied with the Amendment and laws as they stand at present. Gov. Smith declares he thinks both could be amended with advantage to temperance and the respect of the people for the law. To my mind his

his
declarations show Gov. ^{Constitutional} Smith to be a much abler
executive than Mr. Hoover. If Mr. Hoover is satis-
fied with ~~the results~~ ^{as demonstrated by their operation} of these laws during the
two Republican administrations, and he professes
~~but only to continue their policy~~
no improvement, he falls far below my hopes of
what our chief executive should ^{desire} do. For we all know

that the present ~~enforcement~~ ^{results are} is a mockery and a
~~shame~~ ^{reproach} to any law-abiding nation. On the other
hand, Gov. Smith says he will not tolerate such ~~an~~
administration of these laws as we now have. He
also suggests certain amendments to the Amendment,
I do not pretend to think that my knowledge of
constitutional ^{law} is sufficient to endorse all his sug-
gestions; but he himself reminds us that all
~~the~~ action lies entirely with the Congress and
the people, and that he has only the ^{ability} ~~power~~ to sug-
gest. It is for his suggestions and his stand urging the
changes that the ~~temperance~~ ^{prohibition} cause owes him
profound gratitude. We need not suppose for an
instant that other political leaders have not
been fully aware that the Eighteenth Amendment
and the laws ^{imposed thereon} ~~imposed thereon~~
^{as they are} ~~as they are~~ ^{involve us in} ~~involve us in~~ ^{unnumbered} ~~unnumbered~~ ^{difficulties}
^{and complications} ~~and complications~~ in practice. But the militant Prohibitionists,
urged on, some of them by unreasoning devotion
to one idea, and others by motives quite selfish
and sordid, have been able to keep up at
least an appearance of popular approval

⁶
~~approval~~ of the Eighteenth Amendment just as
they stand, that many political ^{and} leaders ^{of} ^{the} ^{country} ^{and} ^{of} ^{the} ^{world} ^{and} ^{of} ^{the} ^{continent}
motives of political expediency, have refrained
from ^{it} advocating any change ~~in it~~ even of their most
objectionable features. Gov. Smith has dared to

break this evil spell, and hereafter the Prohi-
bition laws, like all others, must come under
the calm judgment of those who are affected
by them. To my mind, this election should be an
occasion for the nation to rebuke and repudiate
deal with great principles and problems ^{greatly} ^{undisputed}
~~the dishonesties of the Republican administrations~~
and the trend towards centralization of authority,
and emphasis on Democracy ^{ideal} ^(principles).

But instead of that there is seen in many
directions a wave of religious intolerance, ~~which~~
and a ^{teaching} ~~so-called~~ "moral issue" ~~is that~~ a man-
made precept of prohibitory liquor laws "a moral
~~question~~, as a doctrine of morality. The Supreme
Court of the United States has called this a
Christian nation, and I am sure all of us
heartily desire it to be so; and if we accept
this dictum of the Supreme Court we must ac-
cept the system of morals taught in the sacred
Scriptures of Christians. In them is plainly written
that the Founder of Christianity did not teach
prohibition or total abstinence, ^{as a part of his moral code,} He declares that
^{the same eating & drinking & that} ~~his~~ ~~enemies~~ ~~on~~ ~~his~~ ~~day~~ called him a glutton
and a wine-bibber.

7. continued.

He ^{taught temperance} ~~was a temperance man~~, for temperance means self-control, - control ^{by} ~~from~~ the heart ^{within}, but he did not teach prohibition, for prohibition is police control, control ^{by force} ~~from~~ without. Temperance and prohibition are the opposites of each other, and those ~~would~~ be Christian teachers who attempt to ascribe ^{prohibition} to ~~a~~ a moral or religious sanction are dangerously near to teaching that the example and precepts of Christ are not sufficient for the present day. Mr. Hoover accurately describes prohibition as a "social and economic experiment;" and as such it clearly comes ~~within~~ the legislative province of the States ~~and~~ of the Federal government. Looked at in this light it is readily seen that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act like all other constitutional and statutory ~~laws~~ ~~must~~ ~~bear~~ ~~the~~ ~~test~~ must recommend themselves by their efficiency in promoting the welfare of the people, or they ^{either} must be amended or discarded altogether. With this certainty in view, I think the attitude of Gov. Smith is more favorable to the final outcome of prohibition than Mr. Hoover's ^{is} ~~is~~ that he will pursue the Coolidge policies, that he is in accord with the ^{18th} ~~Amend.~~ ~~ment~~ and the Volstead Act; and apparently sees nothing in the situation that needs

any change. On the other hand, Gov. Smith says he thinks the conditions are intolerable, and that no administration of which he is head will tolerate them. Now we all know that ~~the~~ Prohibition is the new political pork-barrel, that liquor can be bought in every city and village of the land, that bootleggers are getting rich, and ^{that} there are many other abuses under the law. Gov. Smith has executive ability and executive experience, which Mr. Hoover has not. He will certainly put a new ~~face~~ ^{energy} into the enforcement problem. If he succeeds, ^{in making it effective,} the prohibitionists will have all they ask for. If he fails, it will show that there is some radical defect in the laws as they now stand, which if not corrected will inevitably cause them ^{to} ~~fall by its own weight,~~ ^{to} ~~overthrow them altogether.~~ ^{stand-} But Gov. Smith's ^{suggestions would forestall that, and Gov. Smith} ~~desires~~ ^{is} that what is good in those laws shall be preserved to the people, and therefore he wants them to be amended ^{in time} to suit the exigencies of the situation before it is too late to prevent them ^{from} utter destruction. I hold that his position ^{is} the wisest and best for the final outcome.

Insert X on page 8

I do not know any question that has come up in this campaign that requires more the exercise of calm common sense than this of the liquor laws. We know that the situation of the great cities is different from that of populations that are not in great masses, yet when some one argues that there should be more elasticity in the laws because in big centres of population the situation must be handled differently, the answer is likely to be a wave of the hand and the remark that it is only these cities that are making objections. Now we have in this country 13-
cities with more than a half-million inhabitants, ^{each} that is, each one of them has more than twice the population of Kentucky, ^{in whole} the combined population of these cities is more than the combined population of 24 of our less populous States. The people of those cities have the same right to vote, and the ^{same} right to vote for laws that meet their requirements as those people of those 24 states. Now, I ask you, is it fair, is it using common sense, to stick ^{obstinately} unbendingly, to one law for all, as unbending as cast iron? Is not the result likely to be that like cast iron, some day there will be a break, and like ^{broken} cast iron ~~the law~~ will be thrown on the junk heap as worthless? ^{It is better to have a law like tempered steel, that can be bent to meet the situation.}

and a wine bibber. Mr. Hoover accurately describes prohibition as a "social and economic experiment"; and those ~~so-called~~ ^{would-be} Christian teachers who attempt to ~~put~~ ascribe to it a moral and religious sanction are dangerously near to teaching that the example and precepts of Christ are not sufficient for the present day. ~~Just~~

Gov. Smith's speech of acceptance is a frank and able expression of a true Democrat's views of the principles of our government and a statesmanlike apprehension of the problems that must be ~~set~~ ^{met} awaiting solution. He understands the needs of the farmer, and promises to ~~take~~ ^{in case he is elected} ~~summed~~ call immediately a commission of qualified men to suggest remedies for present hard conditions, and then to use all his energies to secure Congressional action ^{on their suggestions, if denied, a comparative} on ~~their suggestions~~. By a queer turn of campaign propaganda this promise of an able executive is derided as the empty proposal of a city-bred man. But Governor Smith for four terms has been elected governor of a State not only ^{containing} the largest city in the country, but also an immense agricultural business, ~~employing~~ ^{employing} more farmers and farm labours than the whole population of several of our States. These

These interests Gov. ¹⁰ Smith has carefully fostered, and during the years of Republican promise of relief to the farmer, ~~as Governor~~ Gov. Smith has actually accomplished much valuable legislation for N. Y. farmers, lowering their taxes, and helping their business by ^{sanitation} ~~improved~~ farm animals and improved transportation facilities for their products, and co-operative marketing. He is a practical executive, with a wide grasp of public ~~some of questions~~ understanding the principles of our government, willing to take advice from experts where expert opinion is needed, and fearless and honest in the administration of the law. I shall vote for him in great confidence that my trust in him will not be betrayed.

I find Gov. Smith's attitude ~~of more so~~ on the Prohibition Amendment more hopeful than ^{1928?} Mr. Hoover's for the future prospects of the regulation of the liquor traffic. I have been ^{practically} a life time advocate of temperance and of reasonable and ^{workable} ~~practicable~~ restriction of the liquor traffic. I believed that regulation of ^{police power of the} within a State was strictly a right of the States and therefore I supported a State dry constitutional amendment, though ^{opposed to the Federal Government} during the great ^{war} when conservation of food stuffs was a vital need of ourselves and the Associated powers, I endorsed the ^{action} ~~war time~~ extension ^{of its} ~~of~~ the Federal government, to forbid the use of food stuffs for the manufacture of drinks. ~~After that~~ ^{After the} ~~war~~ ^{time} ~~favor~~ ^{of the} ~~for~~ ^{prohibition} no doubt helped to place the Eighteenth Amendment in the Federal Constitution. And ^{while} any States Rights principles prevented my concurrence in ~~the~~ ^{diminution of the} ~~rights of the~~ ^{State} ~~prohibition~~ ^{amendment} as, within the rights of the people; and while not so elastic as a statutory provision yet ^{who} ~~had~~ ^{ever} ~~studied~~ ^{the} ~~savages~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{unrest} ~~ed~~ ^{ed} ~~liquor~~ ^{traffic} ~~but~~ ^{would} ~~fail~~ ^{to} ~~watch~~ ^{it} ~~with~~ ^{anxious} ~~hope,~~ ^{what} ~~Mr.~~ ^{Hoover} ~~describes~~ ^{as} ~~a~~ ^{"social and economic experiment."} But I know that many besides myself have felt that hope slowly dying out as year by year passed by and ~~no~~ ~~to~~ with ever increased evidence that enforcement was very inefficient, and as proofs accumulated that as a former Republican Prohibition Administrator states that Prohibition is "the new

political pork barrel. Under the Republican administration of the last eight years "privilege and pillage" have been more firmly entrenched ~~by~~ through the use of this "pork barrel"; however, a portion of the earnest prohibitionists have continued hoping against hope that something would give a new turn to affairs, and have tenaciously resisted even the suggestion that some change ~~might~~ be made ~~in the~~ to cause the Amendment to be more effective. An argument that is strong with them is that every other plan has been tried, and that ~~any~~ ~~change~~ that this is the final method, and that any change ~~must~~ mean just a return to the old evils of the open saloon. But this is a very grave mistake; it ~~will~~ be a costly error. They have seen noble lives devoted to this cause. It has ~~had~~ ^{seen the victim} its heroes and its martyrs; and they ~~will~~ will not tolerate any suggestion of a change in what they feel is and they feel that any change will be only to lose the reward of all this sacrifice and to return to the old evils of the open saloon. But this is a very grave mistake, and ~~may~~ ^{be} prove a costly error if it continued. No human law is perfect in its first form. We hold Congresses and legislatures yearly, whose principal duties is to amend and continue to modify ^{open} & change conditions laws which have received the approbation of the people for generations. But the idea of ^{national} prohibition

has had but a short ^{trial} ~~trial~~, as history goes in Christian
though, it is true that it has been the law for 13 centuries
countries, and its course has been upon new and
in ^{it} introduced ground. To suppose that the very first
device for National help on this great issue is
a hasty conclusion, and may be easily ~~be~~ a
backset for ~~a~~ ^{an} ~~final~~ ^{essentially} wise settlement. Not even the

most ardent supporters of the present status of the
~~temperance~~ ^{prohibition} measures can claim that they are
satisfactory. They reiterate that local ^{country} options were
tried, but success was impossible because liquor
could be obtained or brought in from other countries.
State Constitutional Amendments were hampered
in the same manner by importations from other
states or countries. Under our present Constitu-
tion, ^{the powers invested in} Congress had not the ~~power~~ sufficient pow-
~~ers~~ regulate inter-state and foreign commerce
were not sufficient to control this outside inter-
ference with the legally expressed will of
the people. But States have no reasonable just-
ification, in accordance with the fundamental
^{States Rights} principles of our Government to ask more of
the Federal Government than to afford protec-
tion from any outside interference with the
States' action. ^{It has been brought to my attention, that} This might have been done by a
^{enlarging the powers of Congress over interstate and foreign commerce} much simpler Amendment ~~of enlarging~~ ~~and~~ declaring
that no imported liquors should be brought into
this country, and that no State should invade

the territory of another State with the liquor traffic. The present Eighteenth Amendment contains these provisions, ~~which~~ but which are all ^{in accordance} ~~within~~ the spirit and ~~Constitutional~~ powers of the same of ^{and in strict conformity with States Rights} the Constitution, but it ~~contains~~ ^{contains} other provisions, which are considered by many able minds as subversive and annulling to other sections of the Federal Constitution, and are plainly an invasion of the right of each State to control its own internal affairs. It is these features which are causing the discontent with the Amendment, and making its ^{enactment} ~~enforcement~~ ^{difficult} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~preca~~ ^{if not impossible}.

There are thirty-three of our States which have ^{and the number was rapidly increasing under Prohibition sentiment} adopted State Prohibition Amendments, Kentucky has an excellent Prohibition Amendment, though it was adopted so shortly before the Federal Amendment that our people never had any experience under it, but at least 33 States would ^{be completely} ~~be~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{dry} of the 18th Amendment ^{if not at least}. ^{Mr. Hoover} ~~Mr. Hoover~~ ^{calls} the Eighteenth Amendment as a "social and economic" experiment. Both ^{Mr. Hoover} ~~he~~ and Gov. Smith pledge themselves to enforce the Amendment and the laws pursuant thereto. ^{as done as they can} But Mr. Hoover says he is satisfied with the Amendment and laws as they are at present. Gov. Smith declares that he thinks that both could be amended with advantage to temperance and the respect of people to law. To my mind,

Religious Intolerance. 9 (12)

In any evil passion of the human heart ever wholly cast out, either in the individual or the nation. The question is asked during the ~~campaigns for the abolition of slavery~~ because just now there is ^{flapping through} the country a spectre of ^{religious intolerance} cruelty and intolerance ~~than seems like the spirit of cruelty~~ ^{against the candour of Gov. Dr. Co. Smith} and persecution which is like ~~the~~ re-embodiment of the ^{spirit of bigotry} ~~cruelty and persecution~~ ^{which shone in Colonial days} ~~which~~ caused the Puritan colony of Plymouth to drive out Roger Williams and his companions, Baptists, ^{and that led} ~~through most~~ ^{into Rhode Island} and ~~other~~ ^{persecutions in other settlements} similar acts ^{in the several} colonies of which their descendants ^{of those colonies} are now heartily ashamed. We had fondly hoped that Thomas Jefferson, in securing the enactment of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, had laid this evil spirit forever. ~~But~~ Our Revolutionary forefathers ^{through bitter Colonial experiences} ~~having~~ learned that there can be ^{no civil or political} ~~political~~ liberty without religious liberty, therefore, they wrote into the U. S. Constitution that

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zeal, or in a narrow view of ^{the method} a needed social reform, or in a blatant ~~expression~~ distortion of true ^{true} American patriotism. ~~It seems~~ ~~Women's~~ Democratic Club will do a service to the party and the principles of its illustrious founder ~~the~~ Democrats will do a great patriotic service to their country if they can, like the illustrious founder of their party,

This campaign is a call to every true American of whatever party, to stand firmly for the principles of religious freedom ~~and~~ to reject ~~intolerance~~ ~~and~~ ~~reject~~ intolerance under all ^{those spurious forms} ~~its forms~~ by which it is now assaulting the intelligence by which it is now attempting to deceive the ~~American~~ people. ~~Honesty~~ in using suffrage and intelligence ~~is~~ To displace ~~an~~ ^{corrupt} ~~corrupt~~ party administration with ~~one~~ ^{one} better trust with honesty, and to ^{guard} ~~defend~~ ^{States Rights} ~~the people~~ against the encroachment of centralized government, is the task of this campaign.

It ought to give food for thought to those who are inclined to vote according to a religious test to observe that both candidates, Mr. Hoover and Gov. Smith, declare that they do not want a vote that is cast on a religious preference.

land. Many persons ³ feel its ~~hateful~~ impulse
who understand its ^{when clearly unveiled,} hateful nature. But it
is so much ^{and easier} pleasanter to act in accordance
~~in accord~~ with emotions rather than under the restraints
of reason and regard ^{too,} for Constitutional principles
that even some Democrats seem liable not to recognize
that it may require some heart-searching
before they ^{to allow themselves to be deceived} uncover religious intolerance ~~and~~
~~as~~ some of the disguises under which it is
skilled in hiding itself. The first thing to do is
to be honest with ~~oneself~~ ^{oneself} but ~~not~~ ^{not} to be ~~deceived~~ ^{deceived} by ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~party~~ ^{party} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~may~~ ^{may} ~~part~~ ^{part} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~country~~ ^{country} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~thus~~ ^{thus} ~~prepare~~ ^{prepare} to be
honest in the use of the suffrage that
has been entrusted to them. ^{2.55} ~~It is the duty of~~
~~every citizen to vote~~ Without religious tolerance the
whole structure of our national government would
~~fall to pieces~~. When it is seen without any disguise
it is a hateful ^{despised by all,} thing. ~~What better service can this~~
~~Democratic~~ ~~Club~~ ~~do~~ ~~if~~ ~~this~~ ~~campaign~~ ~~is~~ ~~successful~~ ~~in~~ ~~giving~~
another blow to the evil spirit. May our Democratic
Women's Club so work that Kentucky women will
~~again~~ ~~compel~~ ~~the~~ ~~evil~~ ~~spirit~~ ~~specter~~ ~~to~~ ~~hide~~ ~~itself~~
from the indignation of the people. This Democratic
Women's Club will do a great service to the principles
of the illustrious founder of our party if it helps
to tear away these disguises, whatever they are, and reveal
to the people the hateful thing hidden beneath them
which are seen sometimes in mistaken religious

Address to Altusa Club, 1 June 7, 1928, at Mrs. Waley's
request,
Madam Chairman and Fellow Citizens,

In coming before you to speak at this meeting I do not hope to say anything that will be of use to you in solving the practical problems ~~that arise~~ ~~as to~~ how to achieve success in business or in any way to offer instruction on any of the ~~the~~ ^{three} ~~affairs~~ ^{of city or state} ~~to~~ ~~consideration~~ which ~~are at times considered at your meetings~~ ^{are at times considered at your meetings} of which ~~your meetings~~ ^{are at times devoted}.

The uppermost purpose in my mind is to ^{present some thoughts on} outline the relation of the business woman, especially those associated together as in the Altusa Club, to other women and with them to society at large. It is so much the habit of the human mind to accept the state of things as they are now as having always been ~~thus~~, that it is very desirable from time to time to recur to the past in order to obtain a true angle of view of the present and to advance wisely into the future.

The business woman has existed since history began. ~~None is~~ ^{the finest} ~~pieces of literature~~ ^{than is} the description given of her in the 31st chapter of Proverbs. ^{a business woman} She seeketh wool and flax; and worketh willingly with her hands. . . . She is like the merchant

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ships; she bringeth her bread from afar, She
considereth a field and buyeth it; with the fruit
of her hands she planteth a vineyard. . . . She
perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable; she
layeth her hands to the distaff and her hands
hold the spindle." This picture was no doubt ~~true of~~
^{She maketh linen garments and selleth them and delivereth girdles to the merchants.}
~~her thousands of years~~ ^{ages} before Solomon drew it, and
he lived a thousand years before Christ. The dis-
taff and the spindle are still familiar in ~~corners~~
of the earth, and ~~Scarcely~~ in the movies pictures
of the Abyssinian women still using the implements
like those of their country when their ruler the mag-
nificent Queen of Sheba visited Solomon. The idea ^{of the description}
of the woman ^{in that} ~~in that~~ chapter of Proverbs will
^{remain true} ~~be~~ forever; and its realism was true over all the world
^{until} very modern times. Centuries ^{after Solomon's day} rolled by; empires
in succession rose, flourished ^{for a while} and crumbled, but
time wrought few alterations in the industries of
women until the eighteenth century A.D. Then
the invention of industrial machinery made
wonderful strides and when it touched ma-
chines ^{for spinning yarns} for textile fabrics the modern era for
women fairly began. It was a few decades
earlier in Europe than in America; and it
will assist us to remember the date ^{it began in Europe} to note
^{by an interesting historical coincidence} that the first of this order of machines, the

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spinning jenny, was introduced into the colonies in 1775, the same year in which the first battle of Lexington was fought, the first battle of the Revolutionary war. Progress of the industrial revolution went on, helped or hindered by circumstances, I believe it will give us a better understanding of the forces which and finally ^{emerging in large numbers} ~~caused~~ the industries of women to leave their ^{dwelling} home, which had been their sphere from time immemorial, to take their place in the world's industrial markets, in the unlimited ^{public markets} sphere of the world. I believe it will give us a better understanding of the forces which operated to note that ^{these} ^{movements} advances never seem to have been made by the voluntary ^{choice} wishes of women themselves, but always seemed to come from some outward ^{pressure} influence. The ^{new} industrial movement began in the eastern states, where considerable manufacturing interests were already established, and spread more slowly ~~to~~ the agricultural ^{ones}. The system of slave labor also retarded it in the southern agricultural states. But the abolition of slavery and the subsequent re-adjustment of the whole industrial situation gave great impetus to the employment of women outside

of domestic industries. ⁴ This industrial revolution was not therefore thoroughly under way ^{in Kentucky} until after the War between the States. The enormous destruction of property and the terrible loss of life of men forced woman to independent work for a livelihood. It was ~~not~~ their wish, often against their own desires, and traditions ^{which} to many seemed almost to have the sanctity of moral restrictions, but necessity drove all before it, until in Kentucky and the other southern States women finally ~~They~~ ~~substance~~ of barriers to industrial freedom were swept away, and women attained to industrial and economic independence. From the ~~the~~ ^{The World War swept away the last vestiges of restraint against entering} ^{and avocations,} ~~introduction~~ ^{of industrial and economic independence.} of industrial machinery ~~to~~ ^{to this} attainment there was a long transitional period, which like all such periods, was full of painful difficulties peculiar to itself. As long as every household was practically a manufactory of food and clothing there was ^{domestic} work for all women, and she must have been a shiftless creature indeed who could ^{not} make her work at least a fair payment for her livelihood. But as the new machines took from the ^{dwelling} ~~homes~~ one industry after another, this ceased to be true and there were multitudes of women who found themselves unbecome burdens on their families, ~~even when in many cases until~~

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the courage of those who dared to follow the ^{transformed} ~~work~~ ^{industries} which had left the homes, ^{dwellings} ^{to their new locations} opened the way to all to industrial and therefore economic freedom. I think some of the bitterness of this transitional period was spared to the women ^{agricultural} ^{whether Western or Southern} of the States where the march of industrial machinery was held in check. Naturally, living is cheaper on farms, and there is a larger range of work ^{still} in the family than is afforded in cities. But these circumstances are rapidly changing with increasing farm machinery and efficiency in transportation of farm products, which is equalizing the cost of living in the country and in the city. Just like progress in every thing, no sooner is one problem solved than another rises in its place. But what has been done in conquest of industrial problems can be done again, and the fact that ^{women} ~~we~~ have achieved industrial and economic independence places business women in the very van of future progress for women in whatever direction it may seem to lead.

⑭ The world has traveled a long way from the business woman of ^{to the business woman of today} ~~travels~~ in the last one hundred and fifty years; but it is still true of her

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that "Strength and dignity are her clothing."
Into her hands has come a mighty instrument
~~for the advancement of justice,~~ to judge righteously
and minister justice to the poor and needy." Into
woman's hands there has been committed an
equal share of the law-making power, and the
ballot is its symbol instrument.

The woman of the Proverbs ruled in her home. ^{Her place of residence} It was
the seat of her industries whose ~~from the~~ ^{products} seem
to have gone out into all the
trading operations of those times. I think she
would be accepted as a

There is a good deal said at times about the
home woman and the business woman, in at-
tempts to compare one with the other. This seems
to me like making much distinction where there
is little difference. The ^{business} woman of the Proverbs
conducted business in her home. ^{residence} It was the seat
of her industries whose products appear to have
gone out into all the trading operations of her
times. Yet I think she would be accepted now as
she was then as exemplifying all the virtues
of the home woman. Now the thing that has hap-
pened is that ^{woman's} these industries are conducted
in one place and she and her family reside
in another. What makes the home in those days

and what makes it now? Was it the industries which had their ~~location~~ ^{which made it a home} in the house, or must we seek some other or is there some other characteristic which makes the difference between a house and a home. It is evident that the woman of Proverbs did not spend all her energies in ~~making~~ ^{making} ~~the~~ preparing an attractive place for her family to live in or in making herself an agreeable companion to them. ^{It was indeed said of her} She did indeed open her mouth with wisdom and the law of kindness was on her tongue. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness." But those things were not bound up in living in the same place where her extensive industries were carried on. It seems to me that ~~our~~ efforts should be turned to discerning the essentials of which make a home if the home is indeed the primal institution of ~~the~~ human society, for all signs point to the fact that the place of residence as the ~~seat~~ ^{seat} place where women earn their ^{their living} has passed forever to return no more. I think those essentials may be found when they are sought for, and that among them the sanctity and sweetness of family relations will take precedence of any dwelling house. I believe the really momentous inquiry of What makes the home? may be

left more safely to ^{what is now called the} business women than to any other class of women or moralists, for their minds are more liberated from ~~the~~ outgrown conventions and traditions, and more ready to adopt usages in true conformity with our own times. It is certain that the duties to children and family will never lose their sacredness, and will always be first with women whether they work in their dwellings or some other ^{surroundings} place.

The change of place of business has not effected any ^{real} ~~radical~~ difference in the business woman's duties to children and family, which are of the essence of home-making. Nor has it effected any real difference in herself. But the position of a woman as a citizen of ^{government} ~~a state~~ has undergone some marked changes. ^{which affect her ~~care~~ of children, her family and herself,} A citizen briefly defined according to Webster is a person who owes allegiance to a government and is entitled to reciprocal protection from it. As long as a woman's dwelling place was one where she could carry on her industries and earn her living she and her family could create in it a little autocracy wherein she could control the conditions of her labor. ~~She~~ was independent of others ^{such} as to its hours, as to its conditions of light or heat ^{and many other details}. As most of her food was prepared at home she was the guardian of

its sanitary condition. She did not buy the milk for her baby from a cart, but looked after the milking of the cow herself. Her water supply was from her own well or cistern, and it was her care to keep it pure. ~~Her home~~ She came little into contact with the outside world, and the four walls of her home ^{surrounded by her family} were a very real protection, under which she ^{and work} could live ⁱⁿ safely. But when her industries ^{were} removed by a force she could not resist and transferred to factories and industrial establishments where she must follow or sink into ^{unwilling} enforced idleness and ^{and poverty} unhappy dependence, then the protection of her government to which she owed allegiance had to be extended by other means than what had ^{been} sufficed before. It was in response to this necessity that the ballot was granted to women. ^{It gives them a share in making laws.} It gives ~~them~~ power to regulate by law all those matters and more which she once regulated in the little autocracy of her family. ~~She can~~ Through the ballot she can secure better conditions for her industry, better sanitation for her water supply, better education for her children, better protection for ~~the~~ safety of herself and her family. That is, she can do these things if she uses the ballot wisely. It will

not work through ¹⁰⁰ the mere possession of it,
like a wizard's charm.

Business women ~~must~~ be true to their duties
to children and home, just as women always
have been. The world is still somewhat
anxious, because it sees women removed
from the place called home, and does not
realize that they have an instrument in
their hands with which they can do more
than they could ever do by their personal
presence. They can put laws into operation.
The law never sleeps, never gets sick, never
dies leaving little children motherless. Business
women should make use of the first claims on
their time and their intelligence the duty of
casting their ballot at every election. ^{so that they may make their power fully effective} In the
business of law-making as in every other perso-
nal supervision is the first essential to success.
Demagogues and corrupt politicians ask nothing
more of so-called good citizens than merely
that they stay at home on election days.
They can manage any other obstacle to corrupt
practices except a watchful constituency. No
vote that can be cast by an honest voter is
so wrong as not voting at all. If mistakes are

made
in voting at one election at least experience
is gained ~~so as~~ ^{wherby} to do better at the next.
Every thing human lives on human interests,
and nothing is so deadly to good govern-
ment as the lack of interest of good citizens
in its affairs. Business women are in the van,
leading in the progress of the world. What can
they do better than to be diligent and faith-
ful in discharge of their first duty as ^{voting} citizens?
Women's use of suffrage is still on trial
But the anxiety of the world over the transfer of women's
industries from their dwellings to other business lo-
cations will pass away when it sees women using
suffrage with intelligence and unselfish purpose.

12 See 12 on new page in pencil

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Women have always ^{worked} and earned their own living; formerly almost always in home surroundings. But ~~the~~ ^{we have seen} ~~intro-~~ ^{duction} of machinery introduced a transitional period in their industries which has been fully completed only since the World War. ^{But} The same necessity to earn a living has continued from time immemorial through this transitional period of 150 odd years. The transition of leaving their homes and going to factories and business ^{places} to earn their living was resisted with all the strength of convention and social prejudice. The opposition was so strong that where it was possible families were willing to support dependent women rather than run counter to popular opinion. Consequently, if there ever was a time when any considerable class of women have not earned their living it was during this transitional period. More women led idle lives than were ever seen before.

May 31, 1928

President
Mr. Chaarman and Kind Friends:

It gives me pleasure to take part in this auspicious occasion. My interest is all the greater, because about this season, sixty-three years ago, I was in this same room, still familiar to my ~~memory~~ ^{memory}. I myself was one of a little group of graduates of Sayre. I still have the little essay, written on gilt-edged paper and tied with a bow of white ribbon, which I read on the proud day when I received from the hands of the ^{honored} principal, S. B. Williams and from the trustees the parchment declaring that I had fulfilled satisfactorily the course of study prescribed in this institution. I looked over the little essay the other day, to see if perchance I might recall the attitude of mind of a young girl just looking out upon life after school days are over. Undoubtedly, the ideas about

life were very vague to that young girl. There is certainly much in life that is still ^{in her old age} vague, but there are also principles that have grown clearer and sharper as the ~~years~~ ^{years} have passed by. **Wonderful things have happened in the world,** and they do not change with changes in surroundings. ~~The years~~ ^{The years} have been long, if counted by those events, ^{but} they

are short, far too short, to correct mistakes, if mistakes be made in ^{the choice} ~~the~~ ^{of life and the methods} of attaining ^{to} ~~the~~ objects, ^{to} obtain them.

Today some of you will leave the old school of books and enter the new school of life, whose lessons ~~we~~ we must learn without the helpful intervention of parents or teachers; and it is well to think of ^{which should guide us} some of the principles

All hope for success of some kind and a truly successful ^{life} possible ^{to each and every one} to all who seek after the laws of ~~the school~~ ^{of life} and abide by them, for the laws of life are laid in righteousness, and the ^{is omnipotent} Ruler of them, ^{in bestowing its rewards} without shadow of partiality. In regard to ^{success} the laws of life, there is really only one choice, the choice between obeying ^{its laws} or running counter to them. For destinies are not in our ^{power to choose} hands.

A thousand precepts studied and carried out ^{are no} surety for success in attaining ^{desires} some. All the ^{in it} labor and struggle for it may be swept aside in a moment by an ^{power which we have no control} untoward circumstance.

Running counter to the laws of righteousness ^{means} only ⁱⁿ defeat in the ^{ends} ^{of} ^{life} ^{as} ^{laid} ^{also} ⁱⁿ ^{intelligence}. There is a certain amount of popular

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belief that offenders against ^{just} laws of
~~men~~ are sharper witted than other people,
because they dare defy the powers of soci-
ety, and so often seem to be successful
in doing so. But valuable service has been
rendered by psychological study of the
mentality of delinquents ^{before} courts. Science
reveals that they are below par in in-
telligence; ~~and the same~~ The same thought
and labor expended in ^{lawful} occupations
would bring ^{rewards} much greater rewards, ~~as~~
well as more certain and permanent. The
same logic is applicable to infringements
of right which do not reach the courts. They
point to a low grade of intelligence.

~~The~~ laws of life are ~~based~~ ^{based} on intelligence
~~and~~ need thought to comprehend them. Neither
God nor man is well served by ignorance
and stupidity, ~~even when they stumble along~~
~~trying to find the line of duty.~~ Intelligence is
a ^{measure} assistance ^{to a good} conscience, for it is well to
remember that conscience does not point out to
us what is right, but only impels us to do
what we think is right. I suppose the heathen

mother who throws her ⁴ child into the Ganges
in sacrifice to her false god
is conscientious in doing so. The trouble is that
her conscience is not instructed by right thought.
It is impossible to have wrong mental concepts
without their producing wrong actions.
The penalties attached by life to folly and wrong
thinking are very severe, and take no note whatever
of whether mistakes were made through
lack of right thinking, or failure of right
motive. I suppose there is nothing more trying
to ~~the~~ faith in the supremacy of good ~~than~~
~~seeing of life~~ than to see the frequent failure
and troubles of persons of apparently good
motives. These ~~are~~ ^{are} problems by
no means easy, and may never be altogether
solved, but certainly a large number of
them ^{of supposing that one can live rightly if only one's}
are simply the result of ~~incorrect think-~~
~~ing.~~ It is not always enough to say I do not
see any thing wrong in such and such
a course of action. If there is any doubt at all
the question should also be asked Is this
action sensible? ~~Very often.~~ There is a great deal
of mental laziness, ^{in the} ~~in the~~ world because
thinking is the hardest work in the world,
motives are good and can
and ~~many are willing to~~ drift along, following
the impulses of the moment without thinking any further,

The intelligence needed to interpret the laws of life is not brilliant qualities of mind, but just plain, ordinary every-day common sense. There is a popular saying that common sense is the most uncommon.

But that is a more catchy way of saying that it is very frequently not used. The fact is all of us are well enough provided with common sense; but there is a great deal of mental laziness in us. ^{thinking is the hardest work} ~~It is the hardest work~~ in the world is ~~used~~ though it is the work that brings ^{prize but} ~~the greatest rewards~~ a considerable ^{part} portion of the ^{rare} world shirks thinking whenever it can do so. It looks as if it particularly objected to ~~using~~ ^{exercising} ~~using~~ common sense. There is nothing ~~brilliant~~ ^{attractive} ~~attractive~~ ^{the eye of} ~~the eye of~~ about common sense. It does not ~~win~~ ^{attract} the ~~applause~~ ^{the eye of} of the crowd. It draws no attention to the person who ~~uses~~ ^{uses} it are not often thrilled by it ~~them~~ ^{it} ~~it~~ ^{it} day by day. In fact, pretty nearly any piece of ^{flashy} folly will excite more passing interest and even a sort of ^{applause} ~~commendation~~ ^{flourish} from a ~~certain class~~ ^{flourish} of people than good common sense. It gives them a thrill, as the ~~common~~ phrase goes, and if they do not have to bear the consequences themselves, they ~~do~~ ^{are} not ~~give~~ ^{willing} a moment's ~~concern~~ ^{willing} to what may happen to the author of the folly that has entertained them.

Therefore, because it is a little hard to think things through, we see people ^{such doing unwise things} ~~spending~~ ^{buying} on the instalment plan things they might know ^{they might know} more than they can afford ^{on the} ~~present~~ ^{present} ~~refusing to think of the future~~ ^{passing wishes of the time} until the inevitable crash comes, when there is nothing more to spend.

Because they do not think rightly we see people allowing some little misunderstanding or some petty injury break up valuable friendships ^{which ought to have been overlooked} ~~and even the bonds of family affection~~ ^{and even the offense} and forgotten.

Because they do not think too little we see automobilists run races with railroad trains to pass railroad crossings or ^{run other} ~~do other~~ ^{useless risks} ~~useless performances~~, with the loss of thousands of lives annually.

These are some instances of situations where people who want to be good would do better if in ^{stead or in} ~~addition to, or even in place of,~~ asking conscience What is it right to do? they should ask intelligence What is it sensible to do?

Common sense cannot be left out in dealing with the laws of life.

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This world is a much pleasanter place for women to live in than it was sixty-three years ago. If it is self-evident that there can be no life where there is absolutely no expression of it, it follows that ^{where there is the} fullest expression ~~there is~~ the fullest life. Social ^{movements} forces which have been accumulating force for many years have culminated ~~in~~ ^{now} making changes in the conditions of women which have never been paralleled in the world's history. Women have achieved ~~in~~ industrial and thereby economic independence. Women have always worked and have always earned their living since the world began. But their labor ^{practically all domestic and therefore} was under conditions controlled by their families and their earnings ^{were} spent for them with very little reference to their own wishes. The introduction of industrial machinery ^{to textile fabrics} was the starting point of industrial independence for women, and that started ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{America} this country just about the time of the birth of this nation, as the spinning jenny was introduced in the colonies in 1775. The progress was

rapid but held back in the slave holding states
by the system of ^{slave labor} ~~slavery~~. But slavery ~~being~~ abol-
ished in 1863, ~~and~~ the social upheaval of the
War between the States gave a tremendous im-
pulse to the employment of women in factories,
mercantile establishments, and in fact all
branches of industry outside of the home. This
industrial movement, naturally enough,
was accompanied step by step, by an in-
creased valuation of education for women.
Previous to that time, very elementary education
was thought sufficient for them, but their
enlarged industrial demands demanded better schooling,
and ^{finally} even collegiate education, ~~was thought desir-~~
~~able for them.~~ After a long and hard fought
battle against the traditions of the world which
did not assign to women equality with
men in intellect, colleges were founded for wo-
men and colleges already established for men
were made co-educational. This process began
in about 1861, and has proceeded until now
women have almost as many educational
opportunities as men. But that was not so
sixty-three years ago. I doubt if any pupil in

Sage Institute had ever heard of a college
where women could study the same books
and take the same degrees as men.
Since 1848 also there had been growing a steady
demand for equal political rights for women.
This idea seemed to many the overturning
of the very foundations of civilized society,
but driven on by social forces controllable
by no human power you know women
were enfranchised in the United States in
1920. Now all these great industrial, educational
and political movements, originating before but culmi-
nating in the last sixty-three years, have made
the world a different place, ^{for every body}
~~understands~~ ^{and I think, made it} a much pleas-
anter place for women to live in. There
have been new adaptations of women them-
selves to these new surroundings. I believe
it was Alexander Hamilton ^{with the profound truth} who
who controls my means of subsistence
controls my whole moral nature! Now, as I
have pointed out, while women have always
worked, it was others who controlled the con-
ditions and the earnings of their labor. There

were not many women in Kentucky in 1865-
 who possessed economic independence. Yet the
 accumulation and disposition of wealth has
 always been one of the keenest interests of
 human ^{feelings} ~~independence~~, also, after the barest
 necessities of existence are satisfied, is the chief
 benefit of wealth. There were few openings
 then for women to engage in this interest. Now,
 there are very few ~~avenues~~ ^{openings} by employment
~~however removed from the old domestic sphere~~
 that are not freely open to the woman
 who has the talent and the wish to enter
 them. The world ^{itself} expects young women now to
 go to work when their education is complete,
 and earn a living ^{at least}.
~~However~~, Economic independence, after the barest
 necessities of existence are satisfied, is the chief
 benefit of money. The greatest fortune cannot confer
 much beyond that. So the working girl who
 has a job with honest pay for honest work
 is almost as rich as Henry Ford with his
 millions. Who can compute the enlarged hap-
 piness of women who may now earn their
 own living. "owe no man anything but to love
 one another", and direct their life according

according to their own tastes and the approval of their own conscience! It has led to what is, ^{according to my thinking,} the greatest achievement of this wondrous period, ^{which} is not the conquest of the air by the airplane nor of space by the radio; but the liberation of the intelligence of women. As long as women's means of subsistence were controlled by others there was no great scope ^{or incentive to the use of their intelligence} or incentive to the use of their intelligence. It could be employed chiefly only in discovering and obeying the will of others. And it was quite in accord with the range of its uses that a very simple education was all that was thought desirable for women. Repression of their intelligence ~~has been the~~ as well as of some of the moral perceptions has apparently been the rule. This is not the time or place to theorize on the part the superior physical strength of men has played in this repression, ~~or~~ ^{and} ~~it was~~ ^{is} a necessary accompaniment of the development of the human race from the ~~rule of physical~~ ^{rule of physical} force to a civilization ^{dominated} in which ^{manifested in} mental and moral qualities, ~~have supplanted~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~

X

11-12.

The happy changes we have observed were brought about by the labor of those who labored for love of humanity. For the laws of life are laid in love expressing itself in service. The women of this generation have come into a noble heritage which it is their part to preserve and enrich before they, too, pass it on to others. Cherish ^{for that cause} individuality, the individuality of women. It is the best contribution women can make to society. In this day of many new paths opened to women, ~~sundry~~ advisers are telling them how to walk in them. Occasionally a voice is heard saying Now that women are in business like men and go to college like men and vote like men, they ought to act like men, who have always been doing these things and know how to do them. But is this sensible? Men may know how to do these things like men, but what the world needs is ^{in the very best way that women can do them.} to have women do them like women. Women of by gone times lived narrower lives, but one thing, ^{the stability} they ~~even~~ they exemplified and that was ^{of} individuality. ^{Being women} It never occurred to them that they could improve any situation by acting like men. And there is one thing for women to remember who feel that they need ^{an adviser} ~~guidance~~, if they choose ^{for that purpose} ~~to~~ ^{cherish} the individuality of women.

X they will always have their adviser ^{right} ~~right~~
 right on hand, ready for any emergency, full of
 the wisdom and ^{fine} traditions ^{of sweetness and dignity} that have carried
 women safely ^{which have been honored} through ^{hundreds} thousands of generations.
 Hold to the individuality of women; ~~and~~ for while
 it is true that men can do some things better
 than women it is equally true, always has been
 and always will be, that women can do some
 things better than men, and those are the things the world
^{wants from women.}
 This is not the time or place to theorize us to
 whether the repression of women from which we
 are now happily escaping was a necessary
 part of the development of the race from the prim-
 itive rule of physical force to a civilization dom-
 inated by ~~mind~~ ^{manifested mental} and moral
 forces. But there are ^{injurious, results} ~~two~~ ^{of} this repression
^{apparently connected with} which it seems to me women ~~must be the~~
~~chief agents~~ ⁱⁿ may do much to remove by
 the exercise of their liberated intelligence, ^{vastly}
 to the advantage of society. One is the under-
 valuation of their own sex which it ^{fostered} produced
 in women ~~just~~ as it did in men. It is a
 feature of the mental attitude of women all
 over the world, perceptible less in American
 women, perhaps than in any others. Our
 returned missionaries have made us ac-
 quainted with the fact that there are

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Whole nations where the women have so little esteem for their ~~sex~~ ^{they accept} that the heathen teachings that women have no souls, they are even amused when missionaries tell them they have souls as valuable as those of men. Their belief is just some degrees to But it is just as false to believe that the rights of women are not equal to men's as to believe their souls are not. ^{equal.} The Jewish ~~religion~~ ^{scriptures,} the forerunner of Christianity, the New Testament, ~~teach~~ the equality of the sexes, and the Christian religion teaches it with absolute clearness. ^{Besides these} ~~books,~~ as far as I know, no other widespread religions system of religion or philosophy inculcates belief in it at all. But while the New Testament abounds in the teaching of this ^{truth,} ~~doctrine~~ that is by no means equivalent to saying that Christians have conformed their opinions and actions to it. They have applied it without qualification ~~only~~ to the future life, but in this life they have made large reservations as to the rights and values of women. ~~The~~ ~~understand-~~ ~~ing.~~ Now that we know the equality of the sexes it is amazing that it could ever have been misunderstood by minds capable of abstract thinking. Since both are essential to the race,

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and the race is the only entity contemplated by nature it would seem that the vital interdependence of the sexes would preclude the idea of differentiating ^{them} into two values and would turn thought entirely to interpreting how their individual ^{distinctions} contributed to the perfection of the ^{whole} race. But the Christian teaching has not yet been fully grasped. The world attributes at least part of the ^{interpretation} acceptance of equal rights to fortuitous circumstances. The consequence is that the ~~obscure~~ old heathen idea of the inferiority of women still lingers, and when a new occasion arises to which the principle applies any flimsy pretext is ~~not~~ likely to cause disregard of it. The equal rights of women are ^{will not be fully} not safe ^{as long as} unless the principle is ^{not} accepted as applicable to all cases that may come up.

The other result of the repression of women of which I shall speak is similar to the first, for just as there is not yet a complete acceptance of the principle of equal rights there is not ^{yet} a complete acceptance of the principle of an equal standard of morals for men and women. Both the single standard of rights and the single standard of morals spring from the same root which is the oneness of God. The worshippers of the one true God, in whose image and

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likeness male and female are created, in whom there is no variableness nor shadow which is cast by turning cannot in spirit and in truth believe in two ~~different~~ standards of ^{rights and} morality as reflecting His character. Christians never have done ^{so} in theory, but just as in their acceptance of the equality of the sexes ^{so in accepting the single standard of morals} they have made large reservations in practice. During the long modern struggle for the advance of the rights of women it is noticeable that the single standard of morals has been stressed as never before and the most zealous advocates have usually been women. It seems to accord with the individuality of women. Both of these ^{truths} need to gain a stronger hold upon the mind of the people before they can be deeply impressed upon their conscience. In view of what has been done already by women ^{there} is ~~not~~ ^{is} ~~society~~ reason to hope that this promising opportunity to benefit ~~society~~ will be successfully ~~utilized~~ by the newly liberated intelligence of women?

Nov 27, 1959

Friends, delegates, and fellow citizens, I have the honor to extend ~~to you~~ greetings to you on this historic occasion. The people of Kentucky have voiced at the ballot box their mandate to repeal the 18th Amendment to the Federal Constitution and to adopt the 21st Amendment.

Whatever other motives may have been mingled in giving this mandate it is evident that it expresses widespread and deep-rooted conviction among our people of the right of States to govern their internal and local affairs. And it designates that one office of the Federal Government is to uphold the States in their authority by protecting them from certain outside violations of their laws.

With this renewed affirmation of the rights of the States, we may go forward with courage in solving the problems which face us on our way to better and higher social conditions under our State constitutions and laws.

Radio Division
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Address broadcast by the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, D.D.
Presiding Bishop, for the Episcopal Church of the Air, from Station
WABC, New York, over the Columbia network, Sunday, November 10, 1940.

FORWARD IN SERVICE

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil
with good." Romans 12:21

Most Americans at the present time would acknowledge the danger of neglecting the warning of our first President, "In time of peace, prepare for war." They are not, however, quite so ready to heed the converse warning, "In time of war, prepare for peace." Yet, since war is an evil the seeds of which are sown and germinate under peaceful conditions, it is surely the part of wisdom not only to prepare to deal with this evil after it has grown to dangerous proportions, but also to seek to prevent the outbreak of war by eradicating from human society those tendencies, which, if unchecked, will inevitably lead to armed conflict.

It is difficult to fix definitely the dividing line between the respective functions of the Church and the State in dealing with the problem of evil. In general, however, the Church's primary responsibility is to attack evil at its source in what the Bible calls the heart. "Keep," says the Book of Proverbs, "thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life."

We are responsible to God both for our heart and for the issues of life, but the Church acts as God's primary agent in seeing to it that the heart is kept free from evil, while the State's special responsibility is to deal with its manifestation in the issues of life.

It is the Church's duty to seek to drive out anger from the heart and put in its place that Christ-like love, which "suffereth long, and is kind; Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked."

When our anger has manifested itself in the outward act of murder, the State steps in and pronounces judgment. The Church indeed still has a responsibility towards the man whom the State has judged. It must seek to lead him to repentance, to transform his inner spiritual state. It must help to repair the damage which his anger has wrought in and to others. In the same way the Christian fulfills his responsibility toward the evil involved in the outward activity of war largely as a citizen of the State. He has other and equally important responsibilities for dealing with the inner spiritual activities which brought on the war. These he must fulfill primarily as a member of the Christian Church.

This is the task which St. Paul has in mind when he bids us: "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." A time like the present imposes a severe strain upon our loyalty to and our belief in the good. There is in the first place the temptation to repay evil with evil, to allow the hatred and anger from which we are suffering to provoke in us an answering hatred and anger. How difficult it is to follow Christ's command to "Love your enemies, to bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you!"

Among the many responsibilities which Christians must assume in time of war, none is of more importance than to keep alive the spirit of love toward those whose evil we oppose. The attempt to overcome evil with evil defeats itself. It involves the ancient fallacy that

the end justifies the means. The only end to which evil means lead us is the inevitable establishment of the Kingdom of evil. Our Lord Himself knew the force and the subtlety of this temptation. When He was shown the kingdoms of the world and promised that they would be His if only He would worship the power of evil, that is, use evil means, His immediate reply was, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

This principle is not in conflict with what I have said about the evil which is manifested in outward conduct having its source in the heart. The inner life, no less than the outer, is an area of ceaseless activity. The heart is not a kind of hidden reservoir in which we can store away quantities of good and evil. It is a sphere in which we are continuously engaged in such activities as thinking, imagining, feeling, willing. It is a sphere of motives, purposes, standards of values. It is here that the decisive battle between good and evil is fought and the results of that conflict will inevitably be revealed in our outward conduct. What we do is determined by what we are, but what we are is determined by our choice to be loyal to the good in these inner activities.

What bearing have these considerations upon our practical responsibilities as Christians? We see around us a world in which good activities are in imminent danger of being overcome by those that are evil. An heroic effort is being made to save mankind from what in our estimation at least would be a terrible disaster. American Christians represent the only considerable body of Christ's followers whose energies are not absorbed in this titanic struggle. We are not, indeed, uninterested spectators. We feel that the welfare of the world will be gravely affected by the outcome of the present struggle - our

own as well as that of the nations directly involved. We are consequently busy preparing to defend ourselves against future attack by possible aggressors. We are giving moral support and as much material aid as seems practicable, if we are to preserve our neutral position, to those nations which are fighting for principles whose maintenance we consider necessary for human welfare.

As Christians, however, we cannot regard our present fulfillment of responsibilities with anything like complacency. The outbreak of war in itself indicates that the mission entrusted by Christ to His Church of regenerating the hearts of men, delivering them from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God has been imperfectly accomplished.

The last war destroyed our confidence that we had made substantial progress in that direction. We allowed ourselves to be deluded into the belief that we might accomplish by victory in war that which we had failed to achieve during the years of peace. Instead of interpreting the war as a warning to prepare ourselves for more intense dedication to our God-given task of overcoming evil we hailed its conclusion as the beginning of a new era of peace and liberty and happiness. The subsequent peace, as a consequence, therefore, proved only a breathing spell, during which the powers of evil recuperated themselves for a new and more ominous attack.

Let us not a second time delude ourselves with the hope that our national preparation to safeguard us from the dangers of war releases us as members of the Church from any further concern. All that it does is to give us another opportunity to apply ourselves with more diligence and more sacrifice to the task to which God calls us, that of overcoming evil with good during the years of peace to which we

look forward.

The good that is needed to overcome the evil of the world is not a man-made product. It is, first of all, a quality of spirit that belongs only to those who, recognizing their own inadequacy, have claimed from Christ the fulfillment of His promise, "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you." The Church, as a human organization, despite its numbers and its resources, is utterly incompetent to overcome the world's evil. "Though" said St. Paul, "I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing." Modern Christians do not, to be sure, seem to be contemplating taking either of these methods of saving the world, but even if they did their effort would be in vain.

Further, it is not our human love which St. Paul declares to be essential to success, but that love of God which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. The first requisite of the preparation which we should make in this time of war for more effective service when peace comes and gives us another opportunity is more real dedication of ourselves to God; more thoroughgoing recognition of our dependence upon Him, more earnest obedience to our Lord's command, "Seek, and ye shall find: knock, and it shall be opened unto you."

The second requisite is more readiness to use the capacities which have been enriched by the love of God shed abroad in our hearts in actual service. Christ said that those who receive the power of the Spirit would be witnesses unto Him. He was described as one who went about doing good, the kind of good that overcomes evil. If we are to be witnesses unto Him, we must also go about in His power doing

good. Christ found this opportunity to do good not only in what we call specifically religious or Church activities, but also in the every day intercourse and secular activities of His life. Where is it that temptation appeals to our passions and selfish impulses? Is it not in our hours of recreation, in the effort to earn a living by the sweat of our brow or to hold our own in the stern competition of business? Surely, then, it is in these activities that we need the constraining power of the love of God that is shed abroad in our hearts by the Spirit. "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," said Christ. The motive of this work is divine love. This is the love which the Spirit sheds abroad in our hearts. To let the love of Christ constrain us in every secular activity is a necessary part of that service which is needed to save the world.

The next requisite for going forward in service is an ardent longing to extend to all men the opportunity to receive that power which has transformed our own lives into witnesses unto Christ. "Necessity is laid unto me," exclaimed St. Paul. "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." In the words of Montgomery's famous hymn, we must pray

Give tongues of fire and hearts of love,
To preach the reconciling word.

When God has answered our prayer by raising up preachers of the Gospel who are willing to go even to the uttermost parts of the earth we must take our part in this service by providing the means for sending them. How shall they preach except they be sent? Sending is just as necessary a part of preaching the Gospel to every creature as is going.

Shall we not place upon the altar the bodies that have been made clean by His body and the souls that have been washed through His most

precious blood, offering them and all the resources that God has entrusted to us as a holy, living and reasonable sacrifice?

If so, we may well have confidence that God will use our little sacrifice to complete that work of saving the world that was begun by the sacrifice of the Son of God upon the Cross on Calvary.

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