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INVENTION AND ARRANGEMENT IN THE PUBLIC ADDRESS

OF CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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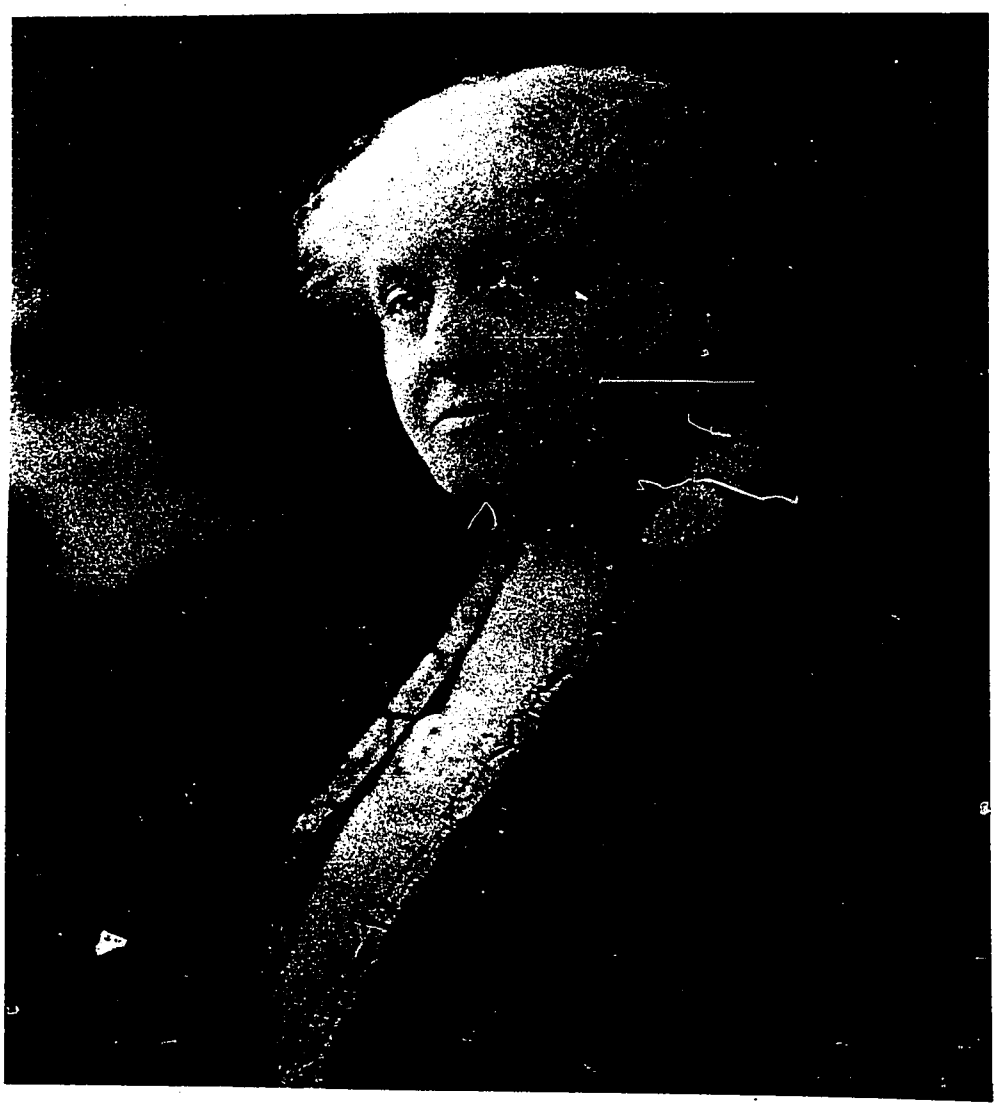

Bachrach

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
Chairman, First Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, 1925

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INVENTION AND ARRANGEMENT IN THE PUBLIC ADDRESS OF CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Significance of the Subject

Voting is now an accepted procedure for women. Women who go to the polls--or fail to go--"little realize how much sweat, how many tears of disappointment and rage, what keen strategy and dogged persistence have given them that casually accepted right."[1]

The demand for woman suffrage was considered by Carrie Chapman Catt, who led the movement to victory, to be the organic development of two preceding social movements, both extending over some centuries:

> One, a man movement, evolving toward control of governments by the people, the other a woman movement, with its goal the freeing of women from the masculine tutelage to which law, religion, tradition and custom bound them. These movements advanced in parallel lines and the enfranchisement of woman was an inevitable climax of both.[2]

On August 26, 1920, Secretary Bainbridge Colby signed the Proclamation of the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

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[1]Dorothy Straus, "Champion of Women," Saturday Review of Literature, XXVII (August 26, 1944), 22.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 4.

Two days later New York's Seventy-First Regiment Band played "Hail the Conquering Hero Comes" at the Pennsylvania Station in New York City. Governor Smith with his staff in full military regalia, a special delegation with banners and flowers, and an exultant multitude awaited the arrival of Carrie Chapman Catt. "It was an unparalleled, triumphant reception for a woman, this New York home-coming, celebrated in other big cities by the ringing of church bells and blowing of whistles."[1]

At the time of this celebration Mrs. Catt, the last leader of the suffrage cause in the United States, was acknowledging the completion of the campaign begun seventy-two years before by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary McClintock and other women who met at Seneca Falls, New York, in the first Women's Rights Convention, July 19-20, 1848.[2]

Mrs. Catt's death in 1947 brought to a close sixty years of leadership service to women. For sixty years she had served as an officer--either state, national, or international--in the woman suffrage organization.[3] She gave twenty-two of these years to the promotion of international peace. Her speaking career began in 1883, before she became an officer, and was concluded two months before her death. These activities extended to every state in the Union and to many of the countries of every

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[1]Constance Buel Burnett, "The Great Feminist, Carrie Chapman Catt," Topflight, Famous American Women, ed. by Anne Stoddard (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Publishers, 1946), p. 182.

[2]Eugene A. Hecker, A Short History of Woman's Rights (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), p. 158.

[3]Based on statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview, New Rochelle, New York, September, 1943. In 1920 when the goal was gained, she had been a leader only thirty-three years; but since the Woman Suffrage Organization is still in existence, she remained an officer until her death.

continent except Australia.[1] So numerous were her speaking occasions that Mrs. Catt herself could scarcely estimate the total number.[2]

In general her contemporaries believed that, as a result of her influence as a speaker and as a person, Mrs. Catt was instrumental in achieving the enfranchisement of women in many parts of the world and in arousing women throughout the United States to act for the promotion of peace education.[3] The writer believes that in view of the full life of public service effected primarily through persuasive speaking and in view of her recognized influence in the suffrage and peace movements, a critical study of Mrs. Catt's use of invention and arrangement in her speeches should make a profitable contribution to the study of the role of rhetorical practice in significant social movements.

Review of Related Research

Three doctoral dissertations and about fifteen masters' theses have been written about women speakers. Certain aspects of six of these are related, directly or indirectly, to this study.

Doris Yoakam's dissertation, "An Historical Study of the Public

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[1]Australia enfranchised women in 1902. There was no need for Mrs. Catt to speak there in behalf of woman suffrage (The Woman Citizen, IV [February 7, 1920], 1813).

[2]Letter from Mrs. Catt, September 23, 1943 and statement by her, personal interview. Mary Gray Peck remarks: "She had kept no count of the miles she had traveled, or the money she had spent, or the meetings she had addressed" (Carrie Chapman Catt, A Biography [New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944], p. 389--hereafter referred to in this dissertation as Carrie Chapman Catt).

[3]Mildred Adams, "Mrs. Catt at 75, Still Faces Forward," New York Times, January 7, 1934, Section VI, p. 3.

Speaking Activity of Women in America from 1829 to 1860,"[1] deals principally with eight women orators: Francis Wright, pioneer orator; the Grimke Sisters, Southern abolitionists; Abby Kelly, belligerent; Lucretia Mott, benevolent crusader; Ernestine L. Rose, Polish Jewess; Lucy Stone, artist of words; Sallie Holley, reform revivalist; and Antoinette Brown Blackwell, minister.[2]

Yoakam's study treats the speaking status of women before Mrs. Catt's time. It found that women's activities upon the public platform were related to women's emancipation in this country, that the women speakers were better educated than the ordinary women of the period, and that they were often writers of merit. These women were stimulated to use the public platform by three influential forces: religious liberation, progressive and radical parental backgrounds, and the spirit of the times. These pioneer women were known for their ability to speak extemporaneously without the aid of rhetorical training. Their mastery of argument was stimulated by their firm convictions in their subjects and their need to meet keen opposition. They did much to introduce simplicity and audience awareness to the style of speaking.[3]

In her master's thesis Yoakam treats the same subject as in her doctoral dissertation, but for the years 1850-1900. She concludes that there were about two hundred able women speakers in the period; that they

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[1]Doris G. Yoakam, "An Historical Study of the Public Speaking Activity of Women in America from 1829 to 1860" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Speech, University of Southern California, 1935).

[2]Ibid., passim.

[3]Ibid., pp. 1-594.

were often Quakers, from progressive, if not radical, families; and that the women were marked with enthusiasm, stage poise, lovely voices, versatility of subject matter, and a keen audience awareness.[1]

A survey of women's public address as a part of the suffrage movement from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries was made by Gladys Ackerman. For the eminent speakers of the twentieth century she selected Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul. Ackerman noted that public speaking among women in the United States was carried forward on four distinct waves of emotion--religion, revolution, abolition, and woman suffrage--and that adversity in general and the hard work in the woman suffrage movement did much to develop and perfect the art of public speaking among women in the United States.[2]

A doctoral thesis treating the life and speeches of Susan B. Anthony has been written by Harriet E. Grim.[3] Before Miss Anthony's death she recognized Mrs. Catt as her successor to lead the woman suffrage cause and provided apprenticeship training for the future executive, leader, and speaker. The two women have been considered to be of the "same intellectual, unemotional type."[4]

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[1]Doris G. Yoakam, "An Historical Study of the Public Speaking Activity of Women in America from 1850 to 1900" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Speech, University of Southern California, 1931).

[2]Gladys Madeline Ackerman, "The Development of Public Address Among Women Through the Suffrage Movement" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Speech, University of Southern California, 1931).

[3]Harriet E. Grim, "Susan B. Anthony, Exponent of Freedom" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Speech, University of Wisconsin, 1938).

[4]Rheta Childe Dorr, Susan B. Anthony (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1920), p. 301.

Lola Walker and Ruby Draughon have written studies dealing with Mrs. Catt as a speaker. Walker stresses the conception of public address as a force in history and she emphasizes historical and biographical materials.[1] In stating her plan of study she presents

> a short biography and a discussion of Carrie Chapman Catt's personal characteristics. Attention is centered primarily on those experiences which contributed in some way to the shaping or influencing her career as a speaker, and those personal characteristics which had a bearing upon her platform effectiveness. . . .[She gives] the nature of a highly compressed historical note on the early suffrage movement in the United States to 1890. . . .[Her study] contains the history of special consideration of Mrs. Catt's speeches and activities. . . . [It] describes briefly the activities of Mrs. Catt in the International suffrage movement until her resignation from the presidency in 1923. Special attention is given to her speeches and speaking in behalf of the movement. . . .[It] contains an analysis of five representative suffrage speeches delivered by Mrs. Catt, with descriptions of the particular settings, synopses of speeches, the plan of organization, a discussion of invention, style, and audience response. . . . [It] recounts Mrs. Catt's peace activities with specific emphasis on her speaking from 1921 to 1947 in behalf of the movement. An analysis of two representative peace speeches is offered. . . .[It] reports Mrs. Catt's speaking in general with regard to preparation, audiences, occasions, and delivery.[2]

Walker considers that Mrs. Catt rested her peace arguments upon "practical measures," and her woman suffrage case upon three categories of arguments--"historical, ethical, and practical."[3] Walker's dissertation is of significance to this study in that the former integrates Mrs. Catt's career, speaking, and the time in which she lived. The two studies differ primarily in that the latter is confined to an intensive investigation of invention and arrangement as used in Mrs. Catt's public address.

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[1]Lola Carolyn Walker, "The Speeches and Speaking of Carrie Chapman Catt" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Speech, Northwestern University, 1950).

[2]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[3]Ibid., p. 437.

Draughon's study is restricted to certain peace speeches delivered for a particular type of audience.[1] From these speeches she concludes that Mrs. Catt's ideas were simply and clearly expounded in a realistic manner; that her arguments were based on commonplace personal experience and testimony rather than on analytical, statistical, or historical proof; that her organization suffered perhaps from over-extension of personal anecdotes and experiences; but that she had skill in adjusting to her audiences who were spontaneous, genuine, and polite.[2]

Statement of the Problem

The research upon Mrs. Catt's speaking has not yet been exhausted. Among the unfinished possibilities the author has chosen to investigate more thoroughly the use of invention and arrangement in her speeches promoting woman suffrage and peace. In the process of examining and evaluating these rhetorical elements the following questions arise: What are the basic issues revealed in the speeches promoting woman suffrage and peace? What are the premises and arguments used to develop these issues? How are these premises and arguments related to logical, emotional, and ethical proofs? What are the basic patterns of arrangement? How do these patterns modify or otherwise affect the speaker's selection and use of invention?

Definition of Terms

Invention.--Baldwin refers to inventio as the "investigation,

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[1]Ruby Lee Draughon, "A Study of Selected Speeches on War and Peace by Carrie Chapman Catt" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Speech, University of Illinois, 1951).

[2]Ibid., pp. 93-94.

analysis, and grasp of the subject-matter." He speaks of the ancient rhetoricians: "Their teaching of inventio did not stop with investigation; it promoted reflection directly and guided it so systematically that no essential aspect could be ignored."[1]

While the term invention or inventio does not appear in the commonly used translations of Aristotle, a similar concept may be construed from the following statements: Aristotle considers the "art or faculty" of rhetoric from two points of view: one as a theory or system, the other as the "faculty or practice in finding arguments."[2] In defining rhetoric he states "So let Rhetoric be defined as the faculty [power] of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."[3] At one point Aristotle says that in Books I and II he has treated "the way to invent and refute arguments."[4]

In considering the differences among arguments or proofs in forensic, deliberative, and epideictic speaking, Aristotle states in part, "Forensic speaking has to do with the matters of fact--now true or untrue, and necessarily so; here strict proof is more feasible, since the past cannot change."[5] "Deliberative speaking is a more difficult task than Forensic; and naturally so, since the Argument has to do with the

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[1]Charles Sears Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 43.

[2]E. M. Cope, An Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric (London: Macmillan Co., 1867), p. 134.

[3]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1932), I. 2. 7.

[4]Ibid., II. 26. 181.

[5]Ibid., III. 17. 234.

future."[1] "In an Epideictic speech you should interweave the arguments with bits of eulogy. . ."[2] As to proofs there are

> two kinds, artistic, and non-artistic. By "non-artistic" proofs are meant all such as are not supplied by our own efforts, but existed beforehand, such as witnesses, admissions under torture, written contracts, and the like. By "artistic" proofs [means of persuasion] are meant those that may be furnished by the method of Rhetoric through our own efforts. . . .
>
> Of the means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself there are three kinds. The first kind reside in character [ethos] of the speaker; the second consist in producing a certain [the right] attitude in the hearer; and the third appertain to the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates.[3]

Cicero devotes an entire work to invention in which he states: "Invention is the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments to render one's cause plausible."[4] In a later work he adds: "Thus for purposes of persuasion the art of speaking relies wholly upon three things: the proof of our allegations, the winning of our hearers' favour and the arousing of their feelings to whatever cause our case may require."[5]

According to Quintilian inventio means the discovery of all the means of persuasion, or more simply, survey of the material and forecast.[6]

Richard Whately speaks first of the address to the understanding,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., III. 11. 235.

[3] Ibid., I. 2. 8. (The brackets are Cooper's.)

[4] Cicero De Inventione, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), I. vii. 9. 19.

[5] Cicero De Oratore, trans. H. Rackman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), II. xxvii. 115. 116. 281.

[6] Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory, trans. John Selby Watson, i (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891), III. iii-vi. v. 177-464.

with a view to produce conviction (including instruction); and second, of the address to the will, with a view to produce persuasion, considering speaker, opponent, and audience relationships.[1]

In Speech Criticism Thonssen and Baird define the term invention in harmony with Baldwin's definition: "We may say in general that the concept of invention includes the entire investigative undertaking, the idea of the status, and the modes of persuasion--logical, emotional, and ethical--in all of their complex interrelations."[2]

Current speech textbooks tend to use other terminology. Thonssen and Gilkinson have written one of the few contemporary books which use the term:

> Invention--This includes the search for materials and for arguments and the analysis by the speaker of his hearers and of his subject. In short, it is the investigative aspect of speech preparation, the phase in which the speaker attempts to gain complete mastery of subject matter and to survey the interrelationship of the arguments to himself and to his audience.
>
> Invention embraces. . ."The Ends of Public Speaking," "Investigation," "Analysis," and "Enforcement of Ideas."[3]

According to traditional rhetorical concepts invention is a reasoning, imaginative, and attitude process experienced by the speaker preparatory to and during the persuasive act. The process of invention for a specific speech originates with the first motivation on the part of a speaker to achieve a certain result with an audience. The evolution of

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[1]Richard Whately, Elements of Rhetoric (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1860), pp. 33-178.

[2]Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 79.

[3]Lester Thonssen and Howard Gilkinson, Basic Training in Speech (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1953), p. 181.

the process includes the speaker's search for subject matter and his analysis and mastery of it in a manner adapted to his individual capacities and to his estimates of the knowledge and emotional attitudes of his audience.

This study concerns itself with two questions in regard to invention: What are the basic premises from which Mrs. Catt developed expositions or arguments? How are these premises projected through the speaker's selection and use of the logical, emotional, and ethical means of persuasion?

Arrangement.--Baldwin describes dispositio, collocatio, or arrangement as the "sequence or movement in the large."[1] Aristotle declares that

> a speech has two parts. Necessarily, you state your case, and you prove it. Thus we cannot state a case and omit to prove it, or prove a case without first stating it. . .at most, the parts cannot exceed four--Proem, Statement, Argument, and Epilogue.[2]

"The distribution of arguments. . .in the proper order" is Cicero's definition.[3]

Quintilian treats it in more detail:

> Let division, then, as I signified above, be the distribution of a number of things into its component parts; partition, the regular distribution of parts into their members, and a just disposition connecting those that follow with those that precede; and arrangement a due distribution of things and their parts in their proper places.
>
> But let us remember that arrangement is often altered to suit the interest of a cause and that the same question is not always discussed first by both parties. . .[4]

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[1]Baldwin, op. cit., p. 21.

[2]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, op. cit., III. 13. 220.

[3]Cicero De Inventione, op. cit., I. vii. 9. 19.

[4]Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory, op. cit., III. iii-vi. v. 177-464.

Thonssen and Baird give the following explanation:

> Disposition covers the concept of arrangement, of orderly planning and movement of the whole idea. Although the treatment of it differs within a narrow range among the several treatises, the general meaning is twofold: the appreciation of a plan for the speech as a whole, and the development of the specific parts of the speech, such as the exordium, narration, proof, peroration, and whatever other divisions the authors specify. Baldwin is correct in saying that what is noticeably missing, not only in Aristotle's treatment of disposition, but in the other works of the classical tradition as well, "is some definite inculcation of consecutiveness."
>
> In some treatises, ancient and modern, invention and disposition are treated under a common head--the assumption being that the orderly arrangement of the materials constitutes an essential part of the inventive process.[1]

That rhetorical function, we may conclude, which determines the order within the whole idea and the proportioning among the parts is known as arrangement. It is treated in this study by the investigation of these two questions: What are the basic patterns of arrangement employed? What is the relationship between these patterns and the speaker's selection and use of the inventive process?[2]

Sources

Since 1939 the writer has been collecting Mrs. Catt's speeches and many other primary source materials concerning her. Mrs. Catt has given the writer personal assistance in gathering materials and has commented that the writer's collection includes many speeches not in her own.[3] Titles of approximately sixty of these speeches have not appeared in previous bibliographies. For this study Mrs. Catt donated duplicate

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[1]Thonssen and Gilkinson, op. cit., p. 79.

[2]Definitions of other rhetorical terms appear at the appropriate place in the text.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview, 1943.

copies of speeches and granted permission to copy others shortly before she sent her collection to the New York City Library and some duplicates to the Woman's Rights collections located at Radcliffe College, at Smith College Library, and at Bryn Mawr College.[1] Other speech copies were obtained from individual publications, periodicals, files of women's organizations, Susan B. Anthony's biography,[2] and histories of the woman suffrage movement. Peck quotes parts of several speeches in her biography of Mrs. Catt. Three valuable sources for rather complete copies of speeches include The Woman Citizen, The Woman's Journal, and Delegate's Worksheet.[3] The total number of extant copies of her speeches approximates one hundred and fifty.[4]

Mrs. Catt arranged interviews for the writer with a number of her close friends who contributed information regarding Mrs. Catt, her activities, and her attributes as a speaker.[5] The book, Woman Suffrage and Politics, by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler and numerous articles and pamphlets written by Mrs. Catt supplement her speeches

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[1]Letter from Mary Gray Peck, August 22, 1948.

[2]"Eulogium at Miss Anthony's Funeral," in Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, III (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 1437-1439.

[3]The first two periodicals were intended to promote the women's movement with especial emphasis upon the suffrage cause. Delegate's Worksheet is a pamphlet that was published annually by the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War.

[4]Because of the many duplications and minor variations it is rather impossible to arrive at any exact number.

[5]Mary Gray Peck, biographer of Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Raymond Brown, at one time president of the New York State Woman Suffrage Organization, and Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, suffrage leader and chairman of the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace.

in revealing her reasoning and attitudes toward controversial subjects. Closely related secondary sources include Mary Gray Peck's biography of Mrs. Catt;[1] Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper's The History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV; Ida Husted Harper's The History of Woman Suffrage, Volumes V, VI; several periodical publications intended for women; and news items, especially from the New York Times.[2] For analysis of the speaker's concepts, canons concerning invention and arrangement have been selected from classical and traditional rhetoricians, as already cited.

Procedures

Selection of speeches.--In addition to a total of about one hundred and fifty extant copies of speeches by Mrs. Catt, there are at least sixty-five stenographic or news reports, rather synoptical in content. The writer of this study has read all of these with the exception of about ten speeches. Mrs. Catt approved the copies read as representative of her speaking.[3] Of the one hundred and fifty speeches, twenty epideictic, a few others treating issues not included in this study, and about twenty-five which would duplicate premises and arguments and use of rhetorical devices were excluded. This study reports the analysis of the remaining one hundred deliberative speeches, selected in such a way as to include all of her extant premises and arguments used in the promotion of suffrage

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit.

[2]Many other sources are listed in the bibliography.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview. She regretted that copies had not been kept of a course of lectures on "Women from the Standpoint of Evolution" delivered during the winter of 1904-1905 at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

and peace.

Mrs. Catt acknowledged the authenticity of the texts of her extant speeches in numerous ways. She permitted copies to be distributed to her auditors, published them in periodicals, released them for news reports, and had copies of most of them in her files. One variable concerns the closeness with which she adhered to the copies when presenting her addresses, especially since it was her habit to speak extemporaneously on most occasions. Such considerations which could be critical in a study of style do not seem appreciably to impair a study of invention and arrangement.

Selection of issues.--The research procedure involved a reading of the one hundred selected speeches to determine the inherent divisions of the whole. The woman suffrage speeches adapted themselves to classification by three issues: Do women need the ballot? What is the best method of securing this ballot? What use should women make of the ballot? In the peace speeches also three issues seem to appear: What are the causes of war? What are the "cures" of war? Can the "cures" for war be put into practice? The frequent blending of these three issues led to their treatment under a single larger issue: How may war be abolished?

Analysis and report.--Each speech in each issue was analyzed according to the traditional concepts of invention and arrangement: premises and arguments, patterns of reasoning, methods of support, refutation, emotional and ethical proofs, and organization. An illustration of the method used in the analysis of ninety-six speeches appears in Appendix III. In addition, a representative speech for each issue was analyzed in full detail as shown in Appendix II. In reporting the findings of the

research, each issue is first considered as a separate and complete unit and later treated as a part of a total rational system.[1]

Plan of the Study

Chapter II presents Mrs. Catt--her personality, career, and speech practice. Each chapter, including III-VI, develops the invention and arrangement of one issue: III, the need of the ballot; IV, the method of obtaining the ballot; V, the use of the ballot; and VI, the abolition of war. Chapter VII concludes the dissertation with a summary of the findings pertaining to the use of invention and arrangement in the whole of Mrs. Catt's extant deliberative speeches in which she promotes woman suffrage and peace.

[1]Complete working data for this study are on file with the writer.

CHAPTER II

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

The principal concern of this study is the rhetorical analysis and criticism of the invention and arrangement in the speeches of Carrie Chapman Catt. Certain basic factors pertaining to her personal characteristics, her activities in promoting woman suffrage and peace, and her practice as a speaker are essential to the understanding of her use of invention and arrangement. It is the purpose of this chapter to present as concisely as possible these traits and activities. The chapter is divided into three sections: The first presents a brief biographical review, an analysis of her personality traits and political attitude, and a review of the attitudes of her contemporaries toward her. The second treats Mrs. Catt's career as a suffragist and as a pacifist. The third deals with Mrs. Catt's speaking activities--the extensiveness of the speaking occasions, the kinds of audiences, the preparation for speaking, the delivery, and Mrs. Catt's evaluation of herself as a speaker.

The Woman

Brief Biographical Review

The first American ancestors of Carrie Clinton Lane settled in Massachusetts in the first half of the seventeenth century. Lucius Lane,

the speaker's father, and Marie Clinton, her mother, both of English descent, were reared on farms near Potsdam, New York. After their marriage they moved West, settling in Ripon, Wisconsin. Here the second child, Carrie, was born, January 9, 1859. The family included two other children, Charles Herbert and William Harrison.[1]

When Carrie was seven, the Lane family moved to a farm near Charles City, Iowa. After finishing high school, she taught one year in her home district to earn money for college expenses. While she was in Iowa State College a part of her study included the doctrine of evolution.[2] In 1880, she graduated from college with the degree of Bachelor of Science. For one year she worked in a law office in Charles City; then she became principal of the Mason City (Iowa) High School, being promoted to the superintendency of that school in 1883.[3]

On February 12, 1885, she married Leo Chapman, editor-owner of the Mason City Republican. His death, which occurred on a trip to San Francisco, August, 1886, left his widow a stranger in that city. One year of experience in the business world sufficed to convince her that her aim in life should be to make women free, secure, and respected.[4] To materialize this purpose she began her activity among friends by lecturing in her home state of Iowa. Soon the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 17-20.

[2]Peck, "Mrs. Catt at College: 1880-1930," The Woman's Journal, XV (September, 1930), 21, 39-42.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 34-36.

[4]Straus, op. cit., p. 22.

selected her to be state organizer and recording secretary. In these three capacities--speaker, organizer, and secretary--she labored two years, increasing the membership and the income of the organization.

In 1890 she made her first address to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.[1] In that same year she married George W. Catt of Seattle, Washington. He was a sympathizer with her chosen career.[2] From 1890 to 1895 Mrs. Catt served as an apprentice suffragist doing campaign speaking mostly in the Midwest, especially in South Dakota and in Colorado. From 1895 to 1900, as chairman of the National Woman Suffrage Organization Committee, she maintained an office in New York City directing the workers throughout the nation. She served as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for nine years (1900 to 1904; 1915 to 1920). Mrs. Catt's suffrage activities were interrupted in 1905 by the death of Mr. Catt, and in 1907, by the illness and death of her brother Will and of her mother.

Overlapping the years as national president, she spent nineteen years (1904 to 1923) as president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Except for the interruption caused by the restriction of travel during World War I, she devoted most of this period to organizing women's clubs and speaking to both men and women in all of the continents of the world except Australia. In many countries she interviewed governmental officials, attempting to secure more liberties for women.

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 58.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "A Suffrage Team," The Woman Citizen, VIII (September 8, 1923), 11-12.

Before gaining the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting woman suffrage in the United States, she spent much time communicating either in person or by telegraph with the state legislatures. In completing the struggle for the ballot she founded the League of Women Voters in March, 1919, to "speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries" and to prepare women for citizenship responsibilities.[1] After the victory of the federal amendment, she served three more years as president of the International Alliance. She also organized the first Pan-American Union of Women, acting as its president for one year, 1922 to 1923, at which time she visited Panama and many countries of South America conferring with governmental officials in behalf of an improved status for women in those countries.[2]

In 1924 Mrs. Catt began plans for a peace education program which in the following year culminated into a peace organization, known as the Cause and Cure of War Conferences.[3] Mrs. Catt was chairman of these conferences from 1925 to 1932, and then honorary chairman until 1940 when the Woman's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace succeeded the conferences. She was honorary chairman of this new peace organization.[4] She continued to speak upon special occasions, and delivered her last address on January 9, 1947, two months before her death.

During her last years, Mrs. Catt continued to be honorary

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[1] New York Times, March 29, 1919, p. 4.

[2] "Mrs. Catt's New Job," The Woman Citizen, VII (July 29, 1922), p. 21.

[3] New York Times, December 11, 1924, p. 26.

[4] Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

chairman of many local and national organizations and to be very active until the day of her death, March 9, 1947. In her home in New Rochelle, New York, she read, received distinguished guests, looked after the details of her household, answered her correspondence, and made plans for the future.[1]

President Truman's telegram, sent upon the occasion of her death, read:

> With the passing of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt an era in our national life comes to a close. She had been a pioneer in fighting for woman suffrage in the long-ago years when that cause was unpopular. Persistently and fearlessly, she campaigned for the suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. Happily, after the victory was won, she lived more than a quarter of a century to see American women take their rightful place on an equal basis with men in the exercise of the ballot. She will be widely mourned and long remembered.[2]

Personal Characteristics

Physical factors.--From youth Carrie Lane was known for her strong physique, her energy, and her striking appearance. Mary Gray Peck states: "By the time she was eleven years old, Carrie had grown into an upstanding girl, tall for her age, with light brown hair, fair complexion, blue eyes, clear-cut features, resolute chin like her father's, and her mother's quick sense of humor."[3]

In the prime of her life, in 1890, she was described as being "rarely endowed mentally, and blest with those indefinable qualities

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[1] "A Great Leader Goes from Us," Independent Woman, XXVI (April, 1947), 100.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 26.

called magnetism and charm."[1] Her "handsome face and figure, her great dignity and her knowledge of parliamentary law" combined to make her a "perfect chairman."[2]

Just after Mrs. Catt had returned from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Rome in 1923, Silas Bent interviewed her, describing her thus:

> She was seated on the broad plaza of her home in the Briarcliff hills. . .as she talked, her manner assumed something of the platform presence known to every State in the Union and to every country in Europe. She ceased to be the mistress of a country estate and became an advocate.[3]

Mrs. Clay Tallman, prominent member of the Tulsa League of Women Voters, remembers Mrs. Catt as "a tall, stately woman, a little on the stout side, very poised and with a face that bespoke a large inner life. She is a great executive, a wonderful presider—not contentious in any way."[4]

Others support the conviction that Mrs. Catt manifested leadership in her very appearance:

> She was a born leader in appearance as well as in achievement. Her face is calm and composed, radiating a sort of benevolent spirituality that is impossible to define. Her brows are gable-pointed over keen blue eyes, whose depth of color is emphasized by the clothes she wears. An extraordinarily mobile mouth tells tales to people who know it well, in spite of its habitual firmness. It twists upward at the corners when something carries an amusing tang, holds a one-sided sweetness when she is being polite to casual strangers, as though half of it, and her, were unmoved and unconcerned. Its quirks are

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[1]Dorr, op. cit., p. 299.

[2]Ibid., p. 301.

[3]New York Times, June 17, 1923, p. 3.

[4]Tulsa Daily World, November 30, 1941.

> invariably upward; even sickness cannot make it droop. In some indefinable way, which cannot be attributed to eyes, or face, or any trick of manner, she exerts a personal magnetism whose attraction is very sure.[1]

At the age of eighty-four Mrs. Catt was still active, her voice resonant, her eyes bright, her hand-clasp strong, and her hospitality gracious.[2]

On August 20, 1946, Mrs. Catt wrote as follows:

> I am now eighty-seven years plus nearly eight months. I do a fair day's work, eat three meals a day with fair digestion, sleep well at night, and have not been confined to my bed for a year. I think that is a pretty good report, but I have some ailments. I get tired, I do not walk well, I do not hear well nor see well, but I am here. I am hoping that I may have the honor of being allowed to stay on this earth until they either get into a third war or decide they will not have it.[3]

On her eighty-eighth birthday, just two months before her death, women who heard her address on that occasion "commented with pleasure on the alertness of her bearing and undiminished vigor of her powers of expression."[4] She did not cease her activity until the moment of her death which came suddenly of a heart attack after a busy day.[5]

> Personality.--In an age of pioneers for truth and justice, in association with such illustrious names as Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Mary A. Livermore, Frances Willard and others as meritorious, Carrie Chapman Catt came upon the stage inheriting the courage, vision, patience, indomitable will, and rare organizing genius of all of these, that she might complete their work of full and equal opportunity to women as citizens

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[1]Mildred Adams, "The Real Mrs. Catt," The Woman Citizen, IX (September 6, 1924), 9, 28.

[2]Based upon personal interview, New Rochelle, September, 1943.

[3]Letter from Mrs. Catt to the author, August 20, 1946.

[4]"A Great Leader Goes from Us," op. cit., p. 100.

[5]Ibid., p. 100.

and co-workers with men in every avenue of useful human endeavor.[1]

Mrs. R. E. Thomason, an active member of the League of Women Voters, recognizes these personality traits in Mrs. Catt: "courage, justice, love, wisdom, faith, hope, abiding sense of humor, a mind that can forget hard feelings, and a face that can smile."[2]

Mrs. Catt was an industrious woman with great energy which in turn inspired those with whom she worked. Dorothy Straus says:

> Whether it was her ancestry or the rarefied air of her environment, young Carrie soon gave evidence of a characteristic independence and energy that must have taxed the resourcefulness, if not the patience, of her family. . .[3]

Her energetic drive, though waning somewhat with age, continued until the close of her life. In her eighty-second year she was denouncing the scrap sale to Japan with "much energy" and appealing to the women: "do a little deeper thinking than you have ever done before, and when you have got to the bottom of it, you have got to speak and speak more boisterously than you do now."[4]

Coupled with this ardent energy was the trait of perseverance:

> Obstacles have never seemed insurmountable to her. She believes that patience and perseverance will accomplish miracles. And her word to those who will carry on the task that she will one day relinquish is to bide their time and keep their faith.[5]

Perseverance was further evidenced by her "ability to select a

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[1]George Matthew Adams, "Carrie Chapman Catt--Pioneer and Prophet," Tulsa Daily World, January 7, 1945.

[2]The Woman Citizen, V (March 19, 1921), 1090.

[3]Straus, op. cit., p. 22.

[4]New York Times, February 16, 1941, p. 24.

[5]S. J. Woolf, "Mrs. Catt at 80, Calls Women to War on War," New York Times, January 8, 1939, p. 10.

definite goal and through determination to achieve it step by step."[1] Mrs. Brown states that in 1918 she sat in a committee meeting with Mrs. Catt and "watched her map plans month by month for the two years to follow, and then observed each item carried out on time."[2] At times her co-workers "groaned" at the "definiteness" of her plans.[3] In addition to being called a "non-conformist she was less frequently designated as a "fighter": "Mrs. Catt is a fighter, but a serene one. She does not fly at people's throats, she is not ashamed of tact."[4]

A quality that strengthened her as a leader was the ability to inspire others. Many younger women admired her so much that they delightedly followed her. Often, when asked why they were in the suffrage ranks, they replied that they had no intention to join until they met Mrs. Catt.[5] Her co-workers spoke of her as the "soul" of their conventions, and as their "inspiration and driving force. No matter how ardent the zeal of the suffragists, she seemed to intensify their glow by showing how organized and mobilized strength could be irresistible."[6]

Mrs. Catt's optimistic trait was strengthened by a sense of humor. Mildred Adams describes it in these words:

. . .only her friends appreciate how complete is that sense of

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Raymond Brown, personal interview.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 67.

[4]Winifred and Frances Kirkland, Girls Who Became Leaders (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932), p. 81.

[5]Statement by Mrs. Raymond Brown, personal interview.

[6]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 209, 243, 321.

humor which is sometimes so devastating. It seems as though humor lay in her very eye, so that she perceives all things, even herself colored with a glimmer of fun, which is all that keeps them from being too serious or too tragic for life.[1]

[Even though she was] famous all over the world, an absence of egotism is attributed to Mrs. Catt: if she thinks of herself at all --and there are those who doubt it--it is not in those terms, not as a "Lost Star of the Pleiades". . .but as a busy woman who gets a lot of fun out of the thick of things.[2]

She shared with others most of her $5,000 Pictorial Review Award:

Now that I have won a prize of $5,000 I would like to tell you how I have already spent it. I have given $100 each to ten women who have been connected with me in the suffrage movement for many years, and $100 each to twenty peace societies. I thought I ought to have a present for myself, so I bought a new encyclopedia with a nice table and reading lamp. The rest of the money will go to the Committee for the Cause and Cure of War.[3]

Mrs. Catt, a non-militant, sought to avoid conflicts that might arise between the militant and non-militant woman suffrage workers. In Budapest she declined to discuss the resolution attacking militant suffragists on the ground that the Congress had already avowed its attitude to be neutral.[4] In London, 1909, she addressed the Alliance:

Since I came here,. . .I have received a great many letters asking me to condemn militant tactics, and a great many others asking me to uphold them. Now I have no intention of doing either, but I also have no intention of evading the issue. As an international body, we must not take sides in a contention over methods in any single country. Here in England there is an intense difference of opinion about this matter. You and I, delegates to this convention, if we are courteous, diplomatic, just--if we understand what internationalism really means--will be silent upon our opinions concerning that issue.[5]

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[1]Mildred Adams, "The Real Mrs. Catt," op. cit., p. 28.

[2]Ibid., p. 8.

[3]New York Times, November 14, 1930, p. 13.

[4]Ibid., June 21, 1913, p. 4.

[5]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 166.

Good will on the part of Mrs. Catt was also shown the anti-suffragist women as their defeat became more evident in 1917. Mrs. Catt commended them for having done their duty as they saw it. Then she admonished them to lay aside differences.

> Come, [she said], and let us work together to make our country yet more effective in the prosecution of this war and yet more effective in the reconstruction work to come after the war to the end that the world may be made a safer, fairer, juster, place for men and women to live in.[1]

There was a humanitarian trait in Mrs. Catt's personality. Some of the instances in which she pleaded for assistance for those in need included the distressed nationalities of Middle Europe in 1918 at the close of World War I,[2] Madame Curie,[3] the religious and political refugees from Germany,[4] and the Finnish people when attacked by Russia in 1940.[5]

Mrs. Catt's personality traits would be incomplete without a reference to some of her characteristic tastes and interests. Mildred Adams describes the most important of these in this passage:

> Starting with a predilection for public affairs, she has concentrated so long and so steadily on them that she has developed certain "blind sides" concerning things for which there was no time left. Music, outside of old songs and hymns, makes no particular appeal. Pictorial art leaves her cold, unless it has a story value which attracts momentary attention. She plays no games, and none of the terms of sport have a place in her vocabulary. Drama is only for recreation, and then she asks that it either amuse her or move her with a powerful sense of eternal tragedy.
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> Her hobby is farming. This year [1924] she went to Juniper Lodge

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[1] The Woman Citizen, I (November 24, 1917), 489.

[2] New York Times, December 4, 1918, p. 12.

[3] The Woman Citizen, V (March 12, 1921), 1063.

[4] New York Times, March 31, 1938, p. 5.

[5] Ibid., March 11, 1940, p. 3.

> in the worst snowstorm of the year because it was April 1 and time to confer with her gardener. All summer long she gardens steadily and lovingly, and flowers and vegetables respond to her practiced hand. She carries on long and intricate conversations with John the gardener, in an unintelligible stream of Latin botanical terms. Her grove of trees, each one with its bronze plate bearing the name of a famous suffragist, is the pilgrimage spot for frequent parties. In other words, her avocations all arise out of that early Iowa farm life which made up her busy childhood.
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> Her prejudices, which she does not inflict on other people, are those of an intelligent Middle Westerner, backed by others which she has accumulated during a long and active life. No one who reads Woman Suffrage and Politics will doubt that she is personally an ardent prohibitionist for very definite reasons. She has quite a real basis for a deep-seated suspicion of all politicians and their promises.[1]

In brief, the personality of Mrs. Catt was that of a non-conformist and a pioneer possessing a vision of an improved status for women and for the civilization of the world. She had courage and optimism necessary to inspire herself and others to meet opposition and to maintain a faith that goals were attainable. In meeting the challenges confronting her she expressed a determined but usually a tactful consideration toward those who opposed her cause.

Social philosophy.--Mrs. Catt's philosophy was almost identical to her reflective thinking--a topic to be treated in the analysis and appraisal of her speeches. Briefly stated, her basic social philosophy was founded upon the principles of evolution. Among her numerous references to evolution, the following is typical:

> To me, the theory of evolution has always been an immense consolation, and it holds out hope in these troubled times. For man progresses and advances; the set backs that come are only temporary, and eventually we shall reach a higher plane of living.[2]

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[1]Mildred Adams, "The Real Mrs. Catt," op. cit., p. 28.

[2]Woolf, op. cit., p. 10.

In this process of evolution men and women were gradually leaving off degrees of barbarism and acquiring through education higher states of civilization.[1] This belief justified her advocacy of education of all people, of equal suffrage and natural rights for women, and of the need for "effective organizers of public sentiment and public opinion"[2] by women so that disciplined conduct of civilized people might supplant inadequate traditions, laws, and habits.[3]

In this evolutionary pattern, according to Mrs. Catt, woman suffrage is merely a segment of a movement which has no leaders, no organization. She explains:

> It [the movement] is an evolution, like enlightenment and democracy. Here and there societies have made organized efforts to push some phase of these great world movements and have disbanded when their tasks have been accomplished, but the great movements of which they have been a small part go on. They are not confined to one land or to one age, but continue through centuries.
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> When the woman movement began no one knows. . . .Naturally the movement as we know it today varies in different parts of the world, and women very logically protest against these oppressions which bear most unhappily upon them.[4]

Mrs. Catt conceived of a transition from war policies to peace policies which "must include a change of public mind all along the line, a slow and tedious process but not impossible, since all men and women have some sense of logic."[5] Evolutionary attitudes such as these underlie

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Should Congress Approve the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution?" Congressional Digest, XXVII (April, 1943), 118.

[2]The Woman Citizen, VI (August 27, 1921), 13.

[3]New York Times, March 13, 1930, p. 1.

[4]Ibid., February 15, 1914, p. 8.

[5]Ibid., January 17, 1928, p. 4.

all of her premises and arguments.[1]

Religion.--In 1870 Carrie Lane became interested in reading the Bible as a result of a "revival in religion"; at the same time she was reading The Mistakes of Moses by Robert G. Ingersoll. Ingersoll's influence upon her was greater than that of the Bible.[2]

> [When Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Catt's close companion for twenty years, died (1928), Mrs. Catt's] mind turned, as our minds will when shaken by the death of those close to us, to the question of immortality. While she could not believe in survival of the personal human spirit after death, she no longer felt her youthful intolerance for that comforting possibility. She was increasingly conscious of the mystery of the universe and the evolutionary processes within it. "My religion, if you can call it such," she said, "is that I must work with all my powers in harmony with those forces as far as I can comprehend them, and let the future take care of itself."[3]

Political Attitude

Mrs. Catt concentrated long and steadily upon public affairs, including all units--city, county, state, nation, and world. She spent much time in making appeals for suffrage to the different political parties and to different units of governments. She wrote long editorials in the women's journals concerning parties, politicians, and citizenship responsibilities relative to contemporary problems. Yet, in spite of these political interests, she preferred to be nonpartisan. In 1915 she commented as follows concerning her political attitude as well as that of her fellow-workers:

Our strict nonpartisan attitude may have delayed the coming of

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[1]See Chapters III-VI.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 27.

[3]Ibid., p. 438.

> woman suffrage. But when it comes woman will be absolutely free to choose parties, candidates, and causes, without obligation to any party. The suffragists are not working to pull any political chestnuts out of the fire.[1]

Her nonpartisan attitude was evidenced on several occasions. Even though Mrs. Catt was an ardent supporter of Woodrow Wilson, in 1924 she was opposed by the Democratic women for the chairmanship of the National Democratic Convention. They charged that she had frequently lobbied at Washington for bills in opposition to Democratic principles, and that she was not a true Democrat.[2] On a straw ballot that year Mrs. Catt voted for Pinchot, writing on her ballot, "a dry man for peace."[3] Later she registered as a Republican and voted for Hoover.[4] When the Law Preservation Party nominated her for United States Senator in 1934, she refused to accept, not desiring to hold any political office herself.[5]

According to Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Catt possessed an outstanding political mind which she used for public service rather than for personal interests.[6] She utilized this kind of political ability to organize the Woman Suffrage Party, the League of Women Voters, and many other woman suffrage groups in four continents.[7] None of these organizations

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[1] New York Times, June 6, 1915, p. 15.

[2] Ibid., April 25, 1924, p. 21.

[3] Ibid., September 29, 1924, p. 20.

[4] Ibid., January 7, 1935, p. 17.

[5] Ibid., October 3, 1934, p. 5.

[6] Statement by Mrs. Brown, New York, September, 1943, personal interview.

[7] Even though her work extended to five continents, conditions in South America were such that the women were not yet ready for organized effort. Carrie Chapman Catt, "Summing up South America," The Woman Citizen, VII (June 2, 1923), 7 ff.

opposed the major political parties.

Mrs. Catt did not approve of picketing the White House to secure suffrage, nor did she support the Equal Rights Bill.[1] Therefore, she did not promote the Woman's Party, led by Alice Paul. The Equal Rights Bill, according to Mrs. Catt, would remove certain protective legislation for women.[2] The League of Women Voters "differs from the Woman's Party in policy in that it emphasizes citizenship rather than sex."[3]

As a result of Mrs. Catt's long struggle to obtain the federal suffrage amendment, she acquired certain attitudes toward politics. The answer to the delay in obtaining the amendment was, she says:

> . . .not an antagonistic public sentiment, nor yet an uneducated or indifferent public sentiment--it was the control of public sentiment, the deflecting and the thwarting of public sentiment, through the tracing and the trickery, the buying and the selling of American politics. We think that we can prove it.[4]

By way of proof she wrote the book, Woman Suffrage and Politics. Cleaning-up politics was an important problem to her.[5] The responsibility of doing it, she reasoned, belonged to the people.[6]

The political attitude of Mrs. Catt will be given further treatment in the analysis of her speeches. On the whole it may be designated

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[1]The Woman Citizen, V (February 12, 1921), 975.

[2]Carson C. Hathaway, "Women Progress Under Suffrage," New York Times, August 22, 1926; also, August 29, 1937, p. 1.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. viii.

[5]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Party Clean-Ups are the Crying Need: Feminism Answer?" The Woman's Journal, XVI (April, 1931), 15-16.

[6]New York Times, January 10, 1932, p. 26.

as one of nonpartisanship oriented to public service. The advancement of good citizenship was ever her stated goal.

Attitudes of Contemporaries

It was the opinion of Mrs. Catt's contemporaries that she aroused less controversy than other leaders of the woman suffrage cause. There were those, however, who opposed her not only as a suffrage leader, but also as a person, accusing her of supporting socialism and of being disloyal to her country.[1] She was possibly most frequently attacked by Everett P. Wheeler, head of the Man Suffrage Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.[2] After a series of such attacks which occurred in the last weeks of the New York campaign, Mrs. Catt threatened "to bring suit for libel unless they were retracted. As a result of her threat to sue, Everett P. Wheeler. . .withdrew an offensive publication, and the anti's toned down their diatribes."[3] One of the greatest oppositions to Mrs. Catt that arose within the woman suffrage forces came from the group of militants headed by Mrs. Alva (O. H. P.) Belmont.[4]

It was generally believed that by her prudence and sagacity Mrs.

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[1]Ibid., October 4, 1917, p. 13.

[2]Everett P. Wheeler, "Attention of Mrs. Catt," ibid., October 29, 1915, p. 12.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 280.

[4]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview. (As Mrs. Catt related incidents pertaining to this conflict she took from under the blotter on her desk a "favorite news article given by Mrs. Belmont to a reporter in Paris." It is found in the New York Times, June 2, 1926, p. 23.)

Catt had won the respect of her opponents not only for herself but also for the cause for which she spoke. The following editorial illustrates this opinion:

> Even the antagonists of woman suffrage always have recognized the fact that, while some of the supporters are as lacking in intelligence as in manners and good taste, there were others to whom those qualities can be denied only by those whose condemnation of "the cause" is as violent and unreasoning as are the most misguided of its advocates. Among the suffrage leaders from whom the enemies as well as the friends of the movement have learned to expect, with confidence, something of wisdom in both action and language has been Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.[1]

Respect for Mrs. Catt has been expressed in references to her as "the brightest woman enlisted in the woman suffrage cause,"[2] "the brains of the suffrage movement," and "the brains of a statesman."[3]

Alice Booth says:

> Some people will do showy work but not work behind scenes--dull organization work. Not many people who heard Carrie Chapman Catt speak--and realized the inspiration of her purpose, the force of her clear-cut contentions, the brilliance of her intellect--ever knew that in the days between those public appearances she was doing the work that made them possible.[4]

In other ways women were great admirers of Mrs. Catt as indicated by the following representative statements:

> Mrs. Catt was the soul of the conference [Minneapolis, 1916], its inspiration and driving force. She talked to us like a Dutch uncle or like a mother in the days of the matriarchate. She charged the suffrage organizations over the country with inefficiency and

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[1] New York Times, March 24, 1919, p. 12.

[2] Iowa State Register, Des Moines, May 28, 1897.

[3] Mildred Adams, "The Real Mrs. Catt," op. cit., p. 8.

[4] Alice Booth, "America's Twelve Greatest Women," Good Housekeeping, XLIII (October, 1931), 160.

> convicted us of sin. She made those who had supposed themselves the most ardent feel that their zeal hitherto had been a pale and ineffectual flame, and she aroused it to an intenser glow. She showed how the strength of the cause can be made irrestible if only organized and mobilized.[1]

A report in The Woman Citizen following the victory convention held in Chicago, February, 1920, reads:

> She made them [crusading pioneers] live again. She impressed us so strongly from the first moment with the sense of their being there that we never lost it throughout the convention. For only a few moments she stood before us, the very personification of that which we had struggled for, hoped for--and won--superior woman, endowed with the full, free right of self-expression. "You've won," she said. "Be glad," she said. "Rejoice, applaud and be glad!" They did and they were.[2]

Miss Peck states that Mrs. Catt was successful in that she had the same effect on women all over the world. Everyone recognized her genius. She did not have to struggle for cooperation.[3]

For years Mrs. Catt's birthdays were honored by gifts, telegrams, speeches, and dinners. On January 9, 1944, after one of these celebrations, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said in part:

> Many people. . .seem to consider that mere years are an achievement, but with Mrs. Catt, every year seems to be counted. She and the women with whom she worked, and who preceded her, laid the foundation and built on today's opportunities. . . .
>
> Many a time I have been grateful to you for the leadership which you have given my generation. Now that the time draws near for my generation to turn over the work of the world to a new generation, I only hope that we may continue to give them the appreciation and helpful advice and constructive criticism which you have given to so many in the past years. The present is a time of great opportunity for women, and I hope the younger generation will have your courage

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[1]Alice Stone Blackwell, quoted in Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 243.

[2]Ibid., p. 322.

[3]Statement by Miss Peck, personal interview, September, 1943.

and your vision and your humor--these qualities will carry them through to new victories and far horizons.[1]

On the same occasion Marion H. Russell expressed this view of Mrs. Catt: "Recognized as one of the world's outstanding women, Mrs. Catt is a very modest one, and her friends will tell you that her sense of humor is delightful."[2]

In November of 1944, eight hundred women met in the Hotel Biltmore to honor Mrs. Catt by presenting her the American Association of University Women's award for eminent achievement that year. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, who made the presentation, paid tribute to Mrs. Catt for her "far-seeing statesmanship, her outstanding sense of humor, her tolerance, and her understanding of the inherent conservatism of public opinion."[3]

At her last birthday celebration, 1947, the American Association for the United Nations honored her with many speeches by such outstanding people as Dr. James T. Shotwell; Mrs. Vihayalakshmi Pandit, Head of the Indian Delegation of the United Nations; Miss Minerva Barnadino, Chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women; Lady Reading, Founder and Chairman of the Women's Voluntary Service of Great Britain; and Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's Cabinet. At that time Thomas J. Watson presented Mrs. Catt with the Association's scroll honoring her for her devotion to the cause of world peace and her efforts on behalf of international cooperation. Mrs. Roosevelt added to the other

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[1]Standard-Star, New Rochelle, New York, January 10, 1944, pp. 1, 11.

[2]Ibid., January 8, 1944.

[3]New York Times, November 20, 1944, p. 24.

messages:

> I think it's wonderful, Mrs. Catt, that you can look back and feel that you have accomplished so much not only for your country but for countries throughout the world. In our hearts, we give you our gratitude and respect and deep admiration.[1]

Several presidents of the United States showed respect for Mrs. Catt. "No request of hers was ever denied by President Wilson, and that too when he was carrying the burden of the war and the subsequent peace negotiations."[2] President and Mrs. Coolidge received her at the White House.[3] President Roosevelt congratulated her in person at the White House as a part of the jubilee celebration, 1936, honoring her fifty years of service to the public. In part he said:

> The many years of devoted work which you gave to the cause of women's suffrage have long since been justly rewarded, not only by the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of our own country, but also by marked improvement in the status of women throughout the world.
>
> Those of us who are concerned directly with the maintenance and encouragement of peace between nations are also grateful to you for the splendid leadership you give to the cause of peace and the furtherance of the prevention of war. May you continue for many years to come as the strong and active captain in these noble objectives of a better civilization.[4]

Endless honors and tributes bestowed upon her of both national and international significance indicate that the public appreciated her services. In summarizing these honors an editorial writer in the New York Times wrote: "In the eighteen eighties Mrs. Catt was thought to be

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[1] Ibid., January 10, 1947, p. 2.

[2] "Changing the Mind of a Nation," World Tomorrow, XIII (September, 1930), 359.

[3] Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 411.

[4] Letter from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to Carrie Chapman Catt, January 22, 1936, quoted in Peck, ibid., pp. 455-56.

a crank. Today she is honored everywhere. It is the times that have changed, not the woman."[1]

Summary

Carrie Chapman Catt (1859-1947), a pioneer and defender of the rights of her sex, spent her early childhood in Wisconsin and Iowa. After graduating from college she served as a principal and a superintendent of a school before her marriage to Leo Chapman. Events following Chapman's death gave impetus to her interest in promoting woman suffrage. Her marriage to George Catt provided financial and sympathetic support for her career. As executive, organizer, and speaker she worked to obtain enfranchisement of women in five continents. After accomplishing much of this goal she directed the promotion of peace education in the United States.

Physically, Carrie Lane (later Mrs. Catt) was an energetic child. As an adult she was observed to be tall and stately, rather portly and well-poised. She impressed her contemporaries as having the appearance of a leader. Much of her personality was reflected in her ability to visualize and complete a complex task and to organize and inspire others to accept her leadership. She showed a subtle sense of humor and her attitude toward others was generally described as considerate and tactful. Her faith in the evolutionary progress of the human race and her ability to consider each cause as only a segment of age-old movements tends to identify her with those having confidence in humanity and a broad perspective toward social problems. It was her religion to endeavor to work in

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[1] New York Times, January 11, 1939, p. 10.

harmony with the forces of the universe.

Mrs. Catt was known for her nonpartisan political attitude. Her aim was to serve the public by promoting good citizenship and democratic principles. It was generally believed that Mrs. Catt, by her prudence and sagacity, had won the respect of her opponents not only for herself but also for the cause for which she spoke. She was respected as an organizer of ability, a firm and tactful executive, an inspirational leader, and a stateswoman. For her contributions to the improvement of the status of women she was honored by the governments of many nations.

The Career

Since Mrs. Catt devoted almost all of her adult life to speaking for two causes--suffrage and peace, knowledge of her activities in these two causes is essential to a thorough understanding of her rhetorical practice. This section briefly recounts Mrs. Catt's career as a suffragist and as a pacifist.

A Suffragist

The women's rights movement was in its infancy when Mrs. Catt became interested in defending her sex. Oberlin College, established in 1833, was the first coeducational college in the United States.[1] Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, conferred the first academic degree on a woman in 1840.[2] The Declaration of Women's Rights was framed at Seneca

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[1]Ernest R. Groves, The American Woman (New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1944), p. 180.

[2]"Wesleyan College," Encyclopedia Americana, XXIX (1829-1951), 197.

Falls, New York, July 19-20, 1848.[1] Wyoming, the first state to grant women suffrage, did so in 1869.[2] Mrs. Catt (then Mrs. Chapman), at a time when only one state had woman suffrage and a few others had local election rights for women, became a suffrage worker, in 1885.[3]

Mrs. Catt was unable to determine when she first became interested in woman's rights. Many incidents in her childhood identified her as a defender of her sex. When George Catt attempted to antedate her interest in the movement, she jovially maintained that she had been born a suffragist.[4] One incident in her childhood which obviously led to her later career occurred on an election day, when she, at the age of thirteen, learned that her mother could neither vote nor hold property in her own name.

Mrs. Catt wrote of this incident later:

> My life was decided for me by a presidential election long, long ago. . . .That night I climbed upon my father's knee, where I was accustomed to cuddle down and get sleepy over the telling of familiar tales; but this time I gave my father a very uncomfortable half hour by putting to him some questions he couldn't answer, the main one being why mother couldn't vote, while Mike, Hans, Peter and all the rest could. His replies were far from satisfying and directly I stood before him challenging all his assertions and declaring that the real reason mother couldn't vote was because no one had ever thought about giving the vote to women, and that when I grew up I should tell everyone it ought to be done. My father laughed and doubtless felt as my mother in after years said she did, "like a hen that had hatched a duck."[5]

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 74.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 40

[3]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[4]Catt, "A Suffrage Team," op. cit., p. 11.

[5]Ibid., p. 11.

While a student in Iowa State College, Carrie Lane initiated a number of requests for her sex and obtained them. For instance, she arranged to have the women of the college share military training with the men. Later, when she became a pacifist, she considered this event in her life as somewhat of a joke.[1]

In 1885, in Mason City, Iowa, she initiated her first act for the movement by supporting the municipal suffrage bill pending in the Iowa Legislature. On her own, she organized a small group of friends to canvass the town, asking every woman to sign a petition in favor of the bill. Less than a dozen declined. This independent work came as a surprise to the State Suffrage Association. As a result she was urged to come to the state convention where she met Lucy Stone and established her first contact with the organized movement.[2]

By 1890, Mrs. Chapman had gained, by marriage, the support of George W. Catt and she had developed into a "remarkable recruit to the cause."[3] Mrs. Catt later wrote that she had considered herself too busy with her suffrage work to be married; but her husband-to-be convinced her of the possibilities of strength in a "suffrage team" by proposing:

> He could earn a living enough for two and free me from all economic bargain, and we happily understood each other. It was a partnership which did not balk or goad either partner and worked so amiably that I was unaware that there was any career involved in the process. I was just telling people what their common sense should have told them without any help from me or anyone else. If there was a career, it was my husband's and mine together, and not mine alone. After his death it was still the fruit of his energy that mostly

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[1]Peck, "Mrs. Catt at College: 1880-1930," op. cit., p. 41.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit.

[3]Ibid., p. 58.

> relieved me from the task of self support, and without the consequent independence I would not have been free to go on telling the story.[1]

With each participation in the woman suffrage work, she became more aware of the need for definite plans by the suffrage group.[2] Step by step, as she campaigned through South Dakota, Iowa, and Colorado, she began to visualize a definite organization. In February, 1895, when the national convention met in Atlanta, Mrs. Catt called for a standing committee on organization to map out the national work and to put organizers into the field.[3] At this time she officially began her executive work as Chairman of the National Organization Committee.

During her five years as chairman of this committee (1895-1900), the work increased so much that it became expedient to maintain a national office, which was located in the World Building, New York City. A speaking tour extending to the Pacific Coast took her away from her office during the summer and fall of 1896.

> [In addition to long office hours, during her last year as chairman], she visited twenty states, attended fifteen conventions, made fifty-one set speeches and nobody knows how many more, spent sixty-four days and twenty-eight nights on trains which carried her over 13,000 miles. All this cost the national suffrage treasury practically nothing!. . .Mrs. Catt's expenses were covered by small lecture fees, entertainment in private homes, and passes or reduced tickets on the railroads.[4]

In 1900 when Miss Anthony retired from the national presidency, she named Mrs. Catt her successor. In presenting her to the national

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[1]Catt, "A Suffrage Team," op. cit., p. 11.

[2]Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, op. cit., II, 693-694.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 83.

[4]Ibid., p. 102.

convention, Miss Anthony stated: "In Mrs. Catt you have my ideal leader."[1] With deep emotion Mrs. Catt replied:

> Good friends, I should hardly be human if I did not feel gratitude and appreciation for the confidence you have shown me; but I feel the honor of the position much less than its responsibility. I never was an aspirant for it. . . .
>
> A president chosen from the younger generation is on a level with the association, and it might suffer in consequence of Miss Anthony's retirement if we did not still have her to counsel and advise us. I pledge you whatever ability God has given me, but I can not do this work alone. The cause has got beyond where one woman can do the whole. I shall not be its leader as Miss Anthony has been; I shall be only an officer of this association. I will do all I can, but I can not do it without the co-operation of each of you. The responsibility much over-balances the honor, and I hope you will all help me bear the burden.[2]

In 1902 Mrs. Catt and Miss Anthony began the international suffrage movement by calling a conference in Washington of suffrage leaders from other countries. Mrs. Catt conducted the entire preparation for the conference, spending months corresponding with government officials and private individuals in all parts of the world. Although there were only eight national suffrage associations in existence at that time, nine countries were represented at the conference.[3] A committee planned the next congress to meet in Berlin, Germany. There, in 1904, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formally organized, with Mrs. Catt as president.[4]

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[1]Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1902), IV, 274.

[2]Ibid., p. 274.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

[4]Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, op. cit., III, 1326.

During the years of 1904-1914, Mrs. Catt devoted her time to the development of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. In that decade the Alliance increased from eight branches to twenty-five. Mrs. Catt spent much time abroad organizing new suffrage groups and discussing the movement with government officials and royalty. At the second congress, which met at Copenhagen, in August, 1906, she interviewed Queen Louise of Denmark. Following this convention Mrs. Catt and Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland made a speaking tour of the Austrian Empire.[1]

The third congress was held in Amsterdam in June, 1908. Mrs. Catt spent six weeks in that city preparing for the event. In her presidential address she outlined the progress of the suffrage cause since the Copenhagen Congress.[2]

The British suffragists invited the Alliance to London in 1909 for the next meeting and the election of officers. Mrs. Catt left the United States in February to be ready for the congress in April. Much of this time she spent lecturing in Central Europe.[3]

In 1911, Mrs. Catt attended the congress of the International Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm.[4] Afterwards, she and Dr. Alletta Jacobs made a two-year trip around the world. This voyage was intended to be a rest cure for Mrs. Catt, but the following letter written from South Africa, September 30, 1911, suggests its real nature:

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 147-158.

[2]Ibid., pp. 137, 159.

[3]Ibid., p. 163.

[4]"Changing the Mind of a Nation," op. cit., p. 360.

> I have been in South Africa two months. I have made 25 speeches, attended 6 formal receptions, 10 formal luncheons, at least 20 informal ones, numberless teas; lunched three times with wives of Cabinet Ministers, spent 8 nights on an insufferable sleeping car, visited diamond mines, ostrich, goat, sheep, cattle, fruit and wine farms; have received many reporters, callers, etc., and had 3 picnics; spent 5 days at Victoria Falls on each of which I walked to the point of exhaustion; visited 7 missionaries and 3 zoos, read 9 octavo books on the history and conditions of South Africa. I have had a good many letters to write as we close our labors with a suffrage convention, national, the first in South Africa, which I am working up. I have not been so well in years.[1]

After four months in Africa, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Jacobs organized branches of the Alliance in the Dutch East Indies, Philippine Islands, China, and the Hawaiian Islands, and made contacts with feminists in Egypt, Palestine, India, Japan, and elsewhere in the Orient. They arrived in China just after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The tragic story of the part played by women in that revolution was told them by the Chinese feminist leaders.[2]

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance held its seventh congress in Budapest, June 15-21, 1913.[3] Unknown to the delegates, this was to be the last meeting of the Alliance until after World War I. The suffragists of Hungary had spared no effort to make the event a success. Mrs. Catt's presidential address was a review of the woman suffrage situation as she had found it in her trip around the world. Concluding, she said:

> The women of the Western world are escaping from the thraldom of the centuries. . . .For every woman of every tribe and nation, every race and continent, now under the heel of oppression, we must demand

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 137.

[3] New York Times, June 22, 1913.

deliverance.[1]

For a number of reasons, particularly that she might give her undivided efforts to the New York suffrage campaign, Mrs. Catt had hoped to be relieved of the presidency of the Alliance. The women felt that since English was the nearest approach to a universal language, the president should be a woman from an English-speaking nation. At this moment there was continental dislike of Great Britain, rendering it very difficult to elect an English president.

Frau Anna Lindman, of Germany, wrote Mrs. Catt:

> . . .The greatest good we bring away from our congress is that we have seen you do your work as president there. You do more than just preside. You fill the formalities of your office with life which refreshes all. . . .[2]

As a result of insistence by the suffragists, Mrs. Catt agreed to serve again as president and was elected for a third five-year term at the age of fifty-four.[3]

Mrs. Catt's organizing ability found expression in the practice of training workers by courses or schools. On September 15, 1913, she opened such a school in the headquarters of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. About 150 women of all ages and from all parts of the country were present. Originally Mrs. Catt planned the school for about a dozen organizers who would work New York State in educating the voters

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Address of the President (also called "Omtermatopma"). Delivered at the Seventh Congress of the IWSA, Budapest, Hungary, Academy of Music, June 15, 1913 (Manchester: Percy Brothers Ltd., The Hotspur Press, 1913), p. 15.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 209.

[3]New York Times, June 20, 1913, p. 4.

for the 1915 amendment, when the question of woman suffrage was to be voted upon by the people of New York. But universal interest helped to extend the school into one preparatory for national work with seventeen states represented.[1]

In July, 1914, Mrs. Catt spent one week attending daily meetings of an Alliance in London.[2] She joined the officers of the Alliance (German, French, Austrian, and English women) in drawing up a manifesto to the governments of Europe. It concluded:

> We, women of twenty-six countries in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, appeal to you to leave untried no method of conciliation or arbitration which may avert deluging half the civilized world in blood.[3]

These international workers then separated to live four years without communication except for Jus Suffragii, their international paper, which continued to appear throughout the war years.[4]

At the close of the Alliance in London it seemed that Mrs. Catt would be free for the very important New York campaign, which she had endeavored to promote since 1909. In 1915, however, she again took the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In speaking later of this event, Mrs. Raymond Brown, one time president of the New York State Suffrage group, said that the women of New York fought against Mrs. Catt's election to the national presidency for they did not see how they could carry on their state campaign without her. After her

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[1]Ibid., September 28, 1913, p. 7.

[2]Ibid., June 27, 1914, p. 13.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 213.

[4]Ibid.

election to this office, the New York group separated themselves from the others to weep, while the rest of the convention rejoiced.[1]

Following World War I, Mrs. Catt seized every opportunity to urge Congress to submit the Nineteenth Amendment. Congress approved the act June 4, 1919. Her next aim was to secure the ratification of the amendment by thirty-six states. She lived on trains, in hotels, and at conferences. "She probably knew more governors, legislators, and other public men than did any other person in the country."[2]

After the proclamation of the Nineteenth Amendment enfranchising women in the United States, August 26, 1920, Mrs. Catt rushed to Westchester County, New York, her home; but in Manhattan, Pennsylvania Station, a crowd was waiting. Among those present, were Governor Al Smith and representatives of the National Committees of the political parties. Also,

> There were all the "Old Guard" with the old banners, antiquated now, there was the 71st Regiment Band, and amid flowers, deputations, congratulations, wild excitement, the last suffrage parade marched through the streets of New York to the Waldorf-Astoria where a victory celebration was held.[3]

Six years later Mrs. Catt summarized the Woman Suffrage cause in the United States as follows:

> To get the word male in effect out of the Constitution, cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign thereafter. During that time they were forced to conduct fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to urge Legislatures to

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Raymond Brown, personal interview, New York, September, 1943.

[2]"Changing the Mind of a Nation," op. cit., p. 360.

[3]Ibid., p. 361.

> submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to induce State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into State constitutions; 277 campaigns to persuade State party conventions to include women suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to urge presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms, and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses. Millions of dollars were raised, mainly in small sums, and expended with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands gave constant interest and such aid as they could. It was a continuous, seemingly endless, chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began.[1] Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended.

In 1920 Mrs. Catt was sixty-one years of age, with immense prestige, but precarious health.[2] To her the enfranchisement of women had always been a tool to work with, not an end within itself; therefore, she begrudged the years spent in acquiring this right and hastened to educate women in its efficient use.[3] The League of Women Voters had been organized in March, 1919, preparatory to the gaining of the vote. One of its purposes was to unify women in a nonpartisan political organization for the end of advancing the rights of women and democratic principles.[4] As early as February, 1920, before the final victory, the League had conducted under Mrs. Catt's supervision a School of Political Education for the purpose of training instructors. These trainees established Citizenship Schools in many parts of the United States.[5]

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 343.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Nation Calls!" Speech delivered at Woman Suffrage Convention, St. Louis, March 24, 1919, The Woman Citizen, III (March 29, 1919), 917.

[5]The Woman Citizen, V (July 3, 1920), 136.

With a lapse of seven years, instead of the usual two, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance met for its eighth congress at Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-12, 1920.[1] Seventeen countries had granted suffrage to women since the Alliance had met last in 1913. The total had been increased to twenty-one. Mrs. Catt pointed out in her address to the convention:

> War, the undoubted original cause of the humiliating, age-old subjection of women the world around; war, the combined enemy of their emancipation, has tendered to the women of many lands their political freedom.[2]

Of paramount importance was the question of the future of the Alliance. Should those who had obtained enfranchisement continue in a world movement to assist those who had not received woman suffrage? Mrs. Catt's speech expressed hope that the Alliance would have great opportunities as a regenerating and stabilizing force in the postwar world; she warned the people against isolation and encouraged them to assume responsibility in political affairs. For such work she recommended young and vigorous leaders. These ideas prefaced her announcement of retirement from the presidency of the Alliance. The board, however, had not been able to name a successor; so Mrs. Catt was re-elected president.[3]

In 1922 the League of Women Voters sponsored a Pan-American conference for women in Baltimore.[4] Mrs. Catt accepted the presidency for

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[1] Ibid., p. 126.

[2] "Mrs. Catt to the Women of Europe," The Woman Citizen, V (June 12, 1920), 43.

[3] Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 351.

[4] The Woman Citizen, VII (July 29, 1922), 21.

one year in order that she might have time to investigate the future possibilities for such an organization. During that year, Mrs. Catt visited Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, and the Panama Canal Zone, meeting and conferring with many of the government officials, making speeches for the advancement of women, and endeavoring in many ways to understand the status of and opportunities for women in Latin America. At the end of Mrs. Catt's four months of efforts to understand South Americans, she wrote:

> We have striven to arouse women to join the great international movements which are binding together the women of all races and nations in the realization that the time is past when women may continue to regard themselves and to be regarded as mere auxiliaries of the human race. Perhaps we have at least blazed a trail. That was all we expected to do.[1]

Mrs. Catt discovered so few organizations of women in South America that she felt it would not be easy to conduct a practical and effective Pan-American association.[2] The Congresses were not immediately abolished, however. On May 7, 1925, there was a Pan-American section of the International Council of Women held in the Hall of the Americas, Washington, D. C.[3]

The years 1922-1923 were very busy for Mrs. Catt. In addition to her work with the South American women, she was revisiting parts of Europe, speaking, communicating with government officials in behalf of the interests of women, and preparing for the International Suffrage Congress to be held in Rome, May 11-19, 1923.[4] At the meeting in Rome

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Two Panamas," The Woman Citizen, VIII (May 5, 1923), 26.

[2]New York Times, March 11, 1923, p. 9.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 415.

[4]The Woman Citizen, VII (February 24, 1923), 18, 29.

sixty-three nations were represented. This was the largest convention held by the International Suffrage Alliance.[1]

For Mrs. Catt the Congress at Rome closed the struggle for the ballot. Her achievements had grown from the winning of a municipal enfranchisement for women in Mason City, Iowa, 1885, to a large part in the gaining of suffrage for women in forty-one nations. Besides these visible accomplishments, she had had much influence in securing liberation of women from oppressive codes and customs. At the age of sixty-four, she could yet look ahead to an active concentrated campaign, this time devoted to both men and women.

A Pacifist

Upon being asked about her earliest interest in the peace movement, Mrs. Catt replied that she had been trying to decide that herself, but she thought that it was in 1911, while viewing the war grounds in South Africa, that she asked herself the question why wars must be.[2] There had been peace organizations for almost a century; Mrs. Catt once more enlisted in a movement already begun.[3]

In 1915 Jane Addams and Carrie Chapman Catt called a convention of women out of which grew the Women's Peace Party. In 1917 Mrs. Catt was expelled from this party because she accepted President Wilson's request to be a member of the Woman's Division of the Council for National

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[1] New York Times, June 2, 1923, p. 2.

[2] Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[3] New York Times, December 11, 1924, p. 26.

Defense.[1] Some censured her severely; others endeavored to protect her from adverse publicity. She and Jane Addams differed in that the former supported disarmament and peace in general, conditionally.[2] The two women remained very close friends in spite of their variant attitudes about methods to obtain peace.

During World War I Mrs. Catt spoke against "the sickening horrors of war." Her first speech devoted entirely to the abolition of war was "A Call to Action," delivered to the National Woman Suffrage Association in Cleveland, Ohio, April 13, 1921.[3] At that time, however, she was not free to devote her time to the promotion of peace; two more busy years of international suffrage duties remained. The performance of these duties in the devastated European theatre, however, caused her to have a deeper concern about the price that millions of people were paying for war. She returned to the United States in 1923 advocating assistance to the reconstruction of Europe and promoting of peaceful international relations.[4]

At the National League of Women Voters Convention in Buffalo in April, 1924, Mrs. Ben Hooper of Wisconsin approached Mrs. Catt with the proposal that the women's organizations which had peace and disarmament

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[1] Ibid., March 7, 1917, p. 11.

[2] Ibid., January 11, 1930, p. 7.

[3] "A Call to Action." A speech delivered at a mass meeting, Masonic Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, 1921, The Woman Citizen, V (April 23, 1921), 8, 16.

[4] Silas Bent, "Women of America Can Yet Save Europe, Says Mrs. Catt," New York Times, June 17, 1923, p. 23.

among their objectives should get together on a common peace program.[1] Mrs. Catt accepted the responsibility of presenting the plan to the organizations after she had gained the consent of Josephine Schain to assist her as secretary. The name selected for the project was "Conference on the Cause and Cure of War," popularly known as "Cause and Cure." Its purpose was "to end war through the removal of its causes," or to obtain peace by "preparing for peace."[2]

The first conference was planned to meet in Washington, D. C., January, 1925. Mrs. Catt thought it best not to invite any of the approximately seventy-five peace societies existing in the country at that time. They had not, according to Mrs. Catt, "yet seen the wisdom, apparently, of a common procedure."[3] To Mrs. Catt, the women's organizations offered greater possibilities for united action.[4]

Once established, the conferences met annually for fifteen years, promoting an educational campaign with continuously increasing vigor. At each annual conference some phase of the international disarmament movement was discussed. To extend the influence of the Washington conferences,

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[1]The cooperating societies were: The American Association of University Women, Council of Women for Home Missions, Women's Board of Foreign Missions, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Council of Jewish Women, National League of Women Voters, Women's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League, Young Women's Christian Association. Later three more organizations joined: National Woman's Conference of American Ethical Union, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National Home Demonstration Council. New York Times, April 8, 1928, p. 18.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "A Word to General Pershing," The Woman's Journal, XIII (January 1, 1928), 9.

[3]New York Times, December 11, 1924, p. 26.

[4]Ibid.

the united organizations sponsored extension courses throughout the United States and Alaska. These courses, known as Marathon Round Tables, were considered the "most important educational agency of the movement."[1] By 1940 the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War was spending approximately $2,000.00 annually for the promotion of the Marathon Round Tables, an amount equal to approximately one-fifth of the total expenditures.[2] At this time the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War was succeeded by a peace organization concerned with World War II, Woman's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace.[3]

After fifteen years (1925-1940) of effort by Mrs. Catt and her five million supporters the abolition of war seemed remote. Still "defeat was only delay" to Mrs. Catt as she pleaded for the preservation of civilization. By the time of her death she had devoted twenty-two years to the advocacy of peace. Her aim had been to influence great numbers of people to hate war to the extent that it would be supplanted with a practical "Peace Institution."

Historical Significance

History is usually written by men about men with more stress upon the industrial, political, and military movements than upon the social. The nineteenth century was one of profound social movements, and a significant segment of it included the advancement of the rights of

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 450.

[2]"Summary of the Budget of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War," (Washington, D. C.: Delegate's Worksheet, January 22-25, 1940), No. 3, p. 2.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 469.

women.[1] Schlesinger speaks of the woman's movement as "a story that in itself is one of the noblest chapters in the history of American Democracy."[2]

Though economic freedom and education for women could develop gradually along with other rights in a democratic America, the legal rights of women, particularly the right to vote, could not easily come into use by any such gradual process; legal rights had to be accepted and passed upon by the majority. Achieving the federal amendment required about three-fourths of a century of work involving concentrated and organized efforts and great sums of money.[3] In speaking of women's struggle for the Nineteenth Amendment, Freeman states: "Year after year had seen gains in the battle for equal rights in both political and professional life. . . .They [women] had so thoroughly proved their ability, that longer denial of full civic rights was both unjust and absurd."[4]

In evaluating Mrs. Catt's part in the suffrage movement, Faulkner makes these statements:

> Since 1890, when two organizations advocating woman suffrage had combined into the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the agitation, under the leadership of Carrie Chapman and Anna Howard

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[1]Kenneth G. Hance, Homer O. Hendrickson, and Edwin W. Schoenberger, "The Later National Period: 1860-1930," A History and Criticism of American Public Address, ed. by William Norwood Brigance (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1943), I, 112-114.

[2]Arthur Meier Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 127.

[3]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 107.

[4]Melville C. Freeman, The Story of Our Republic (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1947), Part II, p. 242.

Shaw, had become more active.[1]

> It was the growing economic power of women as well as the persistent agitation of such able leaders as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Anna Howard Shaw that finally won for them [women] the suffrage by the proclamation of the nineteenth amendment in August, 1920.[2]

Schlesinger recognizes Mrs. Catt to have been among the "forceful" leaders of woman suffrage.[3] Suffragists feel that she hastened the victory. Alice Booth states that the vote would have come to women "perhaps not in your lifetime nor in mine. By her work she cut years from the waiting time."[4] Mary Gray Peck affirms that "suffrage for women would have been delayed at least ten years without the aid of Mrs. Catt, who captured the psychological moment to push the movement, following the war. Mrs. Catt had prestige in Washington and a body of women to support her."[5]

In an attempt to explain the variables involved in an evaluation of Mrs. Catt, Mildred Adams has this to say:

> It is difficult, without going at length into the technicalities of the so-called "woman movement," to understand just what it is that has given Mrs. Catt her power and to show precisely in what her contribution to her period consisted. Statesmen carry through delicate negotiations and sign treaties that are called by their names; politicians make speeches and occupy posts that are in themselves guarantees of merit. But a leader of women and a crusader of peace is almost by definition outside the realm of history and its evaluating devices. The posts she occupied and has occupied are honored more by a kind of common agreement than by any real understanding of what

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[1]Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Political and Social History (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1943), p. 589.

[2]Ibid., p. 654.

[3]Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1865-1940 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), p. 176.

[4]Booth, op. cit., p. 160.

[5]Statement by Peck, personal interview.

they imply.[1]

Historians consider that the woman suffrage movement made a significant contribution to the progress of democracy. Public address was a highly important part of Mrs. Catt's contribution in hastening the victory.

In evaluating Mrs. Catt's speeches promoting peace, Draughon comments:

> Although Carrie Chapman Catt's addresses on peace and war did not change the foreign policy of the United States or prevent a second world war, they did constitute a sincere and intensive effort of this leader to guide a concerted effort toward the peaceful settlement of international disputes.[2]

Miss Peck believes that "the educational campaign carried on for fifteen years by these [twelve women's] organizations played a major part in changing the mind of this nation about the 'isolationist policy.'"[3]

Mrs. Catt's position in history, however, will probably be determined by the acknowledged significance of the movements which she promoted, especially the suffrage cause to which she devoted about thirty-eight active years and in which she served as an official for sixty consecutive years.

Summary

Mrs. Catt devoted her career of approximately sixty-four years to the promotion of two causes--woman suffrage and peace. As a child she had given strong evidence of the desire to defend her sex. The woman

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[1]Mildred Adams, "Mrs. Catt at 75," op. cit., p. 3.

[2]Draughon, op. cit., p. 95.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 6.

rights' movement was in an early stage of progress when she became a part of it. Soon after 1885 she advanced rapidly from municipal to state and national responsibilities. In the struggle for equal rights she directed her strategy toward those strongest centers of opposition. She capitalized upon the services of women to the nation during World War I to complete the victory, which came, in the United States, with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, August 26, 1920. At the time she resigned the presidency of the International Alliance in 1923, she had been instrumental in the achievement of enfranchisement of women in forty-one nations.

Mrs. Catt had shown interest in the promotion of peace for many years; and, in 1925, she became the primary organizer of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which was composed of twelve existing organizations of women. With the assistance of these women she promoted a campaign to educate the people of the United States that international disputes could be settled without war. By the time of her death she had spoken as an advocate of peace for twenty-two years.

Some historians recognize that the woman's movement is a significant part in the history of American democracy and that Mrs. Catt was the leader who directed the cause to victory in 1920.

The Speaker

The purpose of this section is to describe Carrie Chapman Catt's rhetorical practice, including a chronological listing of her speeches, the settings in which she spoke, her methods of preparing and delivering speeches, and contemporary and self-evaluations of Mrs. Catt as a speaker.

Speaking Occasions[1]

Only salient characteristics of her speaking occasions will be included here. It is impossible to make a complete listing of the speeches delivered by Mrs. Catt. She spoke in public as early as 1883; by 1886 she was spending much time on the lecture platform.[2] In the fall of 1890 she began campaigning for the suffrage movement; and, except for an interruption in 1907, she devoted the next thirty-three years to speaking for the cause, either in the United States or in other countries.

Mrs. Catt spoke less frequently after 1923, directing her public address, after that date, chiefly to the promotion of peace. This activity is well summarized thus:

> When she came into the peace movement it was still, in spite of its years of work, rather inclined to be amorphous, scattered, emotional, full of good intentions and undirected energy. Through her Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War she has done more to clarify tangled ideas, to coordinate efforts, to straighten out lines of thought and endeavor than any other single individual.[3]

In 1934, when asked why she then limited her speaking to special occasions, she replied that "she watched Susan B. Anthony grow old and go on speaking, and decided that it was a thing to be avoided if possible."[4] In 1943 she remarked that even though she still spoke in public, she considered it wise at her age to read her speeches. She added that

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[1]Even Mrs. Catt was uncertain as to the total number of speeches she had made (letter from Mrs. Catt, September 23, 1943). New York Herald Tribune, January 5, 1936, Sec. IV, p. 3 (attributes 7,000 speeches to Mrs. Catt).

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 37.

[3]Mildred Adams, "Mrs. Catt at 75," op. cit., Sec. VI, p. 3.

[4]Ibid., p. 3.

she kept on speaking, thinking each time would be the last.[1] The big celebrations planned for her birthdays always inspired her to give public utterance to her reactions on current topics. After her eighty-fifth birthday, January 9, 1944, she wrote:

> I never worked harder on a birthday in my whole life than on that day,. . .Mrs. Roosevelt, and Helen Hayes, who were guest speakers, and I were all taken to a separate room to make a Radio-broadcast before the luncheon. At the luncheon we each made a different speech and were then hurried away from the table to make another for a Newsreel. If you think that was easy you just try it.[2]

Her last public appearance was on her eighty-eighth birthday, exactly two months before her death. At a dinner of the American Association of the United Nations she urged "bolder peace aims, declaring that the present ones would not avert another war."[3]

From news reports and other recorded data about Mrs. Catt's speaking occasions it has been possible to make a chronological listing of 723 speeches and 185 speaking tours. For many of these speeches, Table 2, Appendix I, gives available information as to date, place and occasion, theme or title, type of speech,[4] and the size and reactions of audiences. Table 1, on the following page, is a summary of Table 2. It is interesting that of these 723 specific speeches 411 are campaign or deliberative speeches; 62, expository; 25, commemorative; 8, after-dinner; and 5, courtesy. Sufficient data are not available to classify 210 of these speeches.

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[2]Letter from Mrs. Catt, January 21, 1944.

[3]New York Times, March 10, 1947, p. 21.

[4]The classification used is that presented by many public speaking texts: courtesy, expository, commemorative, after-dinner, and campaign speeches.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF SPEECH OCCASIONS*
(1883-1947)

Date	Specific Occasions	Tours	
		States or Territories	Nations other than United States
1883-1887	6	1	
1888-1892	110	3	
1893-1897	90	19	
1898-1902	63	33	
1903-1907	44	12	8
1908-1912	81	2	20
1913-1917	113	19	4
1918-1922	57	24	10
1923-1927	57	10	11
1928-1932	39	3	
1933-1937	27	5	
1938-1942	25	1	
1943-1947	11	1	
Total...	723	...	...

*Some of her known speaking occasions. A more detailed listing of speeches is to be had in Table 2, Appendix I.

The speeches of the tours were predominantly deliberative in type. These data make plain that Mrs. Catt was chiefly a deliberative speaker.

Speech Settings

Mrs. Catt felt that for most of her woman suffrage speeches she encountered a sameness in audiences and in occasions.[1] Her platforms varied from the very crudest of poverty stricken districts to those of wealth and prestige, including audiences of kings, queens, and the nobility of the world. These degrees of difference may be ascribed partly to the rapid social and political changes of the era in which she spoke but principally to the recognition Mrs. Catt achieved as a leader and as a speaker.

The suffragist met the most primitive conditions in South Dakota (four months during the fall of 1887) and in Colorado (three months during the fall of 1893). In South Dakota Mrs. Catt spoke from wagons, in grain elevators, and in school buildings. One of the experiences she often recounted later concerned an occasion upon which Mrs. Catt and Henry Blackwell were to speak. Through some misunderstanding no hall had been engaged.

> In an old-fashioned democrat wagon, with an old-fashioned dinner bell, the two suffrage workers and their host and hostess drove down to one of the town's principal corners and rang the bell.[2]

A crowd gathered to hear the young woman and the white-haired man speaking from the back of the wagon. That one should advocate that "nice" women go to the polls and vote like men actually astonished the people.[3]

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[2]Booth, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

[3]Ibid.

Mrs. Catt endured many hardships while campaigning in South Dakota. A great number of her experiences there resembled one described by Peck:

> Here between thirty and forty farmers with their families had assembled and were sitting on boards laid across nail-kegs. There was a chair and stand for the speaker. Kerosene lanterns furnished the light. Many of the women held babies in their arms. Mrs. Catt thought that to sit on a backless bench holding a baby after a long day's work was something no human being could do for long and remain well disposed toward the speaker, so she gave her chair to the woman who seemed to need it most and suggested that blankets be spread on the floor for the babies to lie on. Those babies which were awake seemed used to being laid around anywhere, and were as stoical as Indian papooses. The yellow lantern light outlined the uncouth figures on the benches but dimly, and reached not at all the rafters which roofed them in from the Dakota night. The speaker wondered if it were possible to interest those unhappy beings in anything but their own desperate plight. They listened to her quietly, and when she was through they sorted out the babies, drifted uncertainly out to their wagons and faded into the night. Whether or not she had moved them, they had moved Mrs. Catt deeply.[1]

In Colorado she spoke at watermelon festivals, in mining centers, and in courthouses. The following incident presents vividly one of her experiences in a mining district of that state:

> One bleak and rainy day, she arrived at the mining center of Ouray, and learned that miners from all the surrounding region, most of them out of work, were coming to her meeting that night and probably would have had several drinks on the way. She went to the meeting with considerable trepidation, for this was a new kind of audience and she doubted her ability to interest them. The room was filled when she entered, her hostess being the only other woman present. The fumes in the air proclaimed that the saloons had been duly patronized. As she looked over the audience from the platform, she saw some faces of refinement and intelligence. She knew well enough that they belonged to men of education--adventurers who had lost their fortunes elsewhere, boys who like her own father had come prospecting on a shoestring, business and professional men trying to regain their health or their mental balance by hard physical labor. There was something indescribably moving about the whole assemblage, the just and the unjust, and before she had proceeded far she lost her nervousness realizing that she had established contact with them. After

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 62-64.

that she liked miners' meetings.[1]

With her appointment as chairman of the Organization Committee in 1895, Mrs. Catt's duties turned toward the dispatching of others to do the field campaigning. As time progressed her speaking was directed to committees, to large assemblies, to political bodies, and to campaigns of strategic significance. For example, to secure a federal amendment, it seemed to Mrs. Catt that the foremost state to be won was New York. "Furthermore, it was recognized that no campaign to carry the Empire State for suffrage stood any chance until New York City had been converted, and New York City could not be carried till Tammany Hall gave the 'all clear' signal."[2] To accomplish this task Mrs. Catt resorted to the use of Tammany Hall tactics to convert Tammany Hall.[3] Women who supported her in this work named themselves the Woman Suffrage Party.[4] For a gathering such as this Mrs. Catt's audiences resembled the one which filled Carnegie Hall in 1909:

> On the floor sat eight hundred and four delegates and two hundred alternates in convention assembled, representing every assembly district in Greater New York. Every chairman had a list of the sympathizers in her district. The framework of a city-wide political organization was there on display. Women whose husbands were prominent in Tammany circles were sitting in delegates' seats of the new organization. . . .Society was present in the boxes to see how Mrs. Mackay would get along reading the platform. The upper tiers were filled with people who did not know Mrs. Mackay but came to cheer Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay and old wheel horses from Brooklyn and Staten Island and the Lower East Side and Harlem and the Bronx.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[2] Ibid., p. 168.

[3] Ibid., pp. 168-172.

[4] Ibid., p. 170.

[5] Ibid., p. 171.

At the conclusion of a speaking tour of ninety meetings in the state of New York, Mrs. Catt said to a news reporter:

> Our meetings were crowded and we enlisted great numbers of new recruits. Our most interesting encounter with the antis was in Albany. . . .The antis took exception to our announcement hung at the gate and had part of it cut away, so we got more advertising. Our meetings were packed. . . .
>
> At Rochester. . .we had the biggest meeting ever held in the city. At Buffalo, with a blizzard, we had 2,000 at the meeting and raised $5,000. More newspapers support us than ever before and many well-known men show that they are not afraid to come out and speak for us.[1]

New York women, crowded into the suffrage headquarters, learned of the defeat of their state amendment. Mrs. Catt made "a pithy speech to the weary women. . . .She said the election was not a defeat, but the beginning of the decisive battle."[2]

Within forty-eight hours, November 4, 1915, a second New York campaign began at Cooper Union:

> The huge old building on Ninth Street could not begin to hold the thousands who surged around it. . . .As Mrs. Catt. . .came on the stage, a crack regimental band struck up "See, the Conquering Hero Comes!" but was utterly drowned out by the thunder of applause that greeted her and the campaign leaders. . . .
>
> The appeal for $100,000 to start the new campaign created an unparalleled scene; voices all over the auditorium clamored for attention. There was not a pause until the lists were closed at the stipulated sum; actually the amount pledged was $115,000.[3]

People everywhere heralded Mrs. Catt as she achieved international recognition. A few instances were: In Copenhagen, cabinet ministers and foreign legations received her; in Christiania, a former Prime Minister and King Haakon greeted her; in Stockholm, her welcomes included

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[1]New York Times, February 16, 1914, p. 2.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 232.

[3]Ibid., pp. 233-234.

flowers, speeches, dinners, and receptions with the American and Swedish flags waving together.[1] The setting for the International Suffrage Alliance meeting in Copenhagen, June, 1911, was spectacular:

> The congress opened with delegations from twenty-two nations, later increased to twenty-five, in attendance. The city administration in compliment to the convention ran up the flags of the participating nations on the flagpoles along the waterfront by the Grand Hotel, where the headquarters were. The auditorium of the Academy of Music was likewise hung with the banners of the nations. . . .
>
> The most beautiful occasion of the congress was on the last evening at Sältsjobäden, a seaside resort an hour's ride by steamer from Stockholm. . . .An open balcony of the restaurant served as rostrum for the speakers. . . .As she [Mrs. Catt] stepped onto the balcony a group of peasants in costume came forward on the lawn below, facing her and singing songs of greeting and farewell.[2]

The League of Women Voters was formed of women who had promoted woman suffrage and had reorganized with a new purpose.[3] There were also the women who initiated the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War.[4] Draughon, who has made considerable study of the Cause and Cure of War audiences, notes certain characteristics and attitudes of these women:

> They were women who had been engaged during the first twenty years of the twentieth century in getting the vote, and the second twenty in using it. In assuming their rightful status of equality with men, they asserted their rights in the school, the home, the church, and found a place in industry and government.[5]

She further asserts about the selectivity of these women:

> The conferences were made up of "a very intelligent group of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 176-177.

[2] Ibid., pp. 178-179.

[3] Ibid., p. 306.

[4] Ibid., p. 409.

[5] Draughon, op. cit., p. 25.

> women who studied and were conversant with every department of government which had any influence at all upon the economic or political situation which tended to make difficulties between nations.". . .Although many of the delegates came from New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and other states near Washington, D. C., most states were represented at each conference.[1]

The Hall of Nations in the Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C., at the time the conferences were held there, is described as a

> beautiful room with maps of the different nations in panels around the wall. It seated approximately a thousand people. The actual number in attendance at the Conferences and therefore on the speech occasions, varied from about 450 to 750.[2]

At the time that Mrs. Catt was promoting peace she spoke to audiences other than the Cause and Cure of War Conferences. Frequently a news report opened with a statement similar to this: "Fifteen hundred strong, farm women from remote sections of this and foreign countries rose tonight at a dinner to acclaim Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who voiced an ardent plea for their aid in the abolition of war."[3]

Men's organizations frequently placed Mrs. Catt on their programs. An instance of such an occasion occurred in an annual session of the American Academy of Political and Social Science which met in Philadelphia:

> Defenders of the United States Government as a pioneer in both judicial and arbitral branches of international settlement came to grips at today's sessions of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. . . .The principle defender of America's leadership in arbitration was Dr. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for international peace. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York opened tonight's discussion. . .[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 27.

[2] Ibid., p. 28.

[3] New York Times, June 5, 1936, p. 23.

[4] Ibid., May 13, 1928, p. 6.

The major portion of Mrs. Catt's sixty-four years of public address preceded the period when acoustic aids were utilized. Her audiences varied to include all social strata, and the sizes ranged between a few hundred and approximately two thousand auditors.

Speech Preparation

Mrs. Catt had almost no direct training for a speaking career other than personal experience. While she was in college at Ames, Iowa, men debated and delivered orations, but women merely read their own essays. Mrs. Catt, then Carrie Lane, felt that women, too, should give orations and in her junior year she became the first woman in the college to deliver an oration. Soon afterward she promoted the first debating society there for women.[1] This extracurricular activity was the extent of her academic speech training.[2]

While in college she formed reading habits that were to function later in the preparation of her speeches. She read eagerly, digested rather thoroughly, and enjoyed the atmosphere of the college library. While working in the library she often went early, before it opened, to study her psychology by repeating ideas as she walked up and down. This habit of walking was used later as she composed her speeches orally.[3] From her reading experiences she gathered much speech material and organized it systematically as she read.[4] Her private library, including

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[1]Peck, "Mrs. Catt at College: 1880-1930," op. cit., pp. 41-42.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[3]Peck, "Mrs. Catt at College: 1880-1930," op. cit., p. 40.

[4]The Woman Citizen, VII (December 30, 1922), 14.

about twelve hundred volumes on the subjects of suffrage and peace as well as many volumes on law, furnished significant materials for her speeches.[1]

When asked about the preparation of her speeches she stated:

> I regret that speaking was not foremost in my career. Since I was kept busy in the suffrage office with administrative work, I did the largest part of my speaking without even taking time to think out in advance just what I was going to say. When I first began speaking, I prepared one speech in detail; from this, in later speeches, a part was selected for a beginning and another part for an ending. I extemporized between. My annual and biennial addresses were delivered from manuscript. The biennial addresses included each time a review of the progress made by the suffrage movement in the two preceding years. Statistics quoted or speeches broadcast were read.[2]

To the question: "How much attention did you give in advance to your audiences and occasions?" Mrs. Catt replied:

> Very little, except on rare occasions. On campaign tours I felt that my audiences were rather similar in type; as a result I used the same subject matter on so many occasions that I tired of the extreme monotony. Often I wished that the purpose could vary more; that the material could be changed; and that the level could be raised; but I felt that I must work at all times with one motive, "To convert people to suffrage"; and that this one purpose did not permit a new presentation.[3]

Experience was Mrs. Catt's principal instructor in the preparation of speeches. As a busy executive it seemed to her that she frequently delivered speeches without direct preparation as to choice of subject matter, or as to consideration of audiences. For special occasions such as national and international conventions, before legislators, and for

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[1]Letter from Mary Gray Peck, April 10, 1947.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[3]Ibid.

broadcasts she wrote these speeches in full and often read them.[1]

Delivery

Those contemporaries of Mrs. Catt who commented upon her manner in delivering her speeches appeared to agree that she was an energetic speaker with poise, using few gestures, and having a voice pleasant, fluent, and easily understood. Anthony and Harper considered her "young and handsome" at the age of forty-one.[2] As she advanced in years her physical stature became "impressive, commanding the respect of her audience."[3] Although energetic,she used few gestures other than an occasional stress with two fingers on the right hand.[4] "She simply stood up and said what she had to say in a quiet, beautiful voice full of inspiration and force."[5] Following Mrs. Catt's address to the National American Convention, 1917, on the subject of "Message to Congress," Rose Young had this to say about her posture and gestures:

> In delivering it the speaker, never ornate in rhetoric or delivery, seemed to withdraw her personality utterly, so that there was left only the mental and spiritual content of her message. To hear her was like listening to abstract thought, warmed by the fire of abstract conviction. To see her was like looking at sheer marble, flame-lit.[6]

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[1]The extant copies and consequently those available for any rhetorical study are mostly special addresses. Stenographic reports of the extemporaneous speeches are infrequent.

[2]Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 389.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Raymond Brown, personal interview.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Rose Young, "Editorial," The Woman Citizen, II (December 22, 1917), 69.

Her voice was said to be "eloquent, quiet, rich in quality, possessing an earnest appeal;"[1] it was "easily understood in audiences ranging from fifteen hundred to two thousand."[2] Her "strong, rapid, fluent voice"[3] possessed a "steady rhythm."[4]

Since Mrs. Catt's purpose was to educate audiences step by step rather than to change them by revolutionary methods, so her delivery appealed more to reason than to emotions. She was logical in presentation and at the same time capable of polarizing the attention of her audiences. In 1917, Rose Young commented upon these characteristics:

> Many an orator sways an audience's mind by emotional appeal. Hers was the crowning achievement to sway an audience to emotion by the symmetry and force of her appeal to its mind. Again and again, salvos of applause stopped her for a moment, but again and again the steady rhythm of her strong voice regained control of the commotion. At the end her grip on attention was so acute that a little hush followed the last word.[5]

The American people appear to have abused the term oratory by attaching it to oral monstrosities. The etymology of oration is oratio, meaning to speak or to pray.[6] To some people, the term suggests an elaborate and dignified discourse. Therefore, when Mrs. Catt's commentators speak of her oratorical qualities, it is difficult to know just what the term meant to the observer.

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[1]Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 58-59, 389.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Brown, personal interview.

[3]Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 245-246.

[4]Young, op. cit., p. 69.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Co., Publishers, 1949), p. 590.

In addition to considering Mrs. Catt "an eminent woman orator," Peck qualifies the concept by saying: "She possessed an emotion not often recognized as such by presenting an intellectual and logical argument, having a 'calm kind of fire' that got results."[1] Mrs. Brown, who had also been one of Mrs. Catt's auditors for years, considers her delivery to be that of a "stateswoman."[2]

Among her admirers was Ray K. Immel who was impressed by the "effective use she made of logic and emotion in her public address."[3] In referring to her suffrage speeches, Mrs. Catt once remarked that her delivery was basically an effort to reason with her audiences in preference to moving them by emotion. She continued:

> If I had my life to live over I believe I would make more use of emotional appeal. Logic gets the least in results; it is not the logical appeal that wins.[4]

Apparently this changed attitude did affect the delivery of her speeches on peace and also modified her use of invention.[5] Draughon also notes this change.[6]

> [Walker concludes that Mrs. Catt's] "comprehensive background reading on suffrage, peace, and war; habits of verifying each fact,"

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[1]Statement by Mary Gray Peck, personal interview.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Raymond Brown, personal interview.

[3]Statement by Ray K. Immel, personal interview, 1939. (At the time of the interview Immel was Dean of the School of Speech, University of Southern California.)

[4]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview, September, 1943.

[5]See Chapter VI, infra.

[6]Draughon, op. cit., p. 86.

> a careful composition of each speech; the capacity to adapt to different audiences and varying occasions; a calm and poised demeanor on the platform; a low, rich, forceful voice; a charming and attractive appearance; all these combined to make her an effective speaker.[1]

Presented briefly, Mrs. Catt was not a bombastic orator. Her poised and energetic personality; her pleasing, forceful tone and rhythm; and her ability to extemporize fluently and logically, combined with an earnest desire to win her cause, made her an effective persuasive speaker for the woman's movement.

Audience Responses

In 1887 when Mrs. Catt, then Mrs. Chapman, began lecturing in Iowa, her audiences paid her from $10 to $25 on each occasion.[2] The amount paid provides one index of her audiences' evaluations of her as a speaker.

On an occasion in Colorado, in 1893, after delivering a speech,

> a giant came up to shake hands with her. "Lady," said he in a rich brogue, "I'm what they call a bad man. I drink as much as I can get. I've been in jail for one thing and another, and there's nothing respectable at all about me. But I had a good old mother back in Ireland, and what you said has made me think of her. Sure the good women ought to vote to balance off the likes of me, and I'm going to talk for woman suffrage from this time till election day, and it's a bold man that will open his mouth against it in my presence!" Whether it was owing to the efforts of the unrepentant sinner or not, his town voted for suffrage in November.[3]

At the National American Convention in Atlantic City, 1916, Mrs. Catt's audience "filled the large theater and listened with intense

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[1]Walker, op. cit., p. 436.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 47.

[3]Ibid.

interest until the last word was spoken at five o'clock."[1] (The speech started at 3:30.) In Saratoga, New York, August 30, 1917, when Mrs. Catt spoke before the Woman Suffrage Party State Conference, she raised the audience to

> . . .a pitch of enthusiasm which lasted thirty minutes. The cheering did not die out until every one of the thousand or more delegates and visitors in Convention Hall had marched to the platform, where they filed past Mrs. Catt.[2]

On December 14, that year, a news reporter stated, "Mrs. Catt's speech stirred the throng who heard her in Poli's theatre."[3]

When Mrs. Catt turned to the subject of peace in Cleveland, Ohio, April 13, 1921, and delivered her address, "A Call to Action," she brought her audience to tears; but this act was rare and more of Anna Howard Shaw's style than that of Mrs. Catt.[4]

On February 26, 1936, after she had spoken to the women's division of the American Jewish Congress at the Commodore, "800 women came to their feet to give her a three-minute ovation."[5] Again, when addressing this organization regarding aid for the Nazis' victims, she received the following reaction:

> Again the impassioned crusader she was during the campaign for woman suffrage, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, now in her eightieth year, brought a cheering audience to its feet yesterday in the grand

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[1]Ida Husted Harper, The History of the Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), V, 488.

[2]New York Times, August 31, 1917, p. 18.

[3]Ibid., December 14, 1917, p. 13.

[4]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 408.

[5]New York Times, February 27, 1936, p. 20.

ballroom of the Hotel Astor. . . .Amid repeated outbursts of applause.[1]

In illustrating Mrs. Catt's continued ability to arouse audience response, Mrs. Brown states:

> At the Centennial dinner, 1942, four speakers had preceded Mrs. Catt. Isabelle Depalentia had just delivered an appealing address. Mrs. Catt followed by throwing away her written speech at eighty-three and speaking impromptu. She displayed great brains and her attention values were appalling. At the end of the speech no previous ovation at the meeting had been so great; the audience was shouting and waving handkerchiefs.[2]

Mrs. Catt was particularly accomplished in obtaining from her audiences large financial donations for the suffrage cause. Frequently commentators spoke of her "packed houses," her audiences held "breathless" and at "hushed attention." Her ability to arouse much ovation extended to the close of her speaking career.

Self-Evaluation

Mrs. Catt once set forth her own standard of speech criticism:

> If I were going to judge of a person's speechmaking qualities, I should be inclined to think the most important thing was what information or impression the speech conveyed to the hearers, but that is not the factor which a real student of oratory would consider [sic]. That would be the literary or the oratorical construction of the speech. But, as I never possessed anything worth noticing of literary or oratorical talent, the only thing you can judge by is the impression my speeches made and their ability to bring the hearers into agreement with the speaker.[3]

In commenting on copies of her extant speeches, Mrs. Catt wrote:

> In looking over some of them myself, I can see that my purpose was to give the audience some information; tell them something they ought to know and I do not find in any speech any little eloquences

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[1] Ibid., March 31, 1938.

[2] Statement by Mrs. Raymond Brown, personal interview.

[3] Letter from Mrs. Catt, June 1, 1945.

or tricks that a really good speaker is always interpolating now and then through his speeches. I never thought I was a good speaker, never claimed to be and never thought I had made a good speech when I got through. I did think that the more people who were made to think about the cause I was representing the sooner we would accomplish the suffrage and I thought its accomplishment was put off so long because our work was not of the high class we would have liked to have had it.[1]

Further testimony concerning Mrs. Catt's humility in evaluating herself as a speaker is contained in an incident she related:

I have never considered myself a speaker worthy of imitation. Once, I was traveling with Miss Anthony and the plan was that she was to make the first speech and when she got through, I was to begin. Sometimes she spoke an hour and sometimes she spoke only five minutes. Upon this particular occasion, a request was made that she should speak last, because some business men were coming late to the meeting. Neither one of us made a good speech.

When we went to the place at which we were staying, I asked Miss Anthony if she ever felt that she had made so bad a speech that she never wanted to make another for that was the way I felt. She replied: "Why, I always feel that way." In a few moments she came to me and said: "After I thought about it a little, I concluded that poor speeches were better than no speeches at all, so I have gone right on." That was really the philosophy of my speeches. I think I was better than nobody at all, but I never thought there was anything in my experience that could teach a Department in Public Speaking how to do it.[2]

When asked which of her speeches could be considered her best, Mrs. Catt said:

I should say that the two most important speeches I ever made were: (1) The address to Congress, which was the only one ever made by the suffragists and was printed and distributed to every member as the last word to be said before the last vote was taken asking for the submission of the Federal Amendment. (2) The address made after the submission of the Federal Amendment and which was addressed to the members of the legislatures, and I think we distributed it to all the members.

I have not seen or read these speeches for twenty-six years and I do not say that they are not the worst speeches ever made by any

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[1]Letter from Mrs. Catt, June 25, 1945.

[2]Letter from Mrs. Catt, July 19, 1940.

> human being. I am only saying that they ought to have been the best I made at any time because they were the climax of the campaign. . . . I am inclined to think that the best speeches I ever made were war speeches.[1]

Mrs. Catt seemed to feel that she had more freedom in choice of subject matter when speaking on the subject of peace and war.[2]

A pencil note on her copy of the speech, "The Crisis," suggests that someone, possibly Miss Peck, considered it among her climactic speeches. The note reads: "A most important speech, given by Mrs. Catt at the Emergency Convention, 1916, when Mrs. Catt, after being drafted as President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association a second time, launched the drive for the Federal Amendment."[3]

Throughout Mrs. Catt's remarks about herself as a speaker it is apparent that she was principally concerned about the communicative aspect of her speaking rather than its literary style. She possessed a strong inner conviction that she had a message for her audiences that was of vital importance to the future of women and that the success of women depended upon her ability and the ability of her co-workers to move audiences to accept this message and do something about it.

Summary and Conclusion

A study of Mrs. Catt reveals her as a personality inherently a pioneer determined to achieve an objective even though she had much opposition and the goal appeared to be unattainable. Her faith in the

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[1]Letter from Mrs. Catt, June 1, 1945.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Crisis" (unpublished manuscript). President's Address delivered at the Emergency Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 7, 1916.

evolutionary progress of the human race generated a confidence in humanity. This perspective on society led her to see each cause as a part of a larger movement. Those who knew her were impressed with her physical and mental strength as a leader. Praise of her and her cause was apparently enhanced by her modesty, tolerance, sincerity, and statesmanlike behavior. She probably minimized unfavorable impressions about herself by refusing to support the militant suffragists or the Woman's Party and by maintaining a nonpartisan political attitude. She appears to have gained the respect of women in many nations as an organizer, a tactful executive, and an inspirational leader.

The promotion of two causes--suffrage and peace--composed Mrs. Catt's career. As a child she was a defender of her sex. In 1883, when she entered the suffrage activities, Wyoming alone had state-wide suffrage. Early in her suffrage work she recognized the need of organization at the varied levels ranging from local to international. With the united support of women in four continents, woman suffrage gained momentum. Mrs. Catt continued to serve as executive in these strategic positions, leader of the New York City and New York State campaigns, president of the National Woman Suffrage Organization and promoter of the federal amendment, and president of the International Alliance advocating the rights of women throughout the world. Such an extensive program kept her traveling and in conference most of thirty-six years. Her contacts with public officials surpassed that of any other woman of her time.

Seventeen months before the proclamation of the Nineteenth Amendment, she had started preparations for the woman voter-to-be by organizing the League of Women Voters. In 1922 and 1923 she was touring South America

studying the possibilities of liberating those women from oppressive codes and customs.

Mrs. Catt had shown interest in the promotion of peace for many years, and, in 1925, she became the primary organizer of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which was composed of twelve existing organizations of women. With the assistance of these women she promoted a campaign to educate the people of the United States to the settlement of international disputes without war. By the time of her death she had spoken as an advocate of peace for twenty-two years.

To make a complete listing of all of the speeches delivered by Mrs. Catt in five continents throughout sixty-four years was not possible for Mrs. Catt herself. For this study a chronological listing of 723 individual speeches and 185 speaking tours has been made.

To the observer who views Mrs. Catt's speaking career from a more remote perspective it appears that the audiences included about every strata of society, but to her there was a "sameness" about her suffrage audiences. It seemed to Mrs. Catt that her time for preparing her speeches was limited by her activities and that the simplicity of her woman suffrage objective and the similarity in these audiences determined her choice of material. She preferred the wider range of subject matter made possible in the subject of peace. Listeners who commented upon her speaking considered that her selection of subject matter was indicative of sincerity and common sense and that her logical presentation possessed a "calm emotion" that polarized their attention. She delivered her speeches with a communicative attitude that stressed the importance of her message over her manner of delivery. Mrs. Catt has suggested that any effectiveness

achieved by her speeches should be determined by their ability to secure belief and action from the listeners. In her self-evaluation she did not consider her speeches to contain literary or oratorical values.

Those contemporaries of Mrs. Catt who attempted to evaluate her contributions to women recognized that her importance in history would probably be determined by the acknowledged significance of the movements which she promoted, especially the woman suffrage cause; and that a social movement pertaining to women is inclined to receive less stress than a political or a military movement by men. They also were of the opinion that economic freedom and education for women could develop gradually along with other rights in democratic America, but that the legal rights of women had to be accepted and passed upon by the majority. Those in best position to observe believe that Mrs. Catt was instrumental in expediting the enfranchisement of women, and that through her ability to organize and secure the cooperation of millions of women she established a national educational program promoting peace and opposing the isolationist policy. Some widely recognized historians have found the woman's movement to be a significant part in the history of American democracy and Mrs. Catt to be the leader who directed the cause to victory.

CHAPTER III

THE NEED OF THE BALLOT

Introduction

"Let us say that the task of literary criticism is to put the reader in possession of the work of art," says Cleanth Brooks.[1] "Is this a mere reading of the work or is it a judgment of it? Frankly, I do not see how the two activities can be separated. . . .The attempt to drive a wedge between close reading of the text and evaluation of the work seems to me confused and confusing."[2] One may take a similar point of view for rhetorical criticism. Parrish and Hochmuth consider that "if the results of a speech are measurable, it is the job of the rhetorician to analyze the causes of its alleged success or failure as these are discoverable in the speech itself."[3]

For the analysis contained in this chapter the terms issue, premise, and argument will be used according to the following definitions. Issues have been defined as "the questions that describe the differing

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[1]R. W. Stallman, Critiques and Essays in Criticism, 1920-1948 (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949), p. xx.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Wayland M. Parrish and Marie Hochmuth, American Speeches (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), p. 8. (Italics are part of the quote.)

opinions concerning any controversial subject."[1] They are "inherently vital points, contentions, or subpropositions."[2] They may "chart a range of opinion and belief—a range that stretches from yes all the way to no."[3] The term, as applied in this study, pertains to those points of contention which are inherently vital to a proposal advocated by the speaker. The term premise as here used is considered in a less formal sense than when applied to the syllogism. It may be a matter of fact or of opinion from which a speaker reasons toward a conclusion.[4] In this text argument is considered to be the "activity by which one person, through the use of reasoned discourse, seeks to get other persons to believe or to do what he wants them to believe or to do."[5]

In Chapter I of this study it was suggested that Mrs. Catt's woman suffrage speeches adapt themselves to division into three issues: Do women need the ballot? How should they obtain it? What use should they make of it? Chapter III will consist of an analysis of the invention and arrangement as revealed in thirty of her speeches developing the need issue.[6] The writer considered these speeches to be representative of Mrs.

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[1]A. Craig Baird, Argumentation, Discussion and Debate (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1950), p. 63.

[2]James H. McBurney, James M. O'Neill, and Glen E. Mills, Argumentation and Debate, Techniques of a Free Society (New York: Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 29.

[3]Argumentation and Debate, prepared under the auspices of Tau Kappa Alpha (New York: Dryden Press, 1954), p. 31.

[4]Donald C. Bryant and Karl R. Wallace, Fundamentals of Public Speaking (2d ed.; New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1953), p. 328.

[5]McBurney, O'Neill, and Mills, op. cit., p. 1.

[6]Indicated in bibliography by footnote number one.

Catt's ideas and rhetorical devices treating the need issue after reading the total number of about thirty-five speeches pertaining to this issue. The five excluded duplicated subject matter and rhetorical devices.

Mrs. Catt's use of invention--including premises, arguments, and the three modes of persuasion: logical, emotional, and ethical proofs--was determined for each of the thirty speeches and the results cast into a cogent whole for this study. For the method of analysis, the reader is referred to Appendixes II, Part B, and III. A similar application of the elements of arrangement to the individual speeches was made before synthesizing the results for this chapter. The analysis treated the basic structural pattern as revealed in the introduction, conclusion, and body of the speeches, and the manner in which these patterns affect or modify the use of invention.

Invention

Premises and Arguments

To facilitate the study of the need issue as presented in thirty of Mrs. Catt's woman suffrage speeches and as stated by Mrs. Catt on other occasions, the premises and arguments will be here cast into a cogent whole. This procedure would seem to permit a more comprehensive examination than would ever be possible in the alternative method of speech by speech analysis.

"To convert people to woman suffrage" was Mrs. Catt's stated purpose in speaking on the subject.[1] To accomplish this aim she maintained

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

that the right to vote belongs to women as well as to men. It was considered a natural heritage resulting from the evolutionary advancement of civilization. A preliminary outline of her thinking in regard to the need of the ballot will be helpful to the reader.

The Natural Rights of Women

I. Women and men should share the same natural rights.
   A. Civilization is in an evolutionary process.
      1. Evolution is "God's immutable law."
         a) In evolution of the race, truth emerges through conflict.
         b) The advancement of civilization has been in progress for centuries.
            1) It did not have a dated beginning.
            2) The Declaration of Independence in the United States crystallized the movement in behalf of self government.
            3) Manhood suffrage is no longer an experiment in the civilized world.
      2. Temporarily, democracy is retarded by reactionary attitudes.
         a) Colonial voters had many restrictions.
         b) Later all restrictions were rémoved for men.
         c) As a result democracy experienced repercussions.
         d) Therefore, women were denied the right to vote.
      3. Women need the ballot to counteract reactionary forces.
         a) Women are advancing rapidly in education.
         b) Women desire to improve the status of the nation.
         c) The ballot is the most effective means of exerting this

needed influence.

d) Conditions have been improved in those areas where women have been enfranchised.

4. To delay the enfranchisement of women in the United States endangers the reputation of the democratic form of government.

a) Democratic practice appears to be inconsistent with its theory.

b) Leadership in world democracy compels the United States to enfranchise its women.

The Natural Rights of Women[1]

From Herbert Spencer Mrs. Catt acquired the belief that women and men should share the same natural rights.[2] Natural rights, she contended, are "the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to free speech, the right to go where you will and when you please, the right to earn your own living and the right to do the best you can for yourself."[3]

When she became aware of discrimination against women in the distribution of votes her enlistment in the defense of that cause was a

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[1]Note the following abbreviations to be used in the footnotes:
CCCW: Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.
IWSA: International Woman Suffrage Alliance.
NLWV: National League of Women Voters.
NAWSA: National American Woman Suffrage Association.
NWSC: National Woman Suffrage Convention.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Mission of a Republic." Chicago World Fair and NAWSA, 1892. Part of speech found in Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 187 ff.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "President's Annual Address." NAWSA, first international convention February, 1902, and thirty-fourth annual convention of NAWSA. Anthony and Harper, ibid., IV, 29; also Washington, D. C.: Hayworth Publishing House.

"mere incident in the bigger conviction that the affairs of the whole world were askew because the male possessed a dominating superiority and the female a surrendering inferiority complex."[1] Long before she was cognizant that she had been born amid a self-governing people and that the instrument employed for the process was a vote, she learned to defend her sex by painful but self-reliant methods. It was after a companion had lost her hoopskirt and "every boy, good and bad, had snickered and every little girl had blushed," that Carrie made a "terrible grimace" at the worst offender. From such experiences Mrs. Catt came to consider herself a champion in the defense of her sex.[2] Later she wrote, "I did not choose my cause, the destiny of a hoopskirt set me on my way."[3]

The evolutionary advancement of civilization.--Evolution, to Mrs. Catt, was not "chance nor a question of identification of our first ancestor, but the obedience of all mankind to a universal plan, including the suns, moons, planets and all the mysteries of the limitless universe --God's immutable law."[4] When eleven she read Robert Ingersoll's The Mistakes of Moses.[5] While in highschool she read Darwin's Origin of Species.[6] Her college professors were "earnest crusaders" of evolution. From Herbert Spencer "we were taught the history of man, not as recorded

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Why I Have Found Life Worth Living," The Christian Century, March 29, 1928, p. 406.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 408.

[4]Ibid., p. 407.

[5]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 27.

[6]Ibid., p. 31.

in history, but in the findings of science."[1]

In 1928, when looking back at the effect of the "evolutionary faith" upon her life, Mrs. Catt admitted that it was an influence belonging to a generation that had passed, yet it "not only unfalteringly sustained me through forty years of campaigning, but gave me a life of perpetual happiness":

> Pleadings before legislatures, political conventions or congress, or with voters when a referendum had been submitted, were to me "mere battles in a war certain to be won." Looking backward, I regard the influence of this faith in God's eternal law for the evolution of the race as the chief control of my life. It was a faith emanating from Darwin's generation and born of the virile forces on both sides of the controversy in its young years. Probably it will never seem so personal, so all-embracing as it did to those of that generation who had to insist that textbooks should be harmonized.[2]

There were factors about Mrs. Catt's faith in evolution that she would not want overlooked:

> If evolution of the race is a dependable faith, it follows that the opposition of causes is quite as important as the affirmative. A controversy waging long is but a wrestling bout, with truth emerging as an established fact, the inconsequential wrestlers forgotten. Both sides are needed to bring that truth uppermost. I cringe when I hear or read of the protagonists of a cause calling their opponents unpleasant names and questioning their motives, or the opponents making faces at an unanswerable argument. Both have failed to grasp the fact that the race is climbing and that together they are building a step on the stairs.[3]

She considered the advancement of civilization to have been in progress for centuries:

> Neither the man movement nor the woman movement had a dated

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[1]Catt, "Why I Have Found Life Worth Living" (March 29, 1928), op. cit., p. 407.

[2]Ibid., p. 408.

[3]Ibid.

> beginning. In the struggle upward toward political freedom, men were called upon to overthrow the universally accepted theory of the Divine Right of Kings to rule over the masses of men; women, the universally accepted theory of the Divine Right of Men to rule over women.[1]

The Magna Charta in 1215 was one of the steps in the progress toward freedom; for, as she expressed it, "given the Magna Charta, man suffrage was bound to follow; and given man suffrage, woman suffrage became inevitable."[2] Even though the world had long been making ready for a change in government, it was the American Declaration of Independence that "caught the tendency toward the rights of the individual man, which had been elusively evolving through the centuries, crystallized it into immortal words, and thus was inaugurated the modern movement in behalf of self government."[3] This self government is the will of the people which is "surely destined to be the future sovereign of the world."[4] Had this pronouncement of independence not come to America, it would have come elsewhere.

> The rumbling sounds and premonitions of the coming change had long been heard beneath the surface of things the whole world round, and the eruption came at the point of least resistance, which happened to be on this side of the Atlantic. . . .Those Americans who initiated the modern movement, would scarcely have ventured to predict that within a century, "Taxation without representation is tyranny" would have been written into the fundamental law of all the monarchies of Europe, except Russia and Turkey. . . .Their wildest imaginings would not have prophesied that before another century should close Mongolian Japan, then tightly barring her gates against the commerce of the world, and jealously guarding every ancient

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address, delivered at the IWSA, Amsterdam, June 15, 1908 (printed for the occasion).

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Will of the People," The Forum, XLIII (June, 1910), 595.

[4]Ibid.

> custom, would have welcomed Western civilization, and established a nearly universal suffrage for her men. . . .Evolution never stands still. . . .The most intolerant skeptic of democracy will hardly fail to perceive that universal suffrage of men, and the substitution of the "will of the people," for edicts of hereditary kings, or lords, or privileged classes, is unquestionably the goal toward which political evolution, with irresistible force, is hastening on.[1]

"Manhood suffrage," to Mrs. Catt, was "no longer an experiment but an established fact throughout the civilized world."[2]

Reactionary attitudes toward democracy.--Frequently Mrs. Catt narrated the history of the male voter in the United States.[3] The numbers of first voters possessing the right under the original charters granted by the mother country were limited greatly by restrictions, including religious tests and property qualification. As a result there were actually few voters.[4] With the forming of the federation after the Revolution these restrictions were gradually abandoned.[5] The rapid

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[1]Ibid.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, President's Annual Address, delivered before the thirty-sixth annual convention of the NAWSA held in Washington, D. C., February 11 to 17, 1904 (printed by the NAWSA, 1904), p. 2.

[3]Mrs. Catt stated that as early as 1895 she had difficulty in locating materials on the topic of the enfranchisement of men. Later considerable research was done by John Hopkins University, University of Maryland, Pennsylvania University, and other universities in that area. Important sources to Mrs. Catt were Albert McKinley, Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen Original Colonies of America; Charles Seymour and Donald Freery, How the World Votes; and brochures treating the subject. (Carrie Chapman Catt, "How the Vote Came to Men." Delivered at Chicago Citizenship School, February, 1920.), The Woman Citizen, V (October 30, 1920), 610-613; V (November 6, 1920), 638-641.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, Statement from "Senate Hearing," 1910, Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage, op. cit., V, 745.

[5]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Speech before Congressional Convention," (1915), ibid., p. 752.

extension of male suffrage to illiterate immigrants, Negroes, and Indians brought forth repercussions which had their place in blocking the extension of enfranchisement to women.[1] Mrs. Catt once spoke (in 1904) of the cause of this reactionary attitude in relation to its effect upon women:

> It is said progress moves forward in cycles, or waves, and that, after every high tide of popular opinion which carries a reform, or a new idea, forward until it is anchored safely in law, there comes a never failing receding wave of conservatism and of doubts as to the wisdom of the preceding radicalism. However that may be, a reactionary spirit is certainly creeping into popular opinion in America, and the conviction is growing that the suffrage has been extended too freely; that the principles of democracy have been applied too literally; and that problems of the most serious character have followed this cheapening of the ballot. . . .The woman suffragist meets this skepticism on every hand. The intelligent man and woman of today meets the argument for the enfranchisement of woman with acquiescence. "We know you are right, we agree with you, but universal woman suffrage will only make a bad matter worse, and add to the ills which are already appalling; we must wait, till the ignorant have grown intelligent, the intelligent have grown honest, and politics the pure and exalted thing we picture it in our dreams." The superficial merely reply, with a shrug of the shoulder: "Too many people are voting already. . . ."
>
> Our movement. . .is caught fast between the upper millstone of the reaction against democracy and the nether millstone of vanishing traditions.[2]

This condition, Mrs. Catt felt, warranted careful investigation:

> If the present skepticism concerning the final outcome of democracy is merely a reaction, following the period of radicalism represented by events connected with the Civil War, it will unquestionably pass with the next oncoming wave of progressive thought. If, however, universal suffrage for men is proving an obstacle to good government, conditions warrant a careful investigation. Surely, all advocates of democracy agree with Dr. Starr Jordan of Stanford University, when he says it is not the mission of the republic to make governments good, but to make men strong. If the responsibility of universal suffrage, then, is really strengthening the intelligence and the character of men, we may well afford to bear with it in patience, even at the

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[1] Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 162-164.

[2] Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 3.

> temporary expense of good government. But if the development of good government and the growth of character in men are hindered by the operation of universal suffrage, it may become the duty of the republic, in the interest of true progress, to readjust the basis of voting citizenship.[1]

From the reports of the Commissioner of Education Mrs. Catt gathered considerable data regarding the illiteracy of the male voters and determined the classes to which they belonged.[2] She noted that the presence of "more than two million of illiterate voters" had proved a telling factor in producing the reactionary attitude.[3] From current opinion she reasoned that much of this illiterate vote represented a purchasable vote, which, "at the behest of unscrupulous leaders," could be thrown one way or the other, in accordance with the ability of the machine to pay."[4]

The extension of suffrage to all men in the United States effected a corrupt control of the illiterate voter. These results produced skepticism toward the success of democracy and greatly influenced the delay of the enfranchisement of women.

The power of the ballot needed by women.--Again and again Mrs. Catt attacked those "corrupt forces" for turning an illiterate voter against a better educated and "more loyal" citizen--woman. It seemed to Mrs. Catt that women could have been instrumental in assisting with the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[2] Educational statistics not only for illiterate voters, but also for women interested Mrs. Catt over a period of years. After the United States had entered World War I, Secretary Daniels appointed Mrs. Catt chairman of the Educational Propaganda Committee of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense (New York Times, March 7, 1917, p. 11).

[3] Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 8.

[4] Ibid., p. 13.

solution of the reactionary problem if they had not been denied that responsibility by the very nature of the problem.

Mrs. Catt believed that women were interested in improving the welfare of the nation: "the improvement of the society;. . .the maintenance of high standards of manhood in political life; the establishment of progressive schools; the thoroughly intelligent care of the insane, defectives, criminals and paupers;. . .the abolition of the white slave traffic and child labor. . . ."[1] To combat social evils and to fulfill obligations to the government, women needed the ballot:

> It should be the duty of all who profit by the generous protection of the government, as it should be the privilege of those who may suffer by its oppression, to possess a ballot's share in the making of laws, in order that the beneficial ones may be perpetuated, the unjust ones corrected, and that new ones, representing the continual progress of thought toward higher things, may be the more quickly established.
>
> If the millions of club women in the United States could enforce their hope for better things by the ballot, there is no ideal which would be impossible of attainment.[2]

If, Mrs. Catt suggested, women could "alter conditions," without the "necessity of securing the passage of new laws," the ballot possibly would not be needed. However, "the indirect method of influencing legislation is by petition and personal persuasion, and these alone are open to women. . . .Women get some concessions without the ballot. They have secured the passage of many laws, but most of them have come through painful effort."[3] She recognized that "men, with the ballot, do not get all

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Ballot is Power," speech delivered before the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Educator, No. 14, (undated--likely before 1920), p. 1.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

they ask, but in the long run, the direct method of a vote wins far more results than the indirect method of petition and persuasion." Mrs. Catt believed that women needed the ballot not only because it was a power but also because it was "the most effective, most dignified, most self-respecting means of exerting an influence" toward improving the society in which people live.[1]

As women began to obtain the right to vote Mrs. Catt utilized improvements attributed to the influence of women's newly gained power to illustrate their need of the ballot. For example, she pointed out that the ballot had enabled the women in Caldwell, Idaho, to defeat the gamblers; in Norway, it had made possible a home for the poor girls of the streets.[2] New Zealand, where women had voted since 1893, had the lowest infant mortality rate in the world. Kansas, Wyoming, and Washington demonstrated that the equal suffrage record is a record of "humanizing legislation":

> [The record shows] better living conditions without increasing the cost of government. [sic.] It is a record of thrift. . . .Elections are cleaner, polling places more decent and at a less pro rata cost than in states where men only vote. Taxation is demonstrably lower and state debts on the decrease in most of the states where men and women are working side by side for a better government.[3]

Since women were progressing educationally and were interested in improving the welfare of the nation they needed the ballot to counteract reactionary forces. For Mrs. Catt believed the ballot to be the most

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[1]Ibid.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Equal Suffrage," Clarksburg, West Virginia, August 3, 1916. Daily Telegram, August 4, 1916, pp. 1, 3, 9.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, Notes from Speech at the Suffrage Conference in Maine (New York: Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, 1917), p. 1.

effective means for influencing changes in a democracy.

Democratic inconsistencies.--As women went on spending money and energy in the struggle for a right considered basic in a democratic government, Mrs. Catt repeatedly pointed out the inconsistencies in the American policy of the continued refusal to enfranchise women. In 1913 she commented that more naturalized men had been granted the right to vote during the last twenty years than there were women of the voting age at the beginning of that period. Yet men had refused women the ballot, saying: "There are too many of you."[1] Frequently she stated that the principle of "taxation without representation is tyranny" had prompted America to grant the ballot to all people of this nation over twenty-one years of age, except women.[2]

It seemed to Mrs. Catt that the reputation of America as a democratic nation depended upon the enfranchisement of women:

> It was this country that led the world in teaching the idea of "government of the people" and there is no nation anywhere in the world which has gained an extended suffrage for men that has not won it as the result of the unanswerable logic of our own Declaration of Independence. It is humiliating to American women to see that our country only boasts of its democracy and allows itself to be outdone by monarchies in the actual demonstration of the thing we profess.[3]

In both addresses, the one to Congress in 1917 and to the Legislatures in 1919, she spent some time in developing the premise that "leadership of the United States in world democracy compels the enfranchisement

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[1]New York Times, November 20, 1913.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., 1917), p. 1.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Mrs. Catt's Address," Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, March 7, 1916, p. 1.

of its own women."[1] She reasoned that since the American principles had become the issue of World War I, and since other nations were beginning to enfranchise their women:

> Any man with red American blood in his veins, any man who has gloried in our history and has rejoiced that our land was the leader of world democracy, will share with us the humbled national pride that our country has so long delayed action upon this question that another country has beaten us in what we thought was our especial world mission.[2]

Other nations had considered America an example in the democratic form of government. To maintain this respect in practice as well as in theory, the United States must enfranchise women.

The preceding compendium, to a certain extent, approaches Mrs. Catt's chronological order of presenting her premises and arguments over a period of about thirty-two years. Her most detailed discussions of the subject of evolution occurred in her early speeches. This social philosophy was basic to most of her speeches throughout her life. The treatment of the reactionary attitude toward democracy was especially significant to the early part of the need issue. When addressing women she often devoted the entire speech to a discussion of woman's progress toward enfranchisement. Other aspects of the improved status of women were presented occasionally in her early speeches. During World War I the women's contribution to the war and the idea that the United States was losing prestige as a democratic nation became two of Mrs. Catt's most important arguments in pressing her cause to victory.

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit. (copy in Appendix); An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Ibid., p. 6.

Logical Proof

Patterns of Reasoning

It will be the purpose of this portion of the chapter to analyze the methods by which Mrs. Catt endeavored to give logical validity to her beliefs when treating the need of the ballot issue. This criticism is accomplished by consideration of the following questions: Is the structure of the argument deductive, inductive, or both? What kinds of reasoning are used and how are they developed? Do they appear logically adequate in representative examples of her reasoning? (That is, in accordance with traditional tests of reasoning obtainable in standard rhetorical works.) By what methods does she support her arguments? What is the nature of the refutation used?

Deductive reasoning.--Mrs. Catt considered her campaign speeches for woman suffrage to be based upon the following reasoning: "Women are taxed; women are people; therefore, women should vote."[1] This statement may be reduced to a syllogistic form, thus: People who are taxed should vote; women are taxed; therefore, women should vote. The validity of this syllogism rests upon the assumption: People who are taxed should vote. Mrs. Catt chose a major premise established for the American male voters and applied it to the women. American audiences accepted her major premise as valid, leaving her with one basic contention: women are people.

After reading Mrs. Catt's woman suffrage speeches one may easily conclude that the preceding reasoning was one facet of a broader

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview, September, 1943.

enthymeme:[1] Political evolution has gained natural liberties including the ballot for people; since women are people they have a natural right to the ballot. Upon this major assumption Mrs. Catt needed only to prove that women and men should have the same natural political rights. This reasoning occurred in at least seven of the thirty speeches treating the need issue.

Major parts of five of these speeches were developed by hypothetical enthymemes. An example is of this order--if we can educate the illiterate voter, we can relieve the reactionary attitude toward democracy and thereby gain the ballot for women.[2] Three of these speeches contained disjunctive enthymemes. For instance she devoted one entire speech to the idea that either women are inferior to men or they are not.[3]

Occasionally Mrs. Catt cast an entire speech into a soritical pattern. Two in this group are worthy of special observation. In the "Will of the People" Mrs. Catt deduced: The will of the people is surely destined to be the future sovereign of the world; women are people; therefore women will be a part of the future sovereignty. The first line of reasoning follows the progress of man's thinking in bringing about universal man suffrage; the second pursues the reduction of the opposition to woman suffrage until "one powerful obstacle, sex-prejudice" remains.[4]

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[1]The term enthymeme is used throughout this study in the Aristotelian sense as explained by James H. McBurney, "The Place of the Enthymeme in Rhetorical Theory," Speech Monographs, III (1936), 49-74.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "For a Better America," circa 1917.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--first sentence in the undated manuscript).

[4]Catt, "The Will of the People" (1910), op. cit., pp. 595-602.

In the speech "The Ballot is Power," the listener was offered a soritical thought pattern: Anyone who is interested in altering conditions in society must secure the passage of new laws; women are interested in altering conditions in society; therefore, women must be able to secure the passage of new laws by voting.[1]

In the need issue Mrs. Catt gave about half of her attention to developing her arguments by deductive reasoning. A part of this was in combination with inductive reasoning. Her basic arguments were cast into categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive patterns. She gave preference to categorical and hypothetical structure. Two complete speeches were almost entirely soritical in development.

Inductive reasoning.--About half of the speeches on the need issue were inductive in structure, either wholly or in part. The contents of these speeches were taken from the history of both the man and the woman suffrage movements. In nine of Mrs. Catt's inductive speeches she used many examples or specific instances to build a cumulative effect. In her annual addresses to the audiences of American women she usually gave detailed reports of the progress of woman suffrage for the preceding year, concluding with a description of proposed activities for the near future. Her biennial addresses to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance accumulated specific instances and examples of women's progress throughout the entire world, concluding with suggestions of work yet to be done. For example, in her Amsterdam speech she devoted the major portion of the speech to detailed accounts of what each nation was doing to promote woman suffrage and from these experiences she drew inferences to

[1]Catt, "The Ballot is Power" (undated), op. cit., p. 1.

be applied to plans for the future.[1] Since she gathered these reports from the various national presidents, her generalizations were probably acceptable to her audience as logically sound.

Inductive reasoning was preferred when addressing women, but occasionally it seemed appropriate to her when speaking to Congressmen where her habit was to use deductive arguments. For example, for the House Judiciary Committee, in 1902, she gave many illustrations of the increasing interest in self-government in different parts of the world in order to prove the inevitability of woman suffrage.[2]

Mrs. Catt seemed to prefer categorical and hypothetical enthymemes to disjunctive but employed all patterns of reasoning at some time in this issue. Two of the thirty speeches were entirely soritical in structure. Nine of the speeches addressed to women auditors were developed by induction composed of specific instances culminating into a conclusion. Those addressed to mixed audiences or Congressmen relied chiefly on analogy. In about a third of the thirty speeches there was a combination of inductive and deductive reasoning.

Kinds of Arguments

Just as Mrs. Catt used a fairly equal distribution of inductive and deductive structure of argument with some integration of the two in treating the need issue, so she approached a similar distribution in her

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[1]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit.,--an example.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives, February 18, 1902. Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 54.

use of argument from analogy, causal relation, and example, the three kinds of arguments most frequently used. To identify her causes and effects she employed an occasional argument from sign. The four speeches of this group delivered to men contained about an equally proportioned amount of argument from causal relation, extended analogy, and example. Ten speeches delivered to mixed audiences gave about the same emphasis to causal relation as to extended analogy. Of six speeches delivered to international audiences, one was an extended analogy and five were developed from examples. Ten other speeches delivered chiefly to women audiences were basically causal relation combined with extended analogy.

Except for the international speeches the arguments of this issue were basically of this manner: The progress of democratic liberties cause women to recognize by sign that they should have natural rights. By means of an extended analogy the progress of women is shown to differ from the progress of men in gaining suffrage rights. By sign argument current circumstances give evidence that women will gain the ballot.

For this issue four topics were often subjected to analogous reasoning: man and woman suffrage, two or more social movements, the past and the present, and nations granting woman suffrage. In each argument likenesses and differences were developed along with the relation of the analogy to the generalization. For example, in Mrs. Catt's first address before the International Alliance she presented man and woman suffrage as being alike in the two essentials of liberty: Taxation only with representation and "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."[1] They were alike, further, she explained, in

[1]Catt, "President's Annual Address" (1902), op. cit., pp. 29-30.

that "woman suffrage must meet precisely the same objections which have been urged against man suffrage," but different in that women "must combat sex-prejudice."[1] Mrs. Catt reasoned that since women are people the "sex-prejudice" objection was irrelevant, and that the inevitable conclusion was that woman suffrage was "a logical step. . .hard upon the track of the man suffrage movement."[2]

In another analogy she asked that the difference element be the determining factor in accepting her proposed generalization. Woman's demand for the ballot, she contended, did not differ from the demand for an education or the right to enter a profession. The difference was in the possible manner of achieving the goal. To admit a woman to a college or to a profession was a matter of changing a custom, but to acquire the right to vote was a legal concern. Upon this difference rested the generalization that women should be enfranchised by a federal amendment.[3]

As related to the need issue, the pattern of cause-to-effect reasoning as used by Mrs. Catt stems principally from two topics: those causes that prompted her and other women to work for the ballot, and those causes that prevented women from obtaining the ballot. At times she referred to the desire of women to improve the society of mankind, and to achieve natural rights for women in all phases of life as the cause which prompted them to work for the ballot. In discussing the

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[1]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 14.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, Address to NAWSA, 1897, Anthony and Harper, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

adequacy of the ballot to gain the improvements desired by women, she admitted that it could not "get all," but that it was the "most effective" means for exerting influence."[1]

Repeatedly when discussing those causes that had prevented women from obtaining enfranchisement, she included the reactionary attitude which had resulted from advancing the ballot to illiterate men, the attitude of those men who considered women to be their inferiors, and all obstacles that had confronted men in self-government.

Mrs. Catt discussed the adequacy of the causes in the production of respective effects in most of the twelve speeches using this kind of reasoning. For example, much statistical data were produced to show that the illiterate vote was preventing the enfranchisement of women. While Mrs. Catt felt that women had sufficient proof that corrupt forces were controlling the illiterate vote, she admitted that the practices were executed in "secret" making the cause to the effect relation "invisible."[2]

"The opposition to the enfranchisement of women," Mrs. Catt remarked, "is the last defense of the old theory that obedience is necessary for women."[3] In explaining the adequacy of this cause in the prevention of the enfranchisement of women, she pointed to the gradual weakening of the argument throughout the past centuries. "The newer doctrine," she said, "is that men and women are equal halves of the

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[1]Catt, "The Ballot is Power" (undated), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 3; also, Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 132-159.

[3]Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), op. cit., p. 2.

race."[1]

Arguments from sign stemmed from Mrs. Catt's interpretations of responses to the woman suffrage cause and from her confidence that women would win the ballot. Those arguments from sign based upon the inevitability of woman suffrage increased in frequency as she approached her goal. Often sign recognition and causal relation arguments overlapped: "Woman suffrage is inevitable. Three distinct causes make it so."[2] The time relation in an argument from sign was of significance and occasionally was pointed to in a direct statement as in her Budapest address when speaking of the progress of woman suffrage in the Western world:

> For a century the thought of the civilized world has been making ready for this time, and now upon the wall of progress the handwriting has been chiselled large and clear: "Governments take heed, womsuffrage is bound to come, when are you going to act?"
>
> Probably there is no more certain indication of the status of our movement today than the attitude of Governments when they read that handwriting. When movements are new and weak, Parliaments laugh at them; when they are in their educational stages, Parliaments meet them with silent contempt; when they are ripe and ready to become law, Parliaments evade responsibility. Our movement has reached the last stage. The history of the past two years has demonstrated that fact beyond the shadow of a doubt. Parliaments have stopped laughing at woman suffrage, and politicians have begun to dodge! It is the inevitable premonition of coming victory.[3]

In almost every speech developing a generalization Mrs. Catt introduced exceptional instances with an analysis as to why they were exceptions. For example, when speaking of the corrupt control of the illiterate voter she stated that she was aware that there were men who

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

[2] Carrie Chapman Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States, February, 1919 (New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., 1919), p. 1.

[3] Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 2.

"hate bribery and false methods." "But," she explained, "when the time for action appears, these same men grow halting and cowardly, for after all, they are not sure that in the final test their own, and not the rival party, would lose the more votes through such restrictions."[1]

In the six speeches Mrs. Catt developed entirely by induction she cited many examples. These examples gave evidence of being representative to her conclusions in that they were often distributed geographically and drawn from events in history pertinent to her generalizations. Both positive and negative cases were included and the examples clearly exhibited the relation that was being generalized. In her fundamental argument that women needed the ballot she enumerated each class or group of men who had been enfranchised. She named the exceptional cases: "Some States deny the voting right to paupers, idiots, insane, and criminals."[2] She generalized that since suffrage in the United States is universal for men it should become universal for people by including women.[3] In other arguments from example she did not necessarily name all cases, but it was her habit to use many representative instances, to state exceptions, and to relate them to the generalization.

In the need issue Mrs. Catt often constructed her arguments by analogy, by causal relation, and by example. At times she developed them from sign. In analogies, essential likenesses were pointed out and differences became basic in forming the generalization in most cases. Her

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[1]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 14.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

[3]Ibid., pp. 4 ff.

speeches developed by causal relation provided for interventions between cause and effect and estimated the strength of the causes. When arguing from example she relied upon many cases, both positive and negative, which were related to the generalization. In sign arguments consideration at times was given to the reciprocal relation between the sign and the event. The latter kind of reasoning was frequently suggested rather than stated in a direct manner.

Methods of Support

As used in this study methods of support refer to types of speech materials used to amplify, clarify, or prove a statement, including definition, analogy, illustration, specific instances, testimony, restatement, imagery, quotation, and statistics. When Mrs. Catt wished either to clarify or to prove her premises, she gave evidence upon different occasions of being capable of resorting to almost every kind of support. Most frequently, however, she relied upon historical data pertaining to political, social, and educational forces, and at times she quoted statistical materials liberally.

A tabulation approximating the amount of kinds of support used by Mrs. Catt in the need issue reveals her emphasis to be of this order: She devoted more than half of her time to the presentation of examples and specific instances from history or from the testimony of her co-workers. In three of these speeches she gave slightly less than half of the time to the development of statistical data. Authorities were quoted at intervals in a majority of her speeches for the purpose of establishing a basis for further reasoning. Present in parts of different speeches,

in small amounts, were narratives, analogies of a supporting type, imagery, slogans, restatements, and rhetorical questions.

The amount of support used varied. Occasionally the available copy of a reported speech is composed of compact reasoning largely soritical in nature with very little support. There is always the possibility that the recorder reported her logic but omitted her support. Copies of about eight speeches are composed almost wholly of supporting material with implied or briefly stated arguments. These were addressed to audiences of women. One may reasonably conclude that she felt little opposition from these audiences and that her purpose was chiefly evocative rather than argumentative. The desire to keep the women informed concerning the status quo of suffrage may have led her to quote extensively for them from statistical data.[1]

When discussing historical data Mrs. Catt frequently quoted authorities acceptable to the majority of American audiences. Upon a number of occasions she quoted or paraphrased a part of the Constitution of the United States[2] and the Declaration of Independence.[3] She referred to Presidents of the United States, especially Presidents Lincoln and Wilson.[4] Statements made by Senators supporting the woman suffrage cause

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[1]Ibid., passim; "How the Vote Came to Men" (February, 1920), op. cit.; many others.

[2]Catt, Statement from "Senate Hearing," 1910, Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage, op. cit., V, 745; also, "Hearing before the House Suffrage Committee" (1918), op. cit., p. 131.

[3]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 1; "The Will of the People" (1910), op. cit., pp. 595-602; An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Ibid.

were repeated; remarks opposed were given less attention.[1] When Mrs. Catt quoted extensively from authorities, she more often than not stated the source and at times explained why she considered it authentic. For example, when quoting governmental statistics concerning the illiteracy of different classes of people as distributed in the several areas of the United States and the number of men of voting age,[2] she was careful to document the name of the commissioner who released the data and the date of the census.[3] She stated sources less frequently when quoting the figures on the results of a state referendum, or data on the internal working of the woman suffrage organization such as the number of workers, signers of petitions, dollars spent, and leaflets circulated.[4] Since she was president, both national and international, it may be assumed that such data were at her command at the national Woman Suffrage office in New York City.

When she discussed the philosophy of natural rights she quoted the Bible[5] and frequently referred to such men as Herbert Spencer, John

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[1] Ibid.; also "They Shall Not Pass," The Woman Citizen, III (February 15, 1919), 774-75, and An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., p. 3.

[2] Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., passim; also "Senate Hearing," 1910, Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage, op. cit., V, 745.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Carrie Chapman Catt, "Speech before Congressional Convention," December 15, 1915, Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage, op. cit., V, passim.

[5] Carrie Chapman Catt, "Mrs. Catt's Acceptance of the Presidency," NAWSA (1900), Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 372 ff.

Locke,[1] John Stuart Mill,[2] and her contemporary, David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University.[3] Macauley was often quoted for his skepticism about democracy.[4]

At times Mrs. Catt quoted or paraphrased poetry as a part of her supporting materials. At Budapest when emphasizing the solidarity in the interests of women everywhere, she stated that she could not accept Kipling's idea:

> The East is East and West is West,
> And ne'er shall this twain meet.[5]

In her Stockholm address she closed her speech with a quotation from George Linnaeus Banks, "What I Live For," as encouragement to the women to adjust themselves to the new order of problems in their suffrage cause.[6] The fact that this same quotation occurs in a number of Mrs. Catt's speeches suggests that it held some significant meaning for her. The part quoted is as follows:

> To the wrong that needs resistance,
> To the right that needs assistance,
> To the future in the distance
> We give ourselves.

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[1]Catt, "The Mission of a Republic" (1892), op. cit., p. 187.

[2]Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), op. cit., p. 2.

[3]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 15.

[6]Carrie Chapman Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? President's Address, delivered at Stockholm, Sweden, sixth IWSA, June 13, 1911 (London: Woman's Printing Society, Ltd., June, 1911), p. 14.

Even though much of the proof that woman suffrage was progressing was evident primarily from Mrs. Catt's observations of the movement, she seldom made reference to her personal experiences. An exception to this practice occurred in a speech opposing the liquor interests in which she narrated an incident that had caused her to determine to get rid of saloons by acquiring the power of the ballot.[1]

Occasionally she used a narrative for support such as the story of an Italian perfumer who placed in his window a placard announcing that "men know all there is to be known about a great many subjects; women know all there is to be known about other subjects; men and women together know all there is to be known about all subjects."[2] From this story she supported the argument that "no government is a government of the people if it does not put into the ballot box all the wisdom of all the people."[3] The amount of time Mrs. Catt gave to this type of story was brief in comparison to her extensive use of examples and specific instances.

Almost all of the supporting material in this group of speeches was of a serious nature. What humor she did present was rather subtle. She once stated: "That there are honest politicians all admit; the difficulty lies in separating the sheep from the goats, they look so very much alike."[4] In the same speech she quoted a Western railroad president

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address," Delivered at the ninth Triennial Convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Association, Academy of Music, Brooklyn, October 24, 1913, New York Times, October 25, 1913, pp. 1-2.

[2]Catt, "Mrs. Catt's Address" (March 7, 1916), op. cit., p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 2.

[4]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 2.

as saying, "'We do not buy votes at the polls; we let the voters elect the legislature and then we buy the legislature. It is cheaper and less trouble.'"[1]

When describing English government officials as needing protection from the militant women suffragists, she evoked an image of "the Premier of England hiding behind locked doors, skulking along side streets, and guarded everywhere by officers, lest an encounter with a feminine interrogation point should put him to rout."[2]

To dramatize the inconsistency of the opponent's argument that "woman's place is in the home, Mrs. Catt narrated an incident wherein all women who worked out of the home threatened a strike on a specific day. The protests from the employers made it obvious that men were not actually willing for women to remain in the home.[3] In a speech delivered principally as an open-forum before the House Suffrage Committee, Mrs. Catt stressed each point with a twist of humor and her audience responded with hearty laughter and applause.[4] When asked what women need protection against, she quickly retorted, "men," and then proceeded to explain why.[5]

Other items of support used infrequently included aphorisms, maxims, proverbs, slogans, and visual aids. "Taxation without representation," is possibly her most frequently used aphorism. To illustrate the

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[1]Ibid., p. 14.

[2]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., p. 6.

[3]Catt, "Mrs. Catt's Address" (March 7, 1916), op. cit., p. 8.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Hearing before the House Suffrage Committee," January 12, 1918. Reported in The Woman Citizen, II (January 12, 1918), 130-31.

[5]Ibid.

fallacy in the thinking of men she quoted the Confucian proverb that "A woman owes three obediences: first to her father, second to her husband, and after his death, to her son."[1] Her slogans were short, euphonious, and easy to remember, as "In union there is strength,"[2] "failure is impossible,"[3] and "Those who are not for us, are against us."[4] As a visual aid she sometimes used a large map of those sections of the country mentioned in her speech.[5]

Mrs. Catt gave evidence upon different occasions of being capable of resorting to almost every type of support. Most frequently, however, she relied upon specific instances and examples taken from historical data pertaining to political, social, and educational forces and she at times quoted statistical materials liberally.

Refutation

Mrs. Catt considered that her opposition was composed of two forces--the liquor and the anti-suffragists--linked together in aim but separated by many differences. She spoke of the liquor forces as the "invisible enemy":

> The open campaign of self-defense conducted by the liquor forces can be respected as the unquestioned privilege and right of all who seek to convince public opinion. The point at issue is that the

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[1]Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 10.

[3]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1913), op. cit., p. 5.

[4]Catt, "The Ballot is Power" (undated), op. cit., p. 1.

[5]Catt, "Equal Suffrage" (August 3, 1916), op. cit., pp. 1, 3, 9.

> liquor interests did not rely upon open propaganda but upon secret maneuvers for results, and in this field no moral law, no democratic principle, no right of majorities was recognized. While its activities were suspected by all observers of political events, proof was lacking, and its power was so intricately bound up with partisan politics that none but the Prohibitionists, and not all of them, dared proclaim the truth.[1]

Mrs. Catt's position in confronting the liquor forces seemed rather precarious. They had presented no open argument for refutation. To bring attack upon them tended to complicate the woman suffrage struggle by subjecting the woman suffrage organization to the same opposition aimed at the prohibitionists.

> Men indifferent to suffrage but hostile to prohibition were rendered impervious to the suffrage appeal, and men hostile to prohibition but in favor of suffrage were frightened by the continual insistence of liquor workers that woman suffrage meant the speedier coming of prohibition.[2]

Mrs. Catt felt that the suffragist women should be educated regarding this opposition,[3] and she likewise presented the cases before the United States Congressmen with a hope that they might visualize the unfairness of the situation,[4] but in the large Mrs. Catt's speeches on the need issue were principally constructive argument with a minimum amount of attack.

The other organized opposition to suffrage came from the Man Suffrage Association Opposed to Women and the Association Opposed to Suffrage

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 158.

[2]Ibid., p. 279.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, President's Address, NAWSA, New Orleans, Louisiana, March, 1903, passim.

[4]Catt, "Speech before Congressional Convention" (December 15, 1915), op. cit., V, 752.

for Women. The latter group was composed of women. Their arguments were principally that "the majority of women did not want the vote; therefore none should have it"; that "'woman's place was in the home,'" and that "women were incompetent to vote."[1] The women "Antis" aroused the tempers of the suffragists at the Legislative hearings by requesting that half of the time be given to them; so the Legislative Committees divided the time equally between the two women groups leaving the men to act as judges of the conflict.[2] "Probably the worst damage that the women antis did," according to Mrs. Catt, "was to give unscrupulous politicians a respectable excuse for opposing suffrage, and to confuse public thinking by standing conspicuously in the lime light while the potent enemy worked in darkness."[3]

The remonstrances of the anti-suffrage forces readily became slogans on the lips of the educated as well as the uneducated. Mrs. Catt remarked that Mr. Wickersham and a Negro servant of Mary Johnston, the writer, used the same argument against woman suffrage: "the place for woman is in the home."[4] In early speeches she gave these anti-suffrage charges more attention than she did in speeches delivered toward the completion of the movement. For example, in 1903, she answered seven of their arguments that had been published in a pamphlet in 1890:[5]

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 271-72.

[2]Ibid., p. 272.

[3]Ibid., p. 273.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address," Speech to raise money for Amendment Campaign, New York City, New York, October 9, 1915, New York Times, October 10, 1915, p. 17.

[5]Catt, "President's Address" (March, 1903), op. cit.

"If women vote, it would lead to the disruption of the home and an increase in divorce." To this charge Mrs. Catt replied that according to the 1890 census, divorce had increased only one-half as fast as population in Wyoming where women vote.[1] She denied the charge that women in the suffrage states were becoming "masculine and unsexed," for suffragists were receiving "hundreds of letters attesting to its success."[2] She attempted to expose the weaknesses in the argument that "women did not know enough to vote" by quoting the 1898 statistics as reported by the Commissioner of Education that more women than men could read and write."[3] Sixteen years later she stated: "Thousands of women annually emerging from the schools and colleges have closed the debate upon the one-time serious 'they don't know enough' argument."[4] In answering the charge that "women do not want to vote, why thrust the suffrage upon them?" she replied with the analogy that "the incontrovertible fact is that no class of unenfranchised men in any land ever wanted the ballot in such large proportion to the total number as do women of the United States; nor is there a single instance of a man suffrage movement, so persistent, uncompromising and self-sacrificing as the woman suffrage movement." She then proposed a counter-argument, "Why demand of women a test never made of men?" Then with an argumentum ad hominem she concluded, "the same type of women who now protest against the extension of the suffrage, have

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 6.

opposed with equal vigor every step of progress in the woman movement."[1] This statement was followed by a number of illustrations. In 1919 she endeavored to reduce the argument that "women do not want the ballot" to a residue by piling up evidence obtained in the form of petitions--a favorite form with Mrs. Catt. Her refutation was as follows:

> The million and fifteen thousand women of New York; the two hundred and two thousand women of Michigan, the sixty-five thousand women of Oklahoma, the thirty-eight thousand women of Maine, the fifty thousand women of South Dakota, who signed a declaration that they wanted the vote, plus the heavy vote of women in every State and country where women have franchisement, have finally and completely disposed of the familiar "they don't want it" argument.[2]

Before women had gained recognition in World War I services, Mrs. Catt met the argument "women cannot fight, and therefore must not vote" by turning tables upon the motive of the opponent: "the ballot is based on the bullet and in the end government is force." Then occasionally she turned her invective upon those promoting this argument: "This objection is much effected by clergymen and editors whose occupation exempts them from military service, and by writers and scholars whose physical incompetence would excuse them from the draft."[3] Attacking the inconsistency of the argument she said,

> It is curious that this objection should be urged against woman suffrage in peaceful America, since willingness and ability to bear arms have never been made a voting qualification for men. In no land is military service a qualification for the vote, while in some lands soldiers and officers are disenfranchised while on duty.[4]

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[1]Catt, "The Will of the People" (1910), op. cit., p. 599.

[2]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 6.

[3]Catt, "President's Address" (March, 1903), op. cit.

[4]Catt, "The Will of the People" (1910), op. cit., p. 601.

Social conditions during World War I gave her opportunity to dismiss this argument with more finality. In reply to the same charge she quoted a notable opponent:

> The world's war had killed, buried and pronounced the obsequies upon the hard-worked "war argument." Mr. Asquith, erstwhile champion anti-suffragist of the world, has said so and the British Parliament has confirmed it by its enfranchisement of British women.[1]

As to the "Bible argument" she contended women closed it when they demanded "the book and verse in the Bible which gave men the vote, declaring that the next verse gave it to women."[2]

Mrs. Catt's refutation for the need issue concerned two forces--the liquor and the anti-suffragists. The nature of the attack of the liquor forces made Mrs. Catt somewhat hesitant to attack them openly. She chose, most often, to reduce the arguments of the anti-suffragists to the absurd, to turn tables, and to point out their inconsistencies. Almost half of these speeches contained almost no direct refutation. That used was addressed to audiences of different types. When given a special consideration in the speech, refutation was customarily placed in the speech just before her conclusion.

Emotional Proof

"There is not as yet a generally accepted classification of basic needs or drives," Sherif states.[3] He also considers the subject of

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit.

[2]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 6.

[3]Muzafer Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1948), p. 20.

emotions as almost "baffling."[1] The choice of emotions and impelling motives used here are necessarily arbitrary but they seem appropriate for this particular study. Emotional components include love--hate, boldness --fear, joy or elation--anger, pride--shame, kindness--cruelty, pity--contempt or indignation, envy, and disgust.

Impelling motives used as a pattern of persuasion assist the speaker in directing, controlling, or influencing behavior by associating the listener's desires with the speaker's ideas. One useful classification of these motives is as follows: (1) Subsistence motives: organic and economic motives; (2) social approval motives: desire to belong, loyalty to family, etc., and reputation or social recognition; (3) conformity motives: fear of blame, punishment, or social disapproval, and desire to live up to expectations; (4) mastery motives: desire to excel, to rival, to compete, to dominate, to lead, to gain prestige, to seek authority, freedom, independence, and pride, self-respect, and courage; (5) sex motives; (6) mixed motives: security, acquisitive wants, affections, adventure or curiosity, creativeness or achievement, self-esteem, honor or duty, fairplay or justice, altruism, sympathy, pity and reverence.[2]

An examination of Mrs. Catt's use of emotion indicates that in those speeches dealing with the progress of women or the possible accomplishments of women her emotional proofs involved pride and elation or joy.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 31.

[2] Winston Lamont Brembeck and William Smiley Howell, Persuasion (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), pp. 83-91.

[3] Catt, "President's Address" (March, 1903), op. cit.; Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit.; Is Woman Suffrage

But when she stressed the incompleted tasks of the women there were times when she became impatient and indignant at the external forces that curtailed advancement.[1] Similarly she seemed to desire her audiences of men to recognize that she was only a representative making known to them the impatience and indignation of millions of women.[2] Not often did Mrs. Catt support her appeals with the emotion of fear, but occasionally she expressed a concern for the future of America as in this instance: "Every man should blush with shame at the political life of this country. We must make this country better, or this Republic will fall. That is not a truism, but what every thinking man and woman believes."[3]

It was Mrs. Catt's habit when addressing women to appeal to the mastery motive by encouraging them to sense self-respect and pride in their past accomplishments and by stimulating them to seek prestige, authority, freedom, and independence in a continued effort to secure the ballot. Pride was shown in her Amsterdam speech when she stated:

> The progress of our cause has been so rapid, the gains so substantial, the assurance of coming victory so certain, that we may imagine the noble and brave pioneers of woman suffrage, the men and women who were the torch-bearers of our movement, gathering today in some far-off celestial sphere, and singing together a glad paean of

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Progressing? (June 13, 1911), op. cit.; Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit.; Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title --undated manuscript), op. cit.

[1]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (June 13, 1911), op. cit.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address at Thanksgiving Rally," Carnegie Hall, New York City, New York, November 19, 1913. New York Times, November 20, 1913, p. 3.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address at Mass Meeting," Great Baptist Temple, Brooklyn, New York, November 1, 1913. New York Times, November 20, 1913, p. 3.

exultation.[1]

Independence and freedom were considered to be the goals of those who were willing to master the opposition as indicated when addressing the women in Budapest:

> The women of the Western world are escaping from the thraldom of the centuries. Their souls have been exalted by the breath of freedom, and afar off they have seen the Great Promise of their emancipation and the consequent more effective service to their children and the race. Everywhere in our Western world they are straining hard at the bonds which hold them in tutelage to worn-out custom, and here and there they have burst them wide asunder. The liberation of Western women is certain; a little more agitation, a little more struggle, a little more enlightenment, and it will come.[2]

When pointing out that women could gain prestige, power, and authority she made a statement of this order: "Whenever any woman or organization of women, interested in any charity, philanthropy, or reform, seeks to alter conditions, they sooner or later meet the necessity of securing the passage of new laws. . . .The ballot is power."[3]

Most of the speeches addressed to women also had an appeal to the social approval motives, including not only a desire to belong to the woman suffrage organization but also to the men's political organizations. Much of the conclusion of the Amsterdam speech contained an emotional build-up stimulating the loyalty of the women for their woman suffrage organization.[4] In 1897 she told the women, "men and women are inextricably

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[1]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 15.

[3]Catt, "The Ballot is Power" (undated), op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., pp. 12-13.

bound together,"[1] but maintained that women should receive social and political recognition comparable to that of men.[2]

Mrs. Catt often turned to mixed motives as sources of emotional appeal, as illustrated in the following appeal for justice:

> In peaceable communities the ballot is the weapon by means of which they [men] are protected. We find, as women citizens, that when we are wronged, when our rights are infringed upon, inasmuch as we have not this weapon with which to defend them, they are not considered, and we are very many times imposed upon. We find that the true liberty of the American people demands that all citizens to whom these rights have been accorded should have that weapon.[3]

The unfairness of women's having been left out in the natural progress of democracy is basic to the entire theme of her President's Address of 1904. Altruism, another mixed motive, was stressed in her International addresses. She stated it to be the duty of the International Alliance to extend its helping hand to the women of every nation and every people.[4] She pleaded for mercy and sympathy for "the helpless cry of those lost women who had been the victims of centuries of wrong":

> It is the unspoken plea of thousands of women now standing on the brink of similar ruin; it is the silent appeal of the army of women in all lands who in shops and factories are demanding fair living and working conditions; it is the need to turn the energies of more favoured women to public service; it is the demand for a complete revision of women's legal, social, educational, and industrial status all along the line, which permits us no delay, no hesitation. The belief that we are defending the highest good of the mothers of our race and the ultimate welfare of society makes every sacrifice seem

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[1]Catt, Address to NAWSA (1897), op. cit., IV, 274.

[2]Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), op. cit., p. 1.

[3]Catt, "The Mission of a Republic" (1892), op. cit., p. 187.

[4]Catt, "President's Annual Address" (February, 1902), op. cit.; also, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 15.

trivial, every duty a pleasure.[1]

In like manner she appealed to the women gathered at Budapest: "Out of the richness of our own freedom must we give aid to these sisters of ours in Asia."[2]

Occasionally the speaker turned to the conformity motives as in the following instances: In 1902 she was asking the women to live up to the expectations of the pioneers in the suffrage movement.[3] When speaking of the progress of woman suffrage in Sweden and Denmark she contended that "the manner in which the problems involved in the woman suffrage situation shall be solved in these two countries will teach important lessons to workers for this cause throughout the world."[4] Frequently she spoke of the woman suffrage movement as conforming to or "pressing forward in the wake of the man suffrage movement, swept onward by its momentum, yet maintaining its own individuality."[5]

Those few times when the speaker turned to the subsistence motives she referred to the use of the ballot for protection,[6] the waste of time, energy, and money in effort to obtain the ballot, equal pay for

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[1]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[2]Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 15.

[3]Catt, "President's Annual Address" (February, 1902), op. cit.

[4]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., p. 4.

[5]Catt, "The Will of the People" (1910), op. cit., p. 595.

[6]Catt, "The Mission of a Republic" (1892), op. cit., and President's Address (March, 1903), op. cit.

equal work in employment, protection of health,[1] and better wages and shelter as possibilities resulting from the power of the ballot.[2]

In the need issue when Mrs. Catt attempted to reenforce her arguments by emotional proofs she habitually used the emotions of pride and joy for the purpose of encouraging women in their tasks; at times, she became impatient and indignant with men for delaying the goal; and even less frequently she resorted to the use of the emotion of fear concerning the future of democratic America.

Mrs. Catt made use of emotional appeals with the following frequency. Her most used motive was that of mastery wherein she urged women to seek prestige, authority, and freedom. Next in order of frequency was her appeal to social recognition and to mixed motives. Social approval motive was directed to women for the purpose of gaining support for the woman suffrage cause and for inspiring them to seek recognition in political parties. Before audiences of men she sought to gain their approval of women in political groups, to secure fair play and justice by granting enfranchisement to women, and to make secure the reputation of the United States as the leading democratic nation of the world. She employed the subsistence and conformity motives least of all. In none of these thirty speeches is there an appeal to what is commonly known as sex motives, yet she desired that her listeners recognize that women must be freed from sex-prejudice restrictions before they could gain the right to vote.

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[1]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., pp. 4, 12, 13.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Democracy is Indivisible" (About December, 1919), p. 1.

Ethical Proof

Much of the speaker's ethical persuasion is from indefinable traces in the speaker's character and personality and cannot be recovered from study of the printed speech. "Many indications of his trustworthiness can, however, be found in the printed text."[1] Aristotle designates character, intelligence, and good will as the three constituents of ethical proof.[2] Such questions as the following may assist in determining the speaker's assets: Does the speaker establish his authority or status with the audience? Does he manifest understanding of their way of life, their thoughts, and their problems? Is he given to dogmatism or exaggeration? Does he show a sense of humor? Does the speaker give evidence of being fair-minded, modest, self-respecting, and genial? Does he associate himself with ideas venerated by the audience? How does he bestow praise upon himself, his opposition, or cause? What attitude toward his opponents does he reveal? With what manner does he treat his audiences?[3]

Ethical proof as used by Mrs. Catt was frequently a suggested rather than a direct constituent in her speech content. An analysis of her speeches treating the need issue reveals a rather equal distribution of the elements of ethical proof--good will, intelligence, and character. Representative excerpts would involve long quotations. Consequently, explanations with brief examples of her usage will be given.

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[1]Parrish and Hochmuth, op. cit., p. 13.

[2]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, op. cit., II. 1. 92.

[3](Eclectic ideas) Sources: Ibid.; Parrish and Hochmuth, op. cit., p. 13; Winans, op. cit., pp. 378-403; Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., pp. 386-387.

In such ways as the following Mrs. Catt appears to have secured the good will of her audiences: She praised the cause and the women who were responsible for its progress in statements similar to this--"the progress of our cause has been so rapid, the gains so substantial, the assurance of coming victory so certain. . . ."[1] In 1915 the Congressional Committee responded with applause when Mrs. Catt praised their chairman for his "eloquent appeal to the citizens of Colorado for the votes of women there, and there were many who said that the speech he made turned the tide in that State and gave the women there the vote." In this instance, as in many others, she assured Congressmen of her confidence that they would "give a favorable report."[2]

Throughout her speaking career Mrs. Catt showed confidence in the majority of men as in this statement: "It [woman's cause] pins its faith to the fact that in the long run man is logical."[3] There were minority groups that she distrusted.[4] Frequently, examples of women's problems used in her speeches tend to suggest Mrs. Catt's sympathetic understanding of women working with her for the same cause. Possibly more tact and tolerance was needed to understand and to prevent friction between the militants and non-militants (suffragists) internationally.[5]

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[1]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, "Address," Congressional Committee (1915), op. cit., p. 6.

[3]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., p. 2.

[4]Catt, President's Annual Address (1904), op. cit., passim.

[5]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1913), op. cit., pp. 6-8; also, Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 159-162.

When Mrs. Catt utilized her personal experiences to establish herself as an authority, it was usually because these events were a part of the suffrage movement and therefore primary source testimony, as illustrated in her reference to her campaign in New Hampshire in 1903.[1] Frequent reports of the latest progress of women in many geographical areas seemed to give her recognition as an authority on that subject, especially since she had visited many of those areas.[2]

In establishing the trustworthiness of her character she called for a better society not only for women but also for the entire human race: "So through centuries if need be the education will continue, until a regenerated race of men and women who are equal before God and man shall control the destinies of the earth."[3] The need of a plan for educating the illiterate voter was a concern of Mrs. Catt.[4] She associated herself with that considered virtuous in such instances as when she asked that assistance be given those "women who had sold their virtue."[5]

Members of her audiences were impressed by her sincerity and her desire to deal with principles of action rather than personalities.[6] In this issue the usual absence of attacks upon individuals tends to be verified by Mrs. Catt's statement: "I cringe when I hear or read of the

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[1]Catt, President's Address (March, 1903), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit.

[3]Catt, "President's Annual Address" (1902), op. cit.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "For a Better America," circa, 1917, pp. 1-8; also, President's Annual Address (1904), op. cit., pp. 4-22.

[5]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[6]This study, Chapter II.

protagonists of a cause calling their opponents unpleasant names."[1] Rather, she spoke to her opponents in this manner: "You men are too belligerent to run the government alone, you have made business and politics of war."[2] "Every man should blush with shame at the political life of this country."[3] Occasionally she expressed contempt. In 1903, when addressing a National Woman Suffrage Convention, she spoke of her opponents as "poor benighted souls or rogues."[4] Upon a number of occasions she deprecated the argument of an individual as in this instance: "Mr. Wickersham and a negro servant. . .used the same argument against suffrage."[5] She rebuked Congressmen for delaying the amendment but praised them for their intelligence.[6]

An examination of Mrs. Catt's speeches treating the need issue reveals that she suggested much more ethical proof than she stated directly. Indirectly, at all times, her ideas provided approval for her cause and for those women who had assisted in its progress. When addressing Congressmen she, at times, praised them for their intelligence. Often the content of her speech suggested an understanding of one of her opponents, the illiterate voter. The problems of women were accepted as

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[1]Catt, "Why I Have Found Life Worth Living" (March 29, 1928), op. cit., p. 407.

[2]Catt, "Address" (October 9, 1915), op. cit., p. 17.

[3]Catt, "Address at Mass Meeting" (November 1, 1913), op. cit., p. 5.

[4]Catt, President's Address (March, 1903), op. cit.

[5]Catt, "Address" (October 9, 1915), op. cit., p. 17.

[6]Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (December 14, 1917), op. cit., pp. 22-24.

her principal responsibility before all kinds of audiences. Occasionally when addressing women, she expressed direct sympathy for those less fortunate women. Upon a few occasions she expressed contempt for her opponents. In most instances, when addressing Congressmen she rebuked them for their delay in granting women suffrage. In this issue she appeared to be more concerned with principals of action than with personalities. Her knowledge of the woman suffrage subject tended to establish her as an authority regarding that social movement.

Arrangement

In the analysis of Mrs. Catt's use of arrangement in her speeches treating the need of the ballot issue, two basic questions are asked: What is the basic pattern in the introduction, conclusion, and body of the speeches? How do these patterns affect or modify her use of invention?

Since Mrs. Catt frequently spoke extemporaneously, it is possible that other remarks preceded her speeches than those contained in the extant copies. In violation of a textbook standard her New Orleans Address, as reported, included an apology by Mrs. Catt for having been so pressed with the New Hampshire campaign that she did not offer a carefully prepared speech.[1]

In the examples that follow only a few first sentences are quoted, rather than complete introductions. The very first sentence was at times the statement of her subject: "Women are inferior to men or they are

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[1]Catt, "President's Address" (March, 1903), op. cit., p. 1.

not."[1] More often she presented the status quo:

> Whenever any woman or organization of women, interested in any charity, philanthropy or reform, seeks to alter conditions, they sooner or later meet the necessity of securing the passage of new laws. The indirect method of influencing legislation is by petition and personal persuasion, and these alone are open to women.[2]

At times she referred to the occasion or to a personal matter, or she quoted a statement which could be expected to stir the feelings of her audience: "In the debate upon the Woman Suffrage Bill in the Swedish Parliament, a few weeks ago, a University Professor said, in a tone of eloquent finality: 'The Woman Suffrage movement has reached and passed its climax; the suffrage wave is now rapidly receding.'"[3]

She attracted attention to the occasion in her address at Amsterdam: "It is a suggestive coincidence that the opening day of this Congress commemorates the anniversary of the signing of the immortal Magna Charta."[4] Or she gave continuity of one biennial congress to a preceding one: "The period which has elapsed since the last Congress has been one of phenomenal growth for our movement."[5]

In the extant copies of speeches Mrs. Catt's introductions were brief, except for two addressed to women, and, in most instances, pertained to her subject. The types varied with the different speeches. To quote

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[1]Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, "The Ballot is Power" (undated), op. cit., p. 1.

[3]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., p. 2.

[4]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., p. 1.

[5]Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 1.

complete conclusions would be rather space consuming. Brief excerpts illustrate the nature of her appeal. In her President's Annual Address, 1904, after Mrs. Catt had discussed the illiteracy problem and had offered suggested solutions, she challenged her audiences in this manner: "It is too late for regrets; our duty is to meet the present problem with a practical solution."[1] The future task of the women having been explained, in her international address, 1908, she summoned the women to cope with the task: "This means harder, more tactful, more persistent work."[2] For a similar purpose she ended another speech: "For every woman of every tribe and nation, every race and continent, now under the heel of oppression, we must demand deliverance."[3] In an earlier appeal she had stressed definite action: "We have come upon a new time, which has brought new and strange problems. Old problems have assumed new significance. In the adjustment of the new order of things we women demand an equal voice; we shall accept nothing less."[4]

In two speeches analyzed the enthymematic reasoning presented in the introduction was concluded in the final appeal. From the introductory disjunctive premise, "Women are inferior to men or they are not," she developed her proof and then reached this conclusion:

> A little more than a century ago, men asked: "Why are some men born to rule and others to obey?" The world answered by making

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[1]Catt, President's Annual Address (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 20.

[2]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., p. 13.

[3]Catt, Address of the President (June 15, 1913), op. cit., p. 15.

[4]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., p. 14.

> sovereigns of those who had been subjects and now we ask: "Why are men born to rule and women to obey?" There is but one answer which progress can give and that is, to lift the subject woman to the throne by the side of the subject and let them rule together.[1]

In "The Will of the People" she began:

> The evolution of society, leading unmistakably to governments "of the people, by the people, and for the people," has made a steady march forward since the days of the English Magna Charta, and in the eight centuries which lie between that date and this, it has known no pause.[2]

The conclusion of both this enthymeme and the speech reads:

> It is difficult to interpret the principle, "God created man free and equal," to mean men and women, but let not Americans forget that women are people, and that in a government which is alleged to derive its <u>just</u> powers from the consent of the governed, the ballot may not consistently be withheld from them.[3]

In the conclusion of more than half of these speeches treating the need issue Mrs. Catt presented to her auditors either a proposal or a challenge supported by a plea for action. Upon four occasions she summarized her arguments, on two others she offered advice, and another two closed with the conclusion of the enthymeme that had been basic to the entire speech. Most of the need issue speeches came to a climax in the final emotional appeal. In two, poems followed the climax.

In the body of nine of these speeches pertaining to the need of the ballot the listener was expected to reason by the process of the extended analogy which at the same time was the order of arrangement. The proof of an entire speech was often based upon comparison and contrast

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[1]Catt, Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 3.

[2]Catt, "The Will of the People" (1910), <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 595 ff.

[3]<u>Ibid.</u>

of the present with the past status of suffrage, the differences between the history of man suffrage and the history of woman suffrage, and the differences in the progress of woman suffrage in varied geographical areas.[1] Of the speeches that followed the problem-solution order of arrangement was her President's Annual Address of 1904. The topic pertained to the reactionary attitude of men toward universal suffrage. She presented the origin of the problem, its causes, and then offered seven solutions. Both time and cause-to-effect orders were used in this speech. Her speech "For a Better America" followed a similar pattern of arrangement. The "illiterate non-English speaking electorate was treated as a cause effecting a "menace to the American Institution."[2] Nine facets to the solution were offered. This speech made no appeal for specific action but closed with the focus of attention upon the patriotic American woman, apparently intending to bring contrast to the unpatriotic immigrant described in the speech proper.[3]

Time and space orders were used in nine reports of the progress of women, speeches delivered at national and international conventions. Her Amsterdam speech, employing space order, differed slightly from others of this type in that it contained some anti-climactic characteristics in its arrangement.[4] Starting with the very happy victory occasions in

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[1]Catt, "The Mission of a Republic" (1892), op. cit.; "President's Annual Address" (1902), op. cit.; Women are inferior to men or they are not (no title--undated manuscript), op. cit.; Notes from Speech at the Suffrage Conference in Maine (1917), op. cit.

[2]Catt, "For a Better America" (about 1917), op. cit., pp. 1 ff.

[3]Ibid., p. 7.

[4]Catt, Mrs. Catt's International Address (June 15, 1908), op. cit., pp. 1-3.

Norway, Finland, and other countries she concluded with the less pleasant "storm center" in England and the humiliation of the Americans who had not attained the goal. There appear to be certain psychological advantages in reserving mention of the less progressive countries to the close of the speech in that those situations, still in need, logically called for an appeal to complete the task.[1]

Six other speeches have a causal-relation order of arrangement. One of these is combined with the extended analogy order. In about three of these argumentative speeches she used an implicative order to reduce the contentions of the opposition to a residue.

Audiences and occasions affected her speech arrangement principally in the following manner: For women's audiences she presented much more factual material in a rather expository manner ("The Ballot is Power" delivered before the Temperance Association is an exception); for Congressmen she stressed enthymematic reasoning, giving a smaller proportion of her time to the supporting materials. The compactness of the speeches delivered before Senators and Legislators may be accounted for in that her speaking time was limited. When treating the past she relied upon factual examples, or upon opinions, based upon testimony of contemporaries but for future events she spoke of specific things to be done.

Synthesis of Invention and the Elements of Arrangement

That there is a close and virtually inseparable relationship between the invention, use, and arrangement of proofs is Whately's concept.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Whately, op. cit., 1864, Chapter III of Part I.

Mrs. Catt appeared to modify her arrangement in accordance with the kind of logical process she desired her auditors to follow. Organizations of time, space, extended analogy, and causal relation were used in the development of inductive reasoning. Such orders as these were subordinated to the premises in the speeches following deductive process of reasoning. The few speeches cast into a soritical pattern contained her most complex structure of arrangement. The purpose, arrangement, and pattern of reasoning of two speeches maintained a high degree of unity by phrasing the introduction as a major premise; the body, as the proof of the premise; and the exordium, as the conclusion of the enthymeme, an occasionally used pattern.

Mrs. Catt gave her major attention to the development of her logical ideas which she reenforced with either subtle or direct emotional and ethical proof. Explicit use of emotional and ethical appeals occurred at the close of an argument segment and in the conclusion of the speech. These appeals were often assisted by rhetorical questions. In all of these speeches whether addressing audiences of men or women, her proofs merged into a single idea uniting invention and arrangement.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter an analysis has been made of Mrs. Catt's use of invention and arrangement as revealed in thirty of her speeches representing the need of the ballot issue selected from thirty-five extant copies. Examining the premises and arguments as developed throughout these speeches discloses a cogent whole in her thinking on this issue. This rationale of her logical invention may be stated as follows: The right to vote is

woman's natural heritage resulting from the evolutionary advancement of civilization; evolution is God's immutable law, whereby controversies waged implement the emergence of truth as established fact. In the progress of the race the democratic form of government is no longer an experiment. Nevertheless, the extension of suffrage to all men in the United States has allowed corrupt control of illiterate voters causing a reactionary attitude toward self-government. Temporarily the skepticism as to the success of democracy has delayed the enfranchisement of women. Women, however, have continued to make educational advancements and desire to improve the status of the nation. To benefit humanity and to assist in overcoming the reactionary forces, women need the power of the ballot. To grant this right is consistent with ideals of democratic principles and necessary to maintain the respect of the United States as the world leader in the democratic form of government.

In developing logical proof on the need of the ballot issue, Mrs. Catt appeared to choose deductive or a combination of deductive and inductive reasoning in most instances when addressing mixed or audiences of men. When speaking before women, especially international conventions, she selected inductive structure. Mrs. Catt considered that her deductive reasoning had one basic premise: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." In the need issue another premise of significance appeared: political evolution has gained natural liberties including the ballot for people; since women are people they have a natural right to the ballot. When Mrs. Catt chose to reason inductively she accumulated many examples representative of different geographical areas and events in history.

In the need issue Mrs. Catt often constructed her arguments by

analogy, by causal relation, and by example. At times she developed them from sign. In analogies delivered to varied audiences, essential likenesses were pointed out and differences became basic in forming the generalization in most cases. Her speeches developed by causal relation, presented to different kinds of audiences, provided for interventions between cause and effect and estimated the strength of the causes. When arguing from example, chiefly before women, she relied, in most instances, upon many positive cases and occasionally upon negative cases, both of which were related to the generalization.

In sign arguments consideration at times was given to the reciprocal relation between the sign and the event and attention to time relation was usually present. The latter kind of reasoning was frequently suggested rather than stated in a direct manner. Its usage increased as the suffragists approached their victory. Often sign recognition and causal relation arguments overlapped. Except for the international speeches the arguments of this issue were basically of this manner: The progress of democratic liberties caused women to recognize by sign that they should have natural rights. By means of an extended analogy the progress of women is shown to differ from the progress of men in gaining suffrage rights. By sign argument current circumstances give evidence that women will gain the ballot.

Mrs. Catt seems to have used upon different occasions almost every type of support. Most frequently, however, she relied upon historical data pertaining to political, social, and educational forces and quoted statistical materials. Her refutation for this issue concerned two forces --the liquor and the anti-suffragists. The nature of the attack of the

liquor forces caused Mrs. Catt to be somewhat hesitant to oppose them openly. She chose, most often, to reduce the arguments of the anti-suffragists to the absurd and to point out their inconsistencies. Much of her counter-proposition was based upon the idea that the evolution of the democratic process was gradually reducing obstacles and inconsistencies.

In those speeches dealing with the progress of women Mrs. Catt's emotional proof appealed to pride and joy, but when she rebuked men for the delay in the enfranchisement of women, she at times became impatient and indignant. Women were continually urged to seek the prestige, authority, and freedom provided by the ballot, to be sympathetic toward those women less fortunate than they, and to be altruistic toward their illiterate opposition. Audiences of men were requested to maintain honor and justice by granting women the right to vote, and to preserve the reputation of the United States as the leading democratic nation of the world by making practice consistent with principle.

In establishing ethical proof Mrs. Catt expressed goodwill by extending open praise to her audiences and to her cause. Even though she distrusted a minority of men, she appeared to have confidence in men in their general desire to improve civilization. She maintained a sympathetic understanding of women who desired freedom. At times she evidenced tact and tolerance for those women who did not agree with her. She seemed to rely upon authorities accepted by American audiences and to utilize her own observations and experiences to establish herself as a sincere and consistent authority on the subject of woman suffrage.

According to the extant copies of Mrs. Catt's speeches treating the need issue, she omitted, with one exception, irrelevant material in

her introductions. Upon different occasions she utilized most all of the types of introductions. They were brief except in two instances. It was her habit to close these speeches by challenging her audiences to accept her advice or proposal to act, or simply to conclude the enthymematic reasoning previously presented. In the body of the speech she modified the arrangement in accordance with the kind of logical process employed. Organizations of time, space, extended analogy, and causal relation were used in the development of inductive reasoning. Such orders as these were subordinated to the premises in the deductive process of reasoning. The distribution of the amounts of proof appeared to be affected by the type of audience and the occasion. Evidence occurred in complex form in her most argumentative speeches which were usually delivered to Congressmen or audiences of both men and women. The compactness of the arguments increased as she approached her goal. At all times there appeared to be an inseparable relationship between her use of invention and her arrangement of proofs.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD OF OBTAINING THE BALLOT

Introduction

The rhetorical analysis of invention and arrangement as used in seventeen of Mrs. Catt's speeches treating the suffrage issue, how may women obtain the ballot, will be the aim in this chapter.[1] Out of the one hundred and forty copies of speeches read, at least twenty-one treated the method issue. Since four of these were more concerned with the need issue than with the method issue they were treated in Chapter III of this study. A few of these seventeen gave some attention to the need issue. Mrs. Catt spoke on the two issues concurrently. As she approached her victory she diminished her stress upon the need issue and increased her emphasis upon the method issue.

The number of extant copies of speeches treating the method issue was not as large as that of any other issue. Since the part of this issue dealing with the appeal for a federal amendment was especially intended for Congressmen it may be hypothesized that the opportunities for delivering speeches on this issue were limited. It could also be conjectured that Mrs. Catt spoke on this issue without preparing copies of the speeches because of her increased activity at the time of her drive for the federal amendment. Eight of the selected speeches were delivered

[1]Indicated in bibliography by footnote number two.

before men who were on the woman suffrage committee whether in the House or in the Senate. Six were addressed to women preparing them for the federal amendment drive and three to audiences of both men and women.

The procedure for developing the analysis of invention and arrangement for these seventeen speeches is similar to that followed in Chapter III: Premises and arguments will be recast into a cogent whole. Canons of logical, emotional, and ethical proofs, of arrangement, and of the integration of arrangement and invention will be applied to the ideas contained in these speeches.

Invention

Premises and Arguments

"Reason and evolution, not emotion and revolution, are the normal ladders by which people must climb to new liberties," Mrs. Catt once said.[1] To convince men that women should be enfranchised by a federal amendment Mrs. Catt directed the organization, the training, and the activities of two million woman suffrage forces.[2] In examining Mrs. Catt's thinking on the method issue it appears that she confronted two basic problems: How could the suffragists achieve their goal with the least expenditure of energy, time, and money? And, how could men who had the authority to grant the power of the ballot be convinced to act speedily and satisfactorily? A preliminary outline of her thinking in regard to the method of obtaining the ballot will be helpful to the reader.

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[1] New York Times, June 4, 1913, p. 8.

[2] Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 5.

I. The woman suffrage forces need strengthening.

A. The activities of the suffragists are lacking in organization, and need:

1. Correlation of national, state, and local branches.

2. A program of concrete aims.

3. A finance committee that would finance.

4. Organized and energetic campaign forces.

5. Endorsement by great citizens' organizations.

B. Factionalism and lukewarmness can destroy an organization.

C. Suffragists need to be educated about problems confronting them.

D. Suffragists should proceed with an attitude that would command the respect of the male voters.

1. They should be non-militant.

2. They should be nonpartisan.

II. The federal amendment is the most efficient means by which women can obtain the ballot.

A. The federal method is better than the state method, for

1. It is quicker,

2. It is the method practiced by other nations, and

3. National protection of women's rights would be provided.

B. The state method is inferior to the federal method, for

1. State constitutions have difficult provisions.

2. State statutory laws are inadequate.

3. The state method fixes responsibility upon no one.

C. Therefore,

1. Congressmen should not expect women to seek enfranchisement by a method more difficult than that required of men.
2. Women should appeal to Congressmen at the opportune time to ratify the federal constitutional suffrage amendment.

Strengthening the Woman Suffrage Forces

In analyzing the problems of the woman suffrage forces, Mrs. Catt recognized three needs: a larger and more closely united organization, a group of women who understood the political obstacles that confronted them, and women whose conduct commanded the respect of the male voters.

Organization.--Early in Mrs. Catt's woman suffrage activities she was given the responsibility of organizing workers for the cause. She became the state organizer and the recording secretary for the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association in 1887. At that time she introduced a system of pledges and enrollments which built up membership and income.[1]

After the loss of the state referendum in South Dakota in 1890, she listed the following things as being essential to winning a referendum at the polls: "first, endorsement by great citizens' organizations; second, endorsement by the political parties; third, an adequate campaign fund; fourth, organized and energetic campaign forces."[2] Likewise, her observations of the lack of interest on the part of the United States Senate committee, as well as the lack of preparation on the part of the women who spoke for woman suffrage before the Senate, caused her to

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[1] Ibid., pp. 47-49.

[2] Ibid., p. 65.

direct her interest toward improving such weaknesses.[1]

Her opportunity to start the operation of these desired improvements in the woman suffrage organization came in February, 1895 when, at the Atlanta Convention, Miss Anthony appointed Mrs. Catt chairman of a committee to draw up the plan of work for the coming year. Two days later, as spokesman for her committee, Mrs. Catt began:

> The great need of the hour is organization. There can be no doubt that the advocates of woman suffrage in the United States are to be numbered by millions, but it is a lamentable fact that our organization can count its numbers only by thousands. There are illustrious men and women suffragists, yet we do not possess the benefit of their names on our membership lists or the financial help of their dues. In other words, the size of our membership is not at all commensurate with the sentiment for woman suffrage. The reason for this condition is plain; the chief work of suffragists for the past forty years has been education and agitation, and not organization. The time has come when the educational work has borne its fruit, and there are States in which there is sentiment enough to carry a woman suffrage amendment, but it is individual and not organized sentiment, and is, therefore, ineffective.[2]

In behalf of her committee, Mrs. Catt requested that three things be provided: "correlation of national, state, and local branches; a program of concrete aims; and a finance committee that would finance." The plan called for a national standing committee on organization to be assisted by field organizers and collectors of funds. Courses of study in politics and government were to be set up for local clubs; regional conferences of states were to be held in the North, South, East, and West areas of the United States; and the results of research concerning such topics as laws affecting women and children, and amount of property owned

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[1] Ibid., p. 67.

[2] Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Report of the Plan of Work Committee," NAWSA, 1895. Also, in Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 248-249.

and taxes paid by women were to be used for propaganda purposes in establishing the Woman Suffrage Organization.[1]

At the end of her first year of service, 1896, she presented to the national convention a report of the work of the committee. In response nearly $3,300 in pledges was allocated for the work of her committee. In part she said:

> Our committee are more than ever convinced that it is possible to build a great organization based upon the one platform of the enfranchisement of women. With harmony, cooperation, and determination we shall yet build this organization of such numbers and political strength that through the power of constituency it can dictate at least one plank in the platform of every political party, and secure an amendment from any Legislature it petitions. We believe it will yet have its auxiliaries in every village and hamlet, township and school district, to influence majorities when the amendment is submitted. More--we believe ere many years its powers will be so subtle and widespread that it can besiege the conservatism of Congress itself, and come away with the laurel wreath of victory![2]

The enthusiasm of young workers for Mrs. Catt's energy developed into criticism by them of other national leaders. When Mrs. Catt became aware of this condition, she took occasion at the close of her report to the national convention of 1898 to denounce factionalism and lukewarmness:

> If I were asked to name the chief cause obstructing organization, I should not hesitate to reply. It is not to be found in the anti-suffragists nor in ignorance nor in conservatism. . . .It is to be found in the hopeless, lifeless, faithless members of our own organization. . . .We find them in state executive committees, where appalled by the magnitude of the undertaking they decide that organization is impossible because there is no money, and they make no effort to secure funds. They are to be found in our national body, ready to find fault with plans and results and to criticize the conscientious efforts of those who are struggling to accomplish good. Yet they are never ready to propose more helpful methods. . . ."It cannot be done"

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Report of the Organization Committee," NAWSA, 1896, Anthony and Harper, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

> is their motto, and by it they constantly discourage the hopeful and extract all enthusiasm for new workers. . . .However, these apathetic ones, while not so well awake as we might wish, are beginning to come to life. Several state organizations have elected new officers who promise a more vigorous policy. Let us encourage any criticism offered with the intention of replacing present methods with better ones, but let us frown upon. . .aimless fault-finding, and let us banish from our vocabulary the word "can't." Let our watchword be "Organization and Union."[1]

Obstacles.--By 1900 Mrs. Catt had begun preparing woman suffrage forces to cope with external problems confronting them. She thought that women should know the tactics of those forces opposing them, that they should promote the policy of educating the illiterate male voter, and that women needed to educate public sentiment against political graft.

Much education of women was carried on through training schools in New York City and throughout the country,[2] and through the publication known by two different titles, The Woman's Journal and The Woman Citizen to which Mrs. Catt contributed many articles and editorials. Reference has already been made to her method of educating women in her annual addresses. In many of these speeches she pictured the illiterate male voters as being under the control of bribery. In 1904 she advocated the appointment of a committee on good government to be selected from organizations that stood for reform, education, or nonpartisan politics.[3] She reasoned that the purpose of such a committee should be not only "the curtailment of the irresponsible vote at the bottom, and the indifferent or dishonest vote on the top," but also the education of

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Report to the NAWSA, 1898, found in Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

[2]New York Times, September 16, 1913, p. 3; also Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 266.

[3]Catt, President's Annual Address (1904), op. cit., p. 15.

public sentiment through every school, church, press, pulpit, and platform "until a healthy, wholesome hatred has been created for the selling and buying of votes at the polls, the 'graft' of municipalities, and the corrupt control of Legislatures."[1]

Suggested remedies, according to Mrs. Catt, might include such things as the establishment of an educational qualification for the voter; this qualification should be "severe enough to represent a sufficient amount of understanding to guarantee a fitness for good citizenship."[2] She opposed injustice in the application of this qualification, however: "An educational qualification must therefore not be permitted to create an ignorant caste, but rather to stand as a degree of merit toward which all may strive."[3]

She questioned whether the corruption arising from the immigrant vote could best "be reached through further restrictions of naturalization or through revision of the naturalization laws."[4] The answer should be determined by a careful analytical investigation.

To enforce laws to prevent the briber from purchasing votes would not be easy, contended Mrs. Catt. She had greater faith in the possibilities of educating public opinion to ferret out these "political criminals and bring them to justice."[5] She considered the chief cause of the

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 16.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 18.

[5] Ibid., p. 19.

existence of "graft" in the great municipalities to be "the indifference of those who should be most active in the support of good government; that those who are corrupting American politics represent a minority; and that their corruption continues to exist because the "indifferent majority tolerates it." She further reasoned:

> In a Republic the majority has power to enforce its will, and when it fails to do so, it is because it does not care to do it. There is therefore not such a crying need in American politics "to turn the rascals out" as to turn in a spirit of patriotic, energetic, determined moral responsibility. It may be, therefore, that an investigation would reveal the fact that a very important source of difficulty is to be found in the failure of intelligent men to exercise their citizenship.[1]

Women such as those she was addressing in the national convention, 1904, she contended, had a problem of attempting to "determine causes, apply remedies, and clear the way for their own enfranchisement" even though that might be a small part in "the great task of the removal of the obstructions which clog the wheels of the onward movement of popular government."[2]

Working attitudes.--A part of Mrs. Catt's leadership influence was directed toward maintaining within the woman suffrage forces a working attitude that could command the respect of the male voters. She stood for non-militancy and nonpartisanship. She opposed all revolutionary methods committed in the name of the woman suffrage cause.

> I believe I can speak authoritatively for 99.9 per cent of the hundreds of thousands of suffragists of the Empire State when I declare that they unqualifiedly condemn the attempt made yesterday to harry the President. The great majority of American suffragists have

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Catt, President's Annual Address (1904), op. cit., pp. 15 ff.

> had no sympathy with the militant tactics of the small British group called suffragettes even when applied across the sea, and will not welcome the introduction of those methods here, and especially by British women.[1]

On July 12, 1916, she stated, "Our association [National American Woman Suffrage] does not believe in militant methods, and is not likely to adopt them."[2] Even though the militants were at one time members of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and Mrs. Catt tactfully avoided conflicts between the militants and the non-militants, she was of the opinion that "the militant tactics are the reverse of helpful to the cause."[3]

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Catt was president, upheld this policy:

> [It can] not work against any Presidential candidate nor against candidates for Congress of any one party. Consistently with our policies, however, it may campaign against members of Congress of all or any political parties who are unwilling to vote to submit the Federal Amendment.[4]

The Association had supported this nonpartisan policy since 1875.[5] In 1913, however, when Alice Paul separated from the Association by establishing an independent organization on the lines of the Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain, it became necessary, at intervals, for the Association to clarify its nonpartisan attitude. Alice Paul

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[1] New York Times, May 19, 1915, p. 5.

[2] Ibid., July 12, 1916, p. 10.

[3] Catt, "On Militancy," ibid., June 16, 1913, p. 3.

[4] Catt, "The Suffragists' Attitude toward a Federal Amendment," ibid., July 12, 1916, p. 10.

[5] Ibid.

announced the federal amendment to be her "sole objective, to be furthered by active opposition to the political party in power, unless or until the latter put the federal amendment through Congress."[1] To Alice Paul Mrs. Catt reasoned: "The Democrats never had had sufficient members in both Houses of Congress to put through the Federal amendment, and that to campaign against the party for not doing something which it had not the power to do was unrealistic."[2] It seemed to Mrs. Catt that more men would consider it reasonable if women supported their friends in whatever party they might be.[3]

Woman Suffrage by Federal Amendment

> That dream of woman suffrage by federal amendment antedated all the efforts to win woman suffrage by the State route. And it is not to be forgotten that from the earliest days the will and the work to make the dream come true went along concurrently with the work for and in State referenda.[4]

In reality it was after the Civil War and in particular after the introduction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments that women recognized the federal government as the authority that should grant woman suffrage. Women led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had framed an amendment in phraseology very similar to that of the Fifteenth Amendment; on January 10, 1878, this woman's amendment was first introduced in the Senate.[5] Between that date and June 4, 1919, the amendment

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 240.

[2]Ibid., pp. 240-241.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 227.

[5]Ibid., p. 228.

was continuously pending, having been introduced in the same form in every succeeding Congress.[1] For this period of forty-one years the policy of the National Woman Suffrage Association supported enfranchisement by the federal amendment. The members, however, considered the opposition of the Southern Senators to the amendment sufficient to require that they campaign for states referenda, thereby hoping to break through the congressional impasse.[2]

From the beginning of Mrs. Catt's work as a suffragist she supported the federal amendment.[3] As long as she was concerned with the enfranchisement of women in the United States, all other premises which she discussed were subsidiary to that of the federal amendment. Especially were her pleas before the United States Legislators aimed at obtaining enfranchisement for women by a federal method. Even though she considered the states referenda procedure inadequate for obtaining the ballot, she supported it concurrently with the federal method, chiefly for propaganda purposes. Mrs. Catt's belief that the federal method had advantages over the state method for obtaining enfranchisement remained rather constant throughout her leadership of the woman suffrage cause; her arguments for the federal method increased in strength with time, reaching a culmination in those speeches delivered at the climax of the movement.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 229.

[2] Ibid., pp. 230-231.

[3] Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 5.

[4] Based upon the extant copies of Mrs. Catt's woman suffrage speeches.

The crisis of 1916.--As a result of the Presidential election of 1916 the following conditions developed: The women had expended considerable money, time, and energy to secure endorsement of the federal suffrage amendment as a plank in the platform of the two dominant parties. These parties had disappointed the women by identifying the cause as one belonging to the states.[1] "The Woman's party [under Alice Paul]. . .had campaigned against all Democratic candidates in Western enfranchised States. . .arousing the tempestuous irritation of every candidate," or so it seemed to Mrs. Catt.[2] These and other factors she considered to be of sufficient importance to call an emergency convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association, September 7, 1916. Later, in stating her motive regarding the need of the convention, she said:

> The Shafroth proposal had been welcomed in the Southern States because of its states rights provision.[3] Scattered throughout the national Association were women who preferred the Shafroth method. Others felt that the Woman's Party had so queered the situation that the Federal amendment was hopeless. There was danger that local initiative would bring on more state referendum campaigns, and that Congress would hide behind those states rights planks and shut us from Congressional action forever.
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> To stem this tide carrying us away from Washington and early victory, I planned that convention. I wanted first to clear our own ranks and find out where we stood. Therefore, I called a long board and executive council meeting previous to the convention. The deliberations were necessarily secret. I there outlined the plan we followed to the end [of the Federal amendment campaign].[4]

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 250-265.

[2]Ibid., p. 264.

[3]Senator John Shafroth, to meet the difficulty in securing state referenda, proposed that "when an initiative petition, signed by eight per cent of the electors voting at the preceding general election, should request the submission of woman suffrage, such question should be submitted, and a majority of those voting should be sufficient for its adoption." (Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 246.)

[4]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 256.

The plan proposed was to secure nation-wide suffrage by federal amendment before 1920. Every state legislature possible was to be pledged to demand that Congress submit the amendment. A leader in each state was presented with a detailed plan for the organized suffragists in her state.[1]

Mrs. Catt realized that some of her former faithful co-workers opposed her plan to concentrate on the federal amendment, especially in "authorizing the national board to take such direction of the work in the states as may be necessary to accomplish this end."[2]

Her strong conviction that the final victory depended upon the securing of zealous, united support of all of the women forces caused her to select "The Crisis" as the title of her speech delivered before the public session of the convention. It is possibly the most significant speech in her endeavor to stimulate esprit de corps among the woman suffrage members and to stir them to intense activity. A synopsis of the speech is as follows: She said, "It is better to imagine a crisis where none exists than to fail to recognize one when it comes," for if it is not there you will continue to work until it is there. No harm is done. Yet signs "point to a crisis." We are passing through a world crisis in that "50 billions of dollars" have been spent on the World War in the past "two years" and "three and a half millions of lives have been lost." The war presages a total change in the status of women in that they "are doing work for which they were considered incompetent two years ago." Europe and Great Britain have been converted to woman suffrage. "The

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 257.

edifice of woman's liberty nears completion. The four corner-stones laid long ago" by our American women are now ready for the "roof."

The crisis is real, not imaginary, for woman suffrage has gained these strengths: "Our cause" is endorsed by "all political parties"; the cause is supported by "every candidate for the presidency" of the United States; woman suffrage is endorsed by "most churches"; "it has won the support of all reform movements; it has won the progressives of every variety; the majority of the press in most states is with us"; and great men and women of every interest are with us. Admitted that "we have not won the reactionaries of any party, church, or society,. . .nor the ignorant and illiterate,. . .nor the forces of evil and never will"; yet "before the vote is won there must and will be a gigantic final conflict between the forces of progress, righteousness, and democracy and the forces of ignorance, evil, and reaction."

We are not "prepared to grasp the victory," for "our movement lacks cohesion, organization, unity, and momentum." Our movement needs a "change of mental attitude" if we are to seize the victory, for we need a "jubilant, glad spirit of victory" in the place of the former "slow educational pace." We need to organize the work of the reserves for this victory campaign. We need to define our aim in regard to the federal amendment and the state referenda. Our federal amendment must remain our ultimate aim with the work of the state merely preparatory to the gaining of the federal amendment, for the state constitutions provide "many obstacles" in securing an amendment.

Women will be enfranchised, for it is the trend of human affairs. Suffrage by states rights is difficult, but the "makers of the constitution

provided for the amendment of the constitution." "A Federal Amendment is not an easy process of enfranchisement," for "there is no quick short cut to our liberty. The federal method means a simultaneous campaign in forty-eight states. It demands organization in every precinct, activity, agitation, education in every corner." The "appeal to the voters is only a little less general than is required in a referendum."

She concluded:

> The Woman's Hour has struck. Yet, if the call goes unheeded, if our women think it means the vote without a struggle, if they think other women can and will pay the price of their emancipation, the hour may pass and our political liberty may not be won.
> WOMEN ARISE: DEMAND THE VOTE! The character of a man is measured, it is said, by his will. The same is true of a movement. Then, WILL to be free. Demand the vote. Women, ARISE![1]

Later in the convention the members decided that the mandate from the states should be to support the "Federal amendment until it should pass, and that the mandate should take the form of presidential suffrage and resolutions as recommended from Legislatures, calling for submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment."[2]

Arguments supporting the federal amendment.--From 1880 to 1883 the women obtained woman suffrage committees in both the Senate and the House. The Senate Committee became a standing committee and remained so until the end. By 1883 the House refused to renew its committee and after that date it usually referred the woman suffrage amendment to the Judiciary Committee.[3] Mrs. Catt's first experience before either of these

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[1]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 26.

[2]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 263.

[3]Ibid., p. 231.

groups was in 1892 when she addressed the Judiciary Committee.[1] For the period between 1896 and 1910, when the federal amendment was making slow progress, Mrs. Catt and others spoke before the Senate and House Committees at the first session of each Congress only. In 1904 she explained that "constitutional limitations. . .set at a time when a republican form of government was totally untried" were acting as a barrier to prevent woman suffrage from being lawfully accepted.[2] After an extended analogy contrasting the enfranchisement of men with the unenfranchisement of women she contended,

> Is it not manifestly unfair to demand of women a test which has never been made in the case of men in this or any other country? Is it not true that the attitude of the Government toward an unenfranchised class of men has ever been that the vote is a privilege to be extended and it is optional with the citizen whether or not he shall use it?[3]

In contrast to the liberal granting of enfranchisement to men, women were paying a great price to obtain their rights. The state method was considered unfair. "Even the Federal amendment is difficult enough, with the ratification of thirty-six Legislatures required."[4]

The addresses delivered in 1917 and 1919 were almost identical. The first one was delivered to the National Woman Suffrage Association and the second to the Legislatures of the United States. A summary of

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[1]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives of U. S., February, 1904. Anthony and Harper, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Catt at "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit., p. 745.

[4]Catt, "Speech before Congressional Convention" (December 15, 1915), op. cit., V, 752-754.

the argument is as follows:

> We choose the Federal method (1) because it is the quickest process and justice demands immediate action. . . .(2) Every other country dignifies woman suffrage as a national question. . . .(3) If the entire forty-eight States should severally enfranchise women, their political status would still be inferior to that of men, since no provision for national protection in their right to vote would exist . . . .The three reasons why we object to the State amendment process are: (1) The constitutions of many States contain such difficult provisions for amending that it is practically impossible to carry an amendment at the polls. For example, several states require a majority of all the votes cast at an election to insure the adoption of an amendment. Also several state constitutions stipulate that a definite period of time must elapse before an amendment defeated at the polls can again be submitted. (2) "The statutory laws governing elections are so inadequate and defective as to vouchsafe little or no protection to a referendum in most States. . . .(3) The State method fixes responsibility upon no one," for the Legislatures are indifferent; the politicians are "loath" to assume responsibility; and voters controlled by political machines cannot be depended upon.[1]
>
> Legislators, you are the constitutionally designated representatives of the women of your State. Those women composing the Auxiliary in your State of the National American Woman Suffrage Association appeal to you now to hasten the passage and the ratification of the federal constitutional suffrage amendment in order that our Nation may at the earliest possible moment show to all the nations of earth that its action is consistent with its principles.[2]

To convince men that women should be enfranchised by a federal amendment Mrs. Catt directed the organizing, the training, and the activities of two million woman suffrage forces. In analyzing the problems of the movement, she recognized three needs: a larger and more closely united organization, a group of women who understood the political obstacles that confronted them, and women whose conduct commanded the respect of the male voters. As women approached their goal the states referenda method conflicted with the achievement of the federal amendment.

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., pp. 9-16.

[2]Ibid., p. 24.

Mrs. Catt met this issue by showing that the federal method was quicker, more adequate and more dignified than the states method.

Logical Proof

Patterns of Reasoning

An analysis is now to be made of Mrs. Catt's methods of validating her beliefs pertaining to the way of obtaining the ballot by asking: Did she prefer one or more patterns of reasoning?

Deductive reasoning.--In the transition of emphasis from the need to the method issue came an increased use of deductive reasoning. Even though the need and method issues frequently appeared concurrently in her woman suffrage speeches, in 1911 she noted a transition from the need of evocative speeches to that of advocacy when she told the women convened at Stockholm that "the discussion is no longer upon the justice of our claim, but how to secure final action."[1]

In evoking esprit de corps or in advocating woman suffrage by a federal amendment Mrs. Catt relied greatly upon hypothetical and disjunctive enthymemes in the form of sorites with an occasional categorical statement. Her reasoning to the suffragists took this form: If we can build and maintain a strong woman suffrage organization that will function to the end, if we can minimize the obstacles preventing our enfranchisement, and if we can recognize the opportune time to launch our drive for the federal amendment, we can achieve our goal.

When Mrs. Catt confronted the crisis of the suffrage cause in

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[1]Catt, Is Woman Suffrage Progressing? (1911), op. cit., p. 2.

1916 she presented the women with two broad hypotheses. One pertained to the facts giving evidence that the "Woman's Hour had struck"; the other to the type of action required of women. In the first instance she attempted to validate her hypothesis by enumerating many signs. In the second, she urged the women to assume their responsibilities wherein she combined hypothetical and disjunctive enthymemes: "There must be at least thirty-six States armies, alert, intelligent, never pausing, and they must move in the fixed formation demanded by the national strategy adopted."[1] On the other hand, "If the call [to victory] goes unheeded, if our women think it means the vote without a struggle, if they think other women can and will pay the price of their emancipation, the hour [victory] may pass and our political liberty may not be won."[2]

In Mrs. Catt's advocacy of the federal amendment as directed to the Congressional Woman Suffrage Committees, she cast her reasoning into the following disjunctive pattern: "Women may be enfranchised in two ways: (1) by amendment of the National Constitution. . . .(2) by amendment of State Constitutions. . . .There are three reasons for choosing the Federal Method and three for rejecting the State Method."[3] She concluded: "Women appeal to you now to hasten the passage and the ratification of the federal constitutional suffrage amendment."[4] Each of the

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

[2]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., pp. 25-26.

[3]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 8. (Same idea with slightly different wording, An Address to the Congress of the United States, 1917, op. cit., p. 7.)

[4]Ibid., p. 24. (P. 21.)

three reasons for the federal method and three rejections of the state method were further developed by soritical enthymemes.

It is clear that in order to validate ideas pertaining to the method issue Mrs. Catt relied principally upon hypothetical and disjunctive reasoning which, toward the close of the movement, extended into sorites.

Inductive reasoning.--The infrequent induction used was developed principally into extended analogies dependent upon many examples, testimonials, or historical data.

In 1900 Mrs. Catt presented "a survey of the changes which have been wrought within the past hundred years in the status of women--educational, social, financial, and political."[1] After developing a number of specific instances to illustrate how women could gradually acquire rights which belong to customs, she concluded with the following generalization about acquiring the right to vote:

> Had it been either custom or statutory law which forbade women to vote, the suffrage would have been won by the same processes which have gained every other privilege. . .but the Supreme Court decided that the National Constitution must first be amended. It therefore becomes a necessity to convert to this reform a majority of men of the whole United States.[2]

She frequently used an analogy of the history of man suffrage, drawing a conclusion such as this: "Is it not likewise unfair to compel women to seek their enfranchisement by methods infinitely more difficult than those by means of which any man in this country has secured his right

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Why We Ask for the Submission of an Amendment." Hearing before U. S. Senate committee February 13, 1900. Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 369-372.

[2]Ibid., p. 371.

to a vote?"[1]

An appeal before the House Judiciary Committee in 1902 included an inference from testimonials of the success of woman suffrage in operation throughout the world. Her conclusion was framed into a compound hypothetical disjunctive pattern.[2]

When reasoning by induction Mrs. Catt used many examples, testimonials, and historical data from which to draw her conclusions. This type of reasoning occurred most frequently in her early speeches delivered to women.

Kinds of Arguments

In the method issue, arguments were frequently developed from cause-to-effect, extended analogies, and examples. Occasionally she argued from sign or from authority.

Past, present, and future were involved in Mrs. Catt's causal reasoning. In all three cases she habitually discussed the adequacy of the cause to produce the effect. A few brief descriptions will illustrate her procedure: She treated a past causal relation when endeavoring to show why the woman suffrage cause had greater potentialities than were being put into practice. She explained how previous suffragists had educated millions of people to believe in woman suffrage but had organized only a few thousand to act.[3] She then projected this argument into the

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Catt, "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit., V, 745.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives of U. S. (February, 1904), op. cit., p. 54.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Report of the Plan of the Work Committee," NAWSA, 1895. Also in Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 248-249.

future by predicting that an organization of numbers having sufficient political strength would win the victory.[1]

In "The Crisis" she reasoned from the past to the future by causal relation. Upon an evaluation of the progress made by women suffragists up to that time and upon an estimate of their ability to concentrate upon the federal amendment she predicted their goal to be near. She recognized the possibilities of other causes such as a refusal on the part of the women to struggle, operating to prevent the cause under discussion from achieving its effect.[2]

When appealing to Congressmen for a federal amendment she explained why she rejected the states referenda and why she contended for a federal method of enfranchisement.[3] In like manner, she predicted the inevitability of woman suffrage upon "three distinct causes."[4]

Her reasoning expounded by extended analogy tended to stress differences along with likenesses. For instance, she considered that men had received the right to vote through a rather evolutionary process involving the federal procedure in most instances. Contrasting the difficult procedure being forced upon women, she concluded that both men and women are people and therefore should be enfranchised in a similar manner.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 256-257.

[2] Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., most of the speech.

[3] Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., and An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., pp. 7-21.

[4] Ibid., pp. 1-7.

[5] Statement by Mrs. Catt, "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit., p. 748.

At times she questioned the democratic policy of America that could refuse its women suffrage when monarchies in other countries were enfranchising their women.[1] In analogous reasoning Mrs. Catt commonly stressed differences comparably with likenesses.

A careful reading of Mrs. Catt's speeches indicates that she had a preference for positive examples to be used in constructive arguments, but many exceptional cases appeared in her refutation. In 1902 she not only pointed out the value to be achieved by women having the right to vote, but challenged the legislators to find one instance where women were voting in a detrimental manner.[2] She contended in 1917 that state constitutions were inadequate for women's purposes. As proof she cited several individual state constitutions. In this 1917 speech, adequate constitutions were not accounted for, yet in 1904 she had credited Colorado with having a flexible state constitution more admirable than the national constitution.[3] While exceptional cases were not always cited in each reasoning from example, a study of the same issue presented in several speeches gave evidence that she did consider negative instances in her inductions.

Her arguments based upon authority involved mostly historical data. She quoted the American Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the makers of the Constitution, or such men as Lincoln and Wilson.

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee (February, 1902), op. cit., IV, 54.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee (February, 1904), op. cit., IV, 11 ff.

She apparently assumed that her audiences would accept the authority of American traditions without further proof.

Mrs. Catt's arguments from sign occurred most frequently during the climax of the movement. At that time she reviewed the vital accomplishments of the women and the evolutionary stages of democracy to show the inevitability of woman suffrage.[1] Sign relation appeared in such slogans as "the Woman's Hour has struck!" and "Woman suffrage is inevitable," which were supported by proof of recognition.

In validating most of the causal relation arguments as used in ten speeches Mrs. Catt discussed the adequacy of the cause to produce the effect whether by the process of reasoning or by illustration. Occasion and audience did not seem to alter this method of reasoning. Its use was distributed throughout her woman suffrage controversy. In the seven speeches in which arguments were dependent upon extended analogy she usually pointed out both likenesses and differences and based her conclusion upon the differences. She gave some preference to this kind of argument when addressing Congressmen. Arguments from many examples were presented chiefly to women in international conventions. The examples in most instances were positive. Occasionally she accounted for negative examples. Historical data presented upon varied occasions was developed from authorities with Mrs. Catt establishing herself as the chief authority in regard to the progress of the woman suffrage movement. Early sign arguments were more suggested than stated directly. They were frequently

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., and An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., "The Crisis," op. cit.

related to the time of achieving the woman suffrage goal and therefore increased in use as she approached the victory. Its most extensive use in any one speech occurred in "The Crisis," delivered to women in 1916.

Methods of Support

As in the need issue so in the method issue Mrs. Catt used many types of support. In her early speeches she frequently used amplification with a strong emphasis upon clarification. For instance, she often supported an argument with a historical review of the progress of woman's status or of the development of male suffrage. The support contained many examples, some statistics, specific quotations, and analogies; but the persuasive statements were few. More attention was given to exposition than to argument. As time passed her supporting materials took on more qualities of proof, argument supplanted exposition, and each speech became more complex in its use of supporting materials and arguments.[1]

This complexity may be observed in two speeches which were delivered at the climax of the movement. In "The Crisis" Mrs. Catt vitalized the decision confronting the audience by explaining what it means in the life of any movement to recognize the nearness of its goal. She defined the immediate aim of the organization as being "a three-cornered question" in that it might concentrate on the federal amendment, the states referenda, or both methods. Each stage of progress in the woman suffrage movement was likened to a step in the construction of an edifice.

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[1]Changes with time are illustrated in these speeches: "Why We Ask for the Submission of an Amendment" (1900), op. cit.; Statement of Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee (February, 1904), op. cit.; "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit.; "Speech before Congressional Convention" (December 15, 1915), op. cit.

To place the roof was the task that remained to be done. She followed this image with contemporary signs of the climax of the movement. To clarify the conflict at hand, she took inventory of the strengths and weaknesses of both the opposition and the woman suffrage organization. In addition to her use of historical data, she quoted from the Bible, scientists, philosophers, fables, her experiences, and statistics on state election laws and practices. She quoted her contemporaries, including such men as Herbert Henry Asquith, the British statesman who had been converted to woman suffrage. The subject matter was directed to the audience by frequent use of rhetorical questions, such as "Shall we play the coward?" She used figures of speech when illustrating, as "Our movement is like a great Niagara with a vast volume of water tumbling over its ledge but turning no wheel"; and repeatedly she stated slogans and ideas to be driven home, as indicated in the title, "The Crisis," or the statement, "will to be free!"

An analysis of the methods of support used in An Address to the Legislatures of the United States appears in Table 3, Appendix I. In this speech there was a close adherence to factual evidence. In her first contention, endeavoring to establish the relation of woman suffrage to democratic principles, she selected her support from history of the United States. There was frequent but varied repetition of the generalization, "Woman suffrage is inevitable," and the basis for its inevitability, "American principles."

Her next step was to show that the opponent's arguments had all been disproved. Her proof was terse, at times factual and at times opinional, suggesting that she felt further proof unnecessary for that

audience, or that she was limited by time. It included summaries of statistics, testimonies, and illustrations.

In her third point she presented constructive argument for the federal amendment, quickly utilizing all of her previous contentions on woman suffrage as an American principle. She added a hypothetical illustration comparing national enfranchisement with that granted by the entire forty-eight states.

In rejecting the state method she paraphrased the constitutions of several states and pointed out specific instances, examples, and testimony regarding the statutory laws governing elections. In meeting objections to the federal amendment, she defined the term "democratic" in order to move to the conclusion that the federal method was as nearly democratic as any procedure at that time could be for granting woman suffrage in the United States. She then compared the United States' action with that of other countries. To stress the amount of time that legislative body had consumed in taking action, she recounted the names of the procession of women who had come before them to plea for the ballot over the period of forty-one years. She quoted a Congressman who had said, "There is no man living or dead who could answer the arguments of those women."[1] Throughout this speech Mrs. Catt frequently summarized her arguments and supported her plea with numerous rhetorical questions. In the entire speech it is difficult to distinguish between the soritical reasoning and the support, for they were closely interwoven.

Mrs. Catt's use of different types of support increased as she

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[1]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 18.

approached the victory of the movement. In her early speeches she used amplification with a strong emphasis upon clarification, stressing exposition rather than argument. The support contained many examples of a historical nature, some statistics, specific quotations, and analogies, yet in several instances the support of an individual speech was composed of almost one kind of support. The international addresses to women and some of the addresses to Congressmen were basically dependent upon historical data. As time passed, her supporting materials took on more qualities of proof, argument supplanted exposition, and each speech seemed to improve in its use of a variety of supporting materials with the attention centered upon the argument rather than upon the support. It is possible that these changes were the result of her experience in speaking, her increased knowledge about the movement, and her zeal to expedite the victory.

Refutation

Mrs. Catt's speeches directed to the women for the purpose of strengthening the woman suffrage forces were constructive in nature containing almost no direct refutation. Her refutation in the method issue offered to the Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women was similar to that used in the need issue discussed in Chapter III. Her replies to the opposition who supported the states referenda and rejected the federal method were her principal refutational concern in the method issue.

That Mrs. Catt would oppose the policy of states referenda which she had spent much time in supporting may have appeared inconsistent. She previously had worked and spoken for the state campaigns to gain

public sentiment for woman suffrage, believing all along that the final decision should be by federal action.[1] As the chances for federal victory increased, she renounced the states referenda in order to utilize her forces for the federal amendment and in order to prevent the political leaders from resorting to the states referenda as an evasive measure.[2]

At the Atlantic City Convention, to undermine the belief that women should resort to the states referenda method, Mrs. Catt cast her refutation into an enthymeme which was not only hypothetical in form but also disjunctive: If the women gain enfranchisement through the states method, they must defeat corrupt forces at the polls or they must win by redress against illegal practices. But since the opposition functions behind "closed doors" and since "the statutory laws governing elections are so inadequate as to vouchsafe little or no protection to a referendum in most states," women can gain enfranchisement through the states method only by a "slow difficult process" subjecting themselves to much humiliation.[3]

Three years later when presenting this argument to the legislatures of the United States she converted it into an argument with three parts: "The constitutions of many states contain such difficult provisions for amending that it is practically impossible to carry an amendment at the polls." "The statutory laws governing elections are so inadequate as to vouchsafe little or no protection to a referendum in most

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[1]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 227.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 5.

[3]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., pp. 15-25.

states." And, "The states method fixes responsibility upon no one."[1]

Later in this speech to the Congressmen she attacked three objections to the federal amendment offered by certain members of Congress. To impale these objections she attempted to prove the untenability of each charge by pointing out the logical inconsistencies. To the charge, "a vote on this question by Congress and the Legislatures is undemocratic; it should go to the people or the states," she turned tables by so defining "democracy" that the Congressmen and Legislators would be more representative of voteless women than individual male voters. For the second charge, "this is not the proper time to consider the question," she attacked its validity by showing that other nations considered the time proper, and that American women had been in the process of preparing them for the event for fifty-three years. On the third objection, it was "unfair that thirty-six states should determine who may vote in the remaining twelve," she conceded some possible truth, but adduced previous decisions upholding such procedure as fair.

She then considered the states method to be lacking in reasoning in that the states rights doctrine was "less a principle than a tradition," and yet in practice this tradition was bringing about humiliation of the United States before other nations and to the women as citizens. Inconsistencies were further stressed in a barrage of rhetorical questions such as, "Do you realize that in no other country in the world with democratic tendencies is suffrage so completely denied as in a considerable

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., pp. 10-16; also, An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., pp. 10-14.

number of our own states?" And, "Do you realize that such anomalies as a College President asking her janitor to give her a vote is overstraining the patience and driving women to desperation?"[1]

In an open forum before the House Suffrage Committee she was asked to discuss two other methods in answer to which she employed reductio ad absurdum:

> The reason that suffragists oppose submitting the question to women is because it is neither legal nor constitutional. . . .And when you say submit it to the people, it cannot be one, so it can only be submitted to men, who are half the people. It is manifestly unjust to submit a question which concerns one-half the people to the other half, and that is the reason why we do not want state referenda. On the other hand, if you submit the question to both men and women, which would be democratic, it would be neither legal nor constitutional, except where women have it, and where, consequently, there is no need for submitting it.[2]

When asked how she would like to have the question submitted to conventions, she replied by adding a horn to a dilemma:

> The method has never been tried even though the Constitution provides for it; none of the previous seventeen amendments were submitted through that process. It would require more money on the part of the opponents and friends of suffrage than the federal method. . . . Before it could be carried out, a machinery which would require extra legislation and a great deal of additional trouble would be necessary.[3]

Mrs. Catt's speeches directed to the women for the purpose of strengthening the woman suffrage forces were constructive in nature containing almost no direct refutation. Refutation, other than that discussed previously in the need issue, was presented in connection with the

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[2]Catt, "Hearing before the House Suffrage Committee" (1918), op. cit., p. 131.

[3]Ibid.

federal amendment drive in 1916 to 1919. Most of it was concentrated into three major speeches--two delivered to women, one of which was printed and circulated among Congressmen, and another delivered to the United States Legislatures.

In refuting objections to the federal method of enfranchising women she spent most of her time in exposing the inconsistencies in the counter-argument. At times she pointed out the hasty generalizations of the opposition, turned tables upon their arguments, reduced arguments to a residue, and in only rare instances she reduced her opponents' arguments to the absurd. To clarify the position of the issues she asked many rhetorical questions.

Emotional Proof

In the analysis of Mrs. Catt's use of emotional proof in her speeches treating the method of obtaining the ballot issue, three basic questions were asked: What were the principal emotions and impelling motives that she endeavored to arouse in her auditors? How frequently were these emotional proofs used? How did they vary with circumstances? The canons of emotional proof used in this portion of the study will be the same as those presented in Chapter III, pp. 117-118.

An accurate presentation of her appeal to her auditors' devotion to democratic principles, especially when addressing Congressmen, would require considerable quoting. A few brief references suggest this emotion: In her addresses to Congress in 1917 and to the Legislators in 1919 she devoted approximately one-third of each speech stressing the importance of democratic liberties to American people. In speaking of

World War I she stated:

> Every day the conviction grows deeper that a world humanity will emerge from the war, demanding political liberty and accepting nothing less. In that new struggle there is little doubt that men and women will demand and attain political liberty together.[1]

Later in this same speech liberty was personified:

> She does not wait for those who have a special interest to serve, nor a selfish reason for depriving other people of freedom. Holding her torch aloft, Liberty is pointing the way onward and upward and saying to America, "Come."[2]

Frequently Mrs. Catt expressed the impatience and indignation of suffragists when addressing Congressmen. Upon a few of these occasions she sought to arouse the emotion of fear:

> Every delay, every trick, every political dishonesty from now on will antagonize the women of the land more and more, and when the party or parties which have so delayed woman suffrage finally let it come, their sincerity will be doubted and their appeal to the new voters will be met with suspicion. This is the psychology of the situation. Can you afford the risk? Think it over?[3]

In debate or refutation Mrs. Catt at times placed the stigma of "shame" upon those women who opposed woman suffrage pointing out that women had opposed each step of progress by women and yet after advancements had been made "no man or woman would claim that the gain of any of them was a mistake."[4]

As other nations and especially England, began to recognize the enfranchisement of women, the emotion of fear for the reputation of

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Ibid., p. 20.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Woman Suffrage Must Win," Independent, LXXXIV (October 11, 1915), 58.

democratic America gained stress in her speeches. To illustrate:

> Indeed, so inevitable does our history make woman suffrage that any citizen, political party, or Legislature that now blocks its coming by so much as a single day, contributes to the indefensible inconsistency which threatens to make our nation a jest among the onward-moving people of the world.[1]

In more than half of the seventeen speeches studied, listeners, especially Congressmen, were asked to consider the justice of granting women enfranchisement by the method involving the least difficulty, which appeared to Mrs. Catt to be by the federal amendment. This method would gain respect for the American government and esteem and good will for Congressmen while permitting them to discharge their duties as representatives of the people, and achieve a greater security for democratic practice. The appeal for justice and fair play was Mrs. Catt's most frequently used impelling motive.

In 1900 she pleaded before the Judiciary Committee:

> The way before us is difficult at best, not because our demand is not based upon unquestioned justice, not because it is not destined to win in the end, but because of the nature of the processes through which it must be won.[2]

Before a Senate Hearing in 1910, as was her habit before Congressmen, she called for fair play:

> Is it not likewise unfair to compel women to seek their enfranchisement by methods infinitely more difficult than those by means of which any man in this country has secured his right to a vote? Ordinary fair play should compel every believer in democracy and individual liberty, no matter what are his views on woman suffrage, to grant to women the easiest process of enfranchisement and that is

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 3.

[2]Catt, "Why We Ask for the Submission of an Amendment" (February 13, 1900), op. cit., p. 372.

the submission of a Federal Amendment.[1]

Again, after depicting educated women as being denied the right to vote by illiterate men, she pleaded: "Is there a single man who can justify such inequality of treatment, such outrageous discriminations?"[2]

Legislators were repeatedly asked to consider the most secure method for granting women enfranchisement.[3] Legislators were not only asked to feel a responsibility for women but also to respect them as people, for "let it not be forgotten that democracy means 'a rule or determination by the people' and that women, obviously, are people."[4] Motives of reverence for and conformity to the American tradition were appealed to when she pointed out that the federal amendment was the method provided by the makers of the Constitution and that it was based upon the principle of majority rule.[5] On the other hand she attacked the motive of conformity, an infrequently used impelling motive, when she asked the Legislators to reject the states rights tradition.[6] Further emotional support appeared in the form of appeal to resignation when she asked the Congressmen to accept the time of woman suffrage as now and to receive the prestige and power to be gained by welcoming the new woman voter.[7]

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[1]Statement by Mrs. Catt, "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit., p. 745.

[2]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Ibid., pp. 9-10, 16-17.

[4]Ibid., p. 16.

[5]Ibid., p. 19.

[6]Ibid., p. 20.

[7]Ibid., p. 23.

When addressing women suffragists Mrs. Catt appealed to many of the motives presented to audiences of men. Of this group six speeches delivered at women's conventions stressed the mastery motive encouraging women to excel in each specific goal set before them. She pointed out the progress for which they should be proud and from which they should gain courage to accept their responsibilities for greater achievements. Repeatedly she emphasized the need of belonging to a great group working for a noble cause.

Endeavoring to unite her forces behind the federal amendment, Mrs. Catt stressed, in the following image, all motives already mentioned:

> And we who are the builders of 1916, do we see a Crisis? Standing upon these planks which are stretched across the top-most peak of this edifice of woman's liberty, what shall we do? Over our heads, up there in the clouds, but tantalizing [sic] near, hangs the roof of our edifice--the vote. What is our duty? Shall we spend time in admiring the capstones and cornice? Shall we lament the tragedies which accompanied the laying of the corner stones? Or, shall we, like the builders of old, chant, "Ho! all hands, all hands, heave to! All hands, heave to!" and while we chant, grasp the overhanging roof and with a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether, fix it in place for ever more?[1]

Urging the women to be courageous and to move on to greater achievements, she demanded:

> Shall we play the coward, then, and leave the hard knocks for our daughters or shall we throw ourselves into the fray, bare our own shoulders to the blows and thus bequeath to them a politically liberated womanhood? We have taken note of our gains and of our resources and they are all we could wish. Before the final struggle, we must take cognizance of our weaknesses. Are we prepared to grasp the victory? Alas, no![2]

The preceding quotations, first from speeches addressed to men

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[1]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 11.

[2]Ibid., p. 12.

and second from those addressed to women, seem to indicate that Mrs. Catt was most concerned with emotions and motives appealing to justice from Congressmen and in stimulating women to assume responsibilities and unite their efforts.

In the general use of impelling motives Mrs. Catt attempted to associate her ideas with the following desires of her listeners: mixed motives of justice, fair play, duty, self-esteem, and security maintained an exceedingly high frequency of use; next in frequency were the mastery and social recognition motives; and less in frequency were the conformity and organic motives. There was an absence of the use of the sex motive and of negative appeals. For her opposition she pleaded for an improvement of their ideals.

In summarizing the emotional proof, Mrs. Catt would have Congressmen recognize that women were becoming impatient with the long, hard, humiliating struggle which was developing an animosity between men and women and retarding the progress of American democracy both at home and internationally. To these auditors, therefore, her emotional support included pride in liberty and democratic principles contrasted with impatience and indignation toward those who had deferred the ballot for women. Before varied audiences she expressed shame for the anti-suffragists and fear for the reputation of democratic America.

This group of speeches indicated that the emotion directed to women, especially in "The Crisis," was at times obvious, but that emotion and impelling motives functioned as an integral part of the logical structure in the speeches addressed to men. All of these speeches, in conformity with Cicero's advice, contained much more emotion in the

conclusions than either in the introductions or in the bodies.

Ethical Proof

The canons of ethical proof as presented in Chapter III, p. 124, were applied to Mrs. Catt's speeches treating the method of obtaining the ballot issue. In this section of Chapter IV the questions were asked: How did the speaker establish herself as an authority with her auditors? How did she identify her character? And, did she appear to seek the good will of her listeners?

Mrs. Catt's use of the history of political rights supplied much of the data for establishing her as an authority before her audiences.[1] Frequently she sought prestige before suffragists by supporting her advice and proposals with data concerning the woman suffrage movement.[2]

An important trait in Mrs. Catt's personality was her confidence in success as expressed in "The Woman's Hour has struck," and "Woman suffrage is inevitable."[3] At times she discussed her opponent's arguments with an assurance that they were too weak to need refutation: "Not an inch of solid ground is left for the feet of the opponent."[4]

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[1]Catt, "Why We Ask for the Submission of an Amendment" (1900), op. cit., pp. 369-370; Statement of Mrs. Catt before Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives, February 18, 1902 Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 54; "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit., V, 745; An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), pp. 1-7.

[2]Some examples are: "The Report of the Plan of the Work Committee" (1895), op. cit., pp. 248, 249, and "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit.

[3]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., passim; An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., passim; An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., passim.

[4]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 6.

As already discussed under logical proof, Mrs. Catt defended the federal amendment on the basis of justice. She appeared to associate her character with elevated ideas by seeking to advance the status of women and civilization throughout her speaking career. She exhorted women to "will to be free."[1] A constituent of ethical proof that appeared to be ever present throughout these speeches was Mrs. Catt's sincerity in adhering to one goal for thirty-three years. Rarely did she introduce humor, the most of it appearing in her open forum address to the House Suffrage Committee, 1918. At times she expressed her sincerity in expressions such as "I believe," "we ask you," "Our committee are more than ever convinced," "in my judgment," "let me implore you," "women appeal to you," and "to my mind."[2]

She appeared to achieve the good will of her listeners, especially women, by understanding their problems. For example, in 1895 when she told the women that "the great need of the hour is organization," she excused the pioneer suffragists who were in her audience.[3] Again she identified herself with the problem of her audience when she told the women gathered at Atlantic City in 1916:

> Why, then, should American women be content to beg the vote on bended knee from man to man, when no American male voter has been compelled to pay this price for his vote and no woman of other countries is subjected to this humiliation. . . .Shall the government be less liberal with its daughters than with its sons?[4]

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[1]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 26.

[2]Random sampling, seventeen speeches analyzed on the issue, the method of obtaining the ballot.

[3]Catt, "The Report of the Plan of the Work Committee" (1895), op. cit., pp. 248-249.

[4]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 24.

When addressing Congressmen she attempted to foresee obstacles to male support of woman suffrage in such statements as, "Do you still harbor misgiving?" "Are you perplexed?" "To you who have been friends of woman suffrage, let us say that we know you will meet opposition," or, "Mutual respect between those who gave and those who received the vote would have been promoted had the inevitable duty not been deferred. We hope American Legislators will be wiser."[1] She often complimented the Legislators for being the "constitutionally designated representatives of the women." Frequently she spoke of the United States Legislators as being a "higher class of men" and as having "better instincts" than the illiterate individual voter.[2] In 1919 she stated, "From this lower court [states referenda], often unscrupulous in its unfairness, women appeal to the higher, the Congress and the Legislatures of the United States."[3]

In her refutation she frequently rebuked men, but apparently with tact. In refuting the argument that this is not the proper time to grant woman suffrage, she replied to the Legislators:

> Since Congress had fifty-three years in which to deal with the question of woman suffrage, before taking final action, women look to the legislatures to make quick work of ratification and thus remedy at the earliest possible moment the outrageous wrong of the years of delay. No time is an improper one to do an act of justice and when that justice has been long deferred the obviously proper time is <u>now</u>.[4]

This rebuke presented to the Legislators was preceded by arguments

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[1]Catt, <u>An Address to the Legislatures of the United States</u> (February, 1919), <u>op. cit.</u>, <u>passim</u>.

[2]<u>Ibid</u>.

[3]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 15.

[4]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 18.

in which she contended that other countries had found appropriate times in war and in peace and that the American women had spent fifty-three years endeavoring to convince them that the time was appropriate.[1] Frequently Mrs. Catt supported her rebukes with evidence and reasoning, or she turned them into rhetorical questions that involved reflective thinking, as in this example: "Do you realize that women in increasing numbers indignantly resent the long delay in their enfranchisement?"[2]

In a debate against the anti-suffragists Mrs. Catt linked her opponents and their arguments with "conservatism" by showing how women had opposed every step of progress made by women. They had opposed education for women, public speaking, property rights, and other changes.[3]

Occasionally she turned invective upon an individual who opposed woman suffrage. Such attacks however, were unusual. Such an instance occurred in a speech directed against thirty-three senators who had voted against the Nineteenth Amendment. She held each member responsible for the defeat with especial emphasis placed upon the New York senator, Mr. Wadsworth. She linked Senator Wadsworth with currently unpopular attitudes:

> When the United States entered the war, he [Senator Wadsworth] was a member of the state militia. He promptly resigned, and thus refused as a volunteer to make the supreme sacrifice in the defense of his country which he later voted should be made <u>compulsory</u> upon all of the men of similar age and condition of health. He found an excuse by application of which he need not perform the patriotic duty which his vote made obligatory upon other men, and that excuse

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 17-18.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 20.

[3] Catt, "Woman Suffrage Must Win" (1915), <u>op. cit</u>., p. 58.

> was that in his judgment his services were worth more to his country in the Senate than in the military field! The war has come and gone and one may ask him to prove this value to his country.[1]

Much more frequently she associated the liquor forces with that which she considered as corrupt in the question of coercive and dishonest means used to defeat woman suffrage in the elections.[2]

A summary of Mrs. Catt's speeches on the method of obtaining the ballot showed her to use much variety in ethical appeal. Her type of audience affected the choice of appeal only slightly. To establish herself as an authority before men and women she used much historical data on political rights. She made known her character to different kinds of audiences by her direct statements expressing confidence in the success of the cause. The frequency of these statements increased as she approached the victory. She often, before men, identified herself with American democratic practices. She focused attention upon the probity of her character by associating her cause, woman suffrage, with that which elevates the status of women and indirectly civilization. She linked her opponent, the anti-suffragist, with that considered "conservative" and her opponent, "corrupt political practices," with that lacking in virtue. Her good will was revealed through her ability to identify herself as sharing the problems of women audiences when, in six speeches, she discussed the tasks confronting them. She seemed capable, in about four speeches addressed to Congressmen, of rebuking them for delaying the enfranchisement of women and at the same time of bestowing approval upon their intelligence.

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "They Shall Not Pass," The Woman Citizen, III (February 15, 1919), 774-775.

[2]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., pp. 12-22; "Speech before Congressional Convention" (December 15, 1915), op. cit., p. 5.

Arrangement

In the analysis of Mrs. Catt's use of arrangement in her speeches treating the method of obtaining the ballot issue, two basic questions were asked: What was the basic pattern in the introduction, conclusion, and body of the speeches? and how did these patterns affect or modify her use of invention?

Opening statements rather than complete introductions for these speeches are of this order: "The great need of the hour is organization."[1]

> Although the Constitution of the United States in section 2 of Article I seems to have relegated authority over the extension of the suffrage to the various States, yet curiously, few men in the United States possess the suffrage because they or the class to which they belong have secured their right to it by State action.[2]

"The inaction of Congress in not submitting a federal amendment naturally leads us to infer that Members of Congress believe the proper method is through the referendum."[3] "Maine led the prohibition movement for the entire country. Will it lead the woman suffrage movement in New England?"[4] "It is only a few months since a very remarkable thing happened--over a million men went to the polls and voted 'yes' on Woman Suffrage in four conservative, reactionary Eastern States."[5]

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[1]Catt, "The Report of the Plan of the Work Committee" (1895), op. cit., p. 248.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt at "Senate Hearing," 1910, op. cit., p. 745.

[3]Catt, "Speech before Congressional Convention" (1915), op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Catt, Notes from Speech by Carrie Chapman Catt at the Suffrage Conference in Maine (1917), op. cit., p. 1.

[5]Catt, "Mrs. Catt's Address" (March 7, 1916), op. cit., p. 1.

The preceding examples illustrate the promptness with which she moves into her subject matter. They also illustrate these patterns of introductions: a challenging statement, one of her most frequently employed types of introduction in this issue, being used at least in five of the seventeen speeches; a hypothesis; a generalization; the history of the problem; and a specific instance. Since classifications of introductions of speeches are not mutually exclusive, it is difficult to designate only one class to each introduction. Her use of types varied and was fairly well distributed.

Closing excerpts from conclusions of her speeches followed patterns such as these:

> I hope the Chairman of this Committee and every member on it, will not only give a favorable report, but that you will do more, that you will follow that report upon the floor of the Senate and that you will work for it and immortalize yourselves while you are freeing us from the humiliation of this long hard struggle.[1]

> The cases of these two Republicans are more noxious than any others, because they are the only Senators from enfranchised states who voted against the amendment, and because in every way they knew how their states had instructed them to vote for it.[2]

"There is no reason why the women should not vote from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the next Presidential election."[3] "Woman suffrage is coming--you know it. Will you, Honorable Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, help or hinder it?"[4]

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[1]Catt, "Speech before Congressional Convention" (1915), op. cit., p. 7.

[2]Catt, "They Shall Not Pass" (1919), op. cit., p. 775.

[3]Catt, "Address Victory Mass Meeting" (1917), op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Catt, An Address to the Congress of the United States (1917), op. cit., p. 21.

> Legislators, you are the constitutionally designated representatives of the women of your State. Those women composing the Auxiliary in your State of the National American Woman Suffrage Association appeal to you now to hasten the passage and the ratification of the federal constitutional suffrage amendment in order that our nation may at the earliest possible moment show to all the nations of earth that its action is consistent with its principles.[1]
>
> WOMEN ARISE: DEMAND THE VOTE! The character of a man is measured, it is said, by his will. The same is true of a movement. Then, WILL to be free. Demand the vote. Women, ARISE!"[2]

In more than half of these speeches Mrs. Catt addressed her plea for action directly to the audience. The strength of the plea increased as she approached the victory.

A discussion of the body of the early speeches delivered on the method issue would not differ appreciably from that of the need issue, Chapter III, pp. 128-133. The method issue did not use the extensive development from examples and the organization tended to be more compact in that eight of these speeches were delivered to Congressmen while only four in the need issue had this audience. The method issue was of especial significance during the climax of the movement when Mrs. Catt's complexity of arrangement was most significant. To illustrate her chief development in arrangement of the method over the need issue the organizations of two of her speeches delivered at the climax of the movement are briefed here.[3]

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 21.

[2]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 26.

[3]Letter from Mrs. Catt, June 1, 1945. (She listed as her two most important speeches: An Address to the Congress of the United States [1917], op. cit., and An Address to the Legislatures of the United States [February, 1919], op. cit. A pencil note on "The Crisis" [1916], op. cit., indicated that it was considered to be one of her important speeches.)

She opened her address to the Legislatures in a terse manner: "Woman suffrage is inevitable. Three distinct causes make it so."[1] The development of this introductory statement consumed approximately one-third of the entire speech. She was pleading for a cause that demanded "immediate action."[2] That she had opposition in her audience was evidenced in the vote upon this amendment following the delivery of this speech.[3] The introduction attempted to reduce all audience response to the acceptance of the residue, which was the inevitability of woman suffrage. The body of the speech then reduced the inevitability of woman suffrage to a still more specific residue, the federal amendment. It was through this process that the arrangement of the entire speech and the logic of the invention functioned inseparably. The attitude of the audience toward the subject seemed to affect the arrangement. In turn the arrangement concentrated the attention upon the federal amendment stressing the purpose of the speech. The speech as a whole was cast into a cause to effect arrangement: the causes that had made suffrage inevitable for women and the causes that had given the federal method advantages over the states method. The conclusion of this speech was arranged psychologically in that she returned to her original generalization, "Woman suffrage is inevitable";"you as politicians will need the good will of these new voters." "The greater your resistance in accepting

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[3]Catt and Shuler, op. cit., p. 496. (House vote, May 21, 1919: yeas 304; nays 89. Senate voted February 10, 1919: yeas, including pairs, 63; nays 33. June 4, 1919: yeas, including pairs, 66; nays 30.)

women, the greater will be the animosity between you and this voter." "It is to your advantage to grant woman the ballot immediately." She offered suggestions to those of her audience who were opposed, to those who were indifferent, and to those who were favorable; but her plea was to all of them who were "the constitutionally designated representatives of the women of your state."[1] The invention and arrangement functioned as an integrated whole.

In the close of her address to Congress in 1917, she made a similar psychological appeal using almost identical content, but she added an appeal to the politicians by asking them to put themselves in the place of women. In 1919 she placed more stress upon the appeal to "show to all the nations of the earth that its [America's] action is consistent with its principles."[2]

Another speech in which invention and arrangement functioned inseparably was "The Crisis." The entire speech concerned the problem of determining the policy of the woman suffragists and was arranged according to a reflective thinking procedure. The speech opened with a serious tone, "I have taken for my subject, 'The Crisis.'" Next, it stated her goal and recognized audience opposition.

> I believe that a crisis has come in our movement which, if recognized and the opportunity seized with vigor, enthusiasm and will, means the final victory of our great cause in the very near future. I am aware that some suffragists do not share this belief; they see no signs nor symptoms today which were not present yesterday.[3]

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[1]Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (February, 1919), op. cit., p. 24.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Catt, "The Crisis" (1916), op. cit., p. 1.

Even though her introduction was direct in stating her subject and in relating it to her audience, in its entirety it made up almost half of the speech. It used this arrangement: the present signs and symptoms that indicate the crisis, the past causes that have brought about a crisis, and an analysis of the crisis as to status quo and immediate problems. Her awareness of opposition to her proposed solution appeared to be a vital factor in determining the length of this introduction. Had she immediately proposed the concentration of all forces upon the federal amendment, there was a possibility that she could have met considerable objection.

In the body of "The Crisis" and immediately following the introduction, Mrs. Catt devoted approximately one-third of the entire speech to refutation of the states referenda, piling up evidence based upon experiences and statistics.

The remainder of this speech stressed her proposed solution in spite of its weaknesses which she seemed to admit in order to strengthen the women to meet the conflict. The final exhortation was framed in a dramatic climax.

For "The Crisis" one may reasonably conclude that the occasion, the nature of the premises, the internal ordering of the proofs, and the purpose of the speech all affected the arrangement of the speech.

Mrs. Catt's speeches delivered prior to the climax of the movement were simple and fairly conventional in arrangement. The introductions were brief and varied in manner of approach. Irrelevant materials were excluded. The speech proper differed from those of the need issue in that fewer chronological developments from examples occurred and more

of the method speeches were compact, being intended for Congressmen where her time for speaking was limited. The later speeches of the method issue were her principal speeches delivered at the climax of the movement. The introductions and conclusions, though pertinent to her topic, audience, and occasion, were much longer than those of early speeches. The whole structure included her most complex, logical, and psychological adaptation in the use of arrangement during her entire speaking career.

Synthesis of Arrangement and the Elements of Invention

Arrangement is almost inextricably interwoven with the materials of invention in these speeches. Inductive reasoning employed time, space, or extended analogy order; deductive reasoning was cast into a more complex logical order having many subdivisions of varied arrangements.

In this issue the kind of audience did not appreciably control her preference for deductive or inductive reasoning. The period in which a speech was delivered appeared to be a variable. Her early speeches were more definitely inductive or deductive; her later speeches combined inductive and deductive reasoning with a greater emphasis upon the deductive pattern. This feature seems to be in agreement with their increased complexity of arrangement. She usually introduced refutation as an independent unit immediately preceding the conclusion and at times interwove it into the constructive part of the speech. Characteristically, Mrs. Catt's emotional and ethical proofs were subservient to her logical proof throughout the body of the speeches, but they gained emphasis in the conclusion. At intervals throughout those speeches delivered at the climax of the movement, rhetorical questions and direct address provided both

ethical and emotional appeal. Mrs. Catt's unified purpose and strong logical argument caused arrangement to reenforce invention, the two merging into a functional whole.

Summary and Conclusions

Invention

Premises and Arguments

The method of obtaining the ballot was a principal issue in Mrs. Catt's persuasive speeches promoting the suffrage cause. To convince men that women should be enfranchised by a federal amendment she directed the organizing, the preparation, and the activities of two million woman suffrage forces. In analyzing the problems of the movement, she recognized three needs: a larger and more closely united organization, a group of women who understood the political obstacles that confronted them, and women whose conduct could command the respect of the male voters. She showed strong faith that through education the best elements of the political parties would join the suffragists in a nonpartisan campaign against corrupt politics, thereby improving democratic practices and clearing the way for the enfranchisement of women.

As women approached their goal, the states referenda method conflicted with the achievement of the federal amendment, and for a time appeared to threaten a division of the woman suffrage forces. Mrs. Catt met this controversy before both women and men by showing that the federal method was quicker, more adequate, and more dignified than the states method.

Logical proof.--To validate arguments pertaining to the method issue Mrs. Catt relied principally upon hypothetical and disjunctive reasoning which, toward the close of the movement, extended into sorites. When reasoning inductively, more frequently in her early speeches, she developed her generalizations from many examples, testimonials, and historical data.

One kind of argument does not appear exclusively in any one speech in this issue. The nearest approach to this condition occurs in the early speeches. Even in that period, causal-relation and analogy were frequently integrated so that the development of an analogy included many examples and also a cause to effect relation. Throughout the issue arguments from sign and from authority were segments of some other argument. Authority maintained a moderate distribution throughout the issue. Sign arguments increased in frequency as the movement progressed. It seems that types of audiences caused no significant deviation in Mrs. Catt's selection of arguments as to kind. Relation between likenesses and differences in analogies and between causes to effects were usually pointed out. The time element was stressed in her use of signs. Those of her authorities presented without being established were usually accepted by American audiences.

Early speeches treating this issue and addressed to different types of audiences seemed to clarify arguments by amplification; later, supporting materials appeared intended almost entirely for proof, especially when addressing Congressmen. Much refutation was introduced into Mrs. Catt's constructive arguments. In direct attack she attempted to reduce plans other than the federal amendment to that which was inconsistent and

impractical. Her refutation was often cast into dilemmas and rhetorical questions.

Emotional proof.--In establishing emotional proof, she endeavored to arouse pride in liberty accompanied by impatience and indignation toward those who had withheld the ballot from women. Shame was sought for the anti-suffragists and fear for the reputation of democratic America. In motivating the desires of her listeners she appealed frequently to mixed, mastery, and social recognition motives; less frequently to conformity and organic desires. There was little use of the sex motive. She sought to make audiences of women proud of their achievements, aware of the insecurity of their weaknesses and obstacles, and courageous in meeting each goal set before them. She pleaded with Congressmen to accept their responsibility by recognizing women as people, to maintain the reputation of the United States as a democratic nation, and to conform with the tradition of the American Constitution but to reject the tradition of states' rights.

Ethical proof.--When Mrs. Catt spoke on the method of obtaining the ballot, she used considerable variety in ethical appeal. The type of audience affected her choice of appeal very little. To establish herself as an authority before men and women she used much historical data on political rights. When addressing Congressmen she made known her character as approving American ideals by resting her case upon American democratic principles. Her repeated expression of confidence in the success of her cause and her admonition to the women to "will to be free" suggested that she was a woman of strong will and sincerity of purpose. She established herself as upholding fair play and justice, and as

understanding the problems confronting the women in their struggle for the ballot and, at times, the Congressmen who had delayed the acceptance of a definite stand for woman suffrage. Her infrequent rebukes were supported by explanations except when she used invective. She linked the opposition with that considered conservative and unvirtuous. On the whole her ethical appeal seemed to reveal a personality possessing intelligence, a reputable character, and good will.

Arrangement

The materials of the introductions in these speeches included challenging or novel statements, statements of the subject or the subject as related to the audience, generalizations, the history of the problem, and specific instances. Challenging statements led in frequency of use with about an equal distribution of the others. The type of audience did not appear to affect the selection of type. In her early speeches introductions were brief and approached the theme in a direct manner. In the climactic speeches she devoted a third or in some cases almost one-half of her speech to preparing her audience for the argument proper, because of certain opposition by both women and men that had developed toward the federal amendment. Conclusions were strong pleas for action addressed directly to the audience. They were stated in the form of analogies, slogans, or challenges. Toward the end of the movement the conclusions were longer and more emphatic in appeal than those of earlier speeches. In the body of the speeches the commonly used patterns of arrangement included causal relation, problem-solution, time order, and extended-analogy with causal relation and extended analogy having the higher frequency

of usage. Complexity of arrangement increased with the progress of the movement. The nature of the premises, the internal ordering of the proofs, and the arrangement of the whole appeared to modify and affect each other by functioning as a whole in the development of a central theme.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF THE BALLOT

Introduction

To the joint convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the First Congress of the League of Women Voters, President Woodrow Wilson sent the following telegram:

> Permit me to congratulate your association upon the fact that its great work is so near its triumph and that you now can merge it into a league of women voters to carry on the development of good citizenship and real democracy, and to wish for the new organization the same success and wise leadership.[1]

As the women approached their victory--the gaining of the Nineteenth Amendment--Mrs. Catt exhorted them:

> Women be glad today. Let your voices ring out the gladness in your hearts. There will never come another day like this. Let the joy be unconfined and let it speak so clearly that its echo will be heard around the world and find its way into the soul of every woman of any and every race and nationality who is yearning for opportunity and liberty still denied her sex.[2]

In the midst of their rejoicing the women were making plans for the use of the ballot. To them the impelling motive all along had been, not to acquire enfranchisement as an end, but as a means to other

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[1]President Woodrow Wilson, telegram to Mrs. Catt at Chicago, Joint Convention NAWSA and First Congress of the LWV, February, 1920, The Woman Citizen, IV (February 21, 1920), 889.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Be Joyful Today," Speech Delivered February 13, 1920, Congress Hotel, Chicago, ibid., p. 1837.

liberties.[1] As early as April, 1919, the suffragists had reorganized themselves into the League of Women Voters, preparatory to the new responsibility of voting. While the federal amendment was in the process of being ratified, the members of this new organization were busy setting up citizenship schools in many areas of the United States for the purpose of educating the new woman voter. Mrs. Catt's guidance of women in the use of the ballot is to be the subject of this chapter.

For the rhetorical analysis of invention and arrangement as used by Mrs. Catt in treating the issue, how the ballot should be used, a sampling of twenty-three speeches has been selected.[2] This number was considered by the writer to present a complete point of view of her arguments and use of invention and arrangement in her development of this issue. The decision was arrived at after several readings of one hundred and forty extant copies of her speeches, which Mrs. Catt considered representative of her speaking.[3] Of the total number of speeches about thirty pertained to the use of the ballot issue. The seven excluded duplicated subject matter and rhetorical devices. Concurrently with the delivery of these speeches she was speaking principally upon the abolition of war, an issue not wholly separate from the use of the ballot. The significance of the war issue makes it seem advisable to treat it separately in Chapter VI.

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, One Hundred Years of Women's Progress, Radio Broadcast before National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, July 10, 1939 (New York: National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., 1939), p. 2.

[2]Indicated in bibliography by footnote number three.

[3]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview, 1943.

The procedure of developing Chapter V is similar to that followed in Chapter III. Premises and arguments will be outlined and reviewed. Insofar as available evidence permits, canons of logical, emotional, and ethical proofs, of arrangement, and of the synthesis of arrangement and the elements of invention will be applied to the materials of these speeches.

Invention

Premises and Arguments

In advancing the use of the ballot Mrs. Catt promoted citizenship schools to train the new voter, and she reorganized her suffrage forces into the League of Women Voters to gain strength in advancing the political, social, and industrial rights of women. A review of her premises and arguments used in this issue is as follows:

I. Women should establish a League of Women Voters.
   - A. It should foster education in citizenship.
     1. Its members should train other women to be responsible voters.
     2. The League should set up a department to promote citizenship education and to study politics.
   - B. It should maintain a paradoxical political attitude.
     1. Within the League members should be nonpartisan, but
     2. They should be active political party members.
   - C. It should support improved legislation.
     1. The League should work toward equal rights with men.
     2. It should assist in purifying American democracy.

II. The progress of woman's use of the ballot indicates:

A. She has met opposition.

B. She has made some progress.

C. Her task is not completed.

Establishing the League

The League of Women Voters was the principal organization through which Mrs. Catt functioned when advising women in the use of the ballot. When Mrs. Catt proposed a memorial dedicated to the memory of the suffragists' dead leaders, she said:

> I propose no marvel; merely the most natural, the most appropriate and the most patriotic memorial that could be suggested--A League of Women Voters to "Finish the Fight," and to aid in the reconstruction of the nation.[1]

Mrs. Catt, at this time, suggested that the League concentrate upon three chief aims:

> 1. To use its utmost influence to secure the final enfranchisement of the women of every state in our own Republic and to reach out across the seas in aid of the woman's struggle for her own in every land.
> 2. To remove the remaining legal discriminations against women in the codes and constitutions of the several states in order that the feet of coming women may find these stumbling blocks removed.
> 3. To make our democracy so safe for the nation and so safe for the world that every citizen may feel secure and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American Republic to lead.[2]

The aim of the League as stated in its constitution reads:

> The object of the National League of Women Voters shall be to foster education in citizenship and to support improved legislation. The National League of Women Voters urges every woman to become an enrolled voter, but as an organization it shall be allied with and

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[1]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 917.

[2]Ibid.

support no party.[1]

Education in Citizenship

On February 18, 1920, the suffragists closed their convention in Chicago. Immediately following Mrs. Catt conducted a two-weeks School for Political Education for which she had secured Chicago University professors as lecturers. The syllabus of courses given at the school was published serially in The Woman Citizen, and later in textbook form.[2] The lectures were designed "to train competent teachers of American Citizenship." The serials as published in The Woman Citizen were intended primarily for

> . . .the woman who has to paddle her own canoe to the ballot box, the woman who cannot go to the citizenship school; the woman who cannot coax up any very vivid interest in abstract texts on civil government and yet has a sense of responsibility about voting and wants to know how to vote intelligently.[3]

An announcement about the course read in part:

> It begins. . .with that woman where she finds herself at the moment, with the full enrollment and registration and election behind her and the spring primaries ahead of her. It will take her through the technique of voting step by step. . . .
>
> It will help her get interested in the forms that Government takes, the way it subdivides on itself, what is expected of each sub-division and whom to blame for what. . . .
>
> It will take her on personally conducted expeditions to her own City Hall and to the capital of her own state and try to help her to a complete understanding of the net-work of political activity that centers in each. It will give her a trip to Washington and insure her a first-hand acquaintance with Congress.
>
> It will close with her own responsibility toward her own

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[1]"Constitution of the National League of Women Voters," The Woman Citizen, IV (March 13, 1920), 992.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 320.

[3]The Woman Citizen, IV (March 27, 1920), 1055.

Government.[1]

Two lectures delivered by Mrs. Catt at this school were "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" and "How the Vote Came to Men." She felt that men were "really unacquainted with the history of their own enfranchisement," and that women could be, in a few years, "just as unfamiliar with the history of the movement" that had enfranchised them.[2] She concluded:

> What I think ought to be done is to have a small, rather simple sort of primer to give the history of the way in which the men and the women of this country secured the vote; and that it ought to be a school book. . . .
>
> I think the knowledge of these things would stimulate the loyalty to the principles of democracy that we need. I cannot but admit it would take away from everybody who is familiar with it a very good deal of pride in our liberality and tolerance, for I do not find in the history of the extension of suffrage to women any heroics in the matter of tolerance or reason or liberality.[3]

In Mrs. Catt's lecture "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" she launched into an area having no precedent. The purpose of this speech was to share her experiences with those who would be going out to conduct other such schools. Four of her basic aims were stated as follows:

> . . . .We wanted you to know that there are two classes of people who may be called experts, one that studies political questions out of books and by so doing arrives at certain conclusions; the other class is composed of people who study these questions in actual operation and they arrive at other conclusions. These two groups of people do not always agree and rarely make the effort to compare their conclusions. We wanted you to understand this fully, for in the schools to be held the combined conclusions should be taught.
>
> The second aim of this school has been to teach not only that politics is a very big question, but that it is in the process of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Catt, "How the Vote Came to Men" (1920), op. cit., pp. 638-641.

[3] Ibid., p. 641.

> evolution. . . .
>
> And the third aim has been to teach ourselves that politics, party politics, the game of politics, is behind almost every question in which any of you may be interested.
>
> And then lastly the voter must remember that when a wrong decision is made, that is when the masses, the majority, make a wrong decision, when the leaders are not strong enough to point to the right solution of a question, the nation is only arranging everything in perfect order for disaster.[1]

As to subject matter Mrs. Catt thought that the average woman voter should know the preamble of the United States Constitution and that she should know the election laws in order that she could be a participant in voting and in conducting clean elections. Other suggestions included simple lessons in Civil Government related to the use of the vote, how to get what the voter wants, money in politics, program of legislation, nonpartisan, and discretionary discussions of important questions of the day, what each party stood for, bibliographies for further study, organized study of politics, and a co-operative attitude toward political workers.

Interest in Government Efficiency

At a meeting of the League in Cleveland, 1921, Mrs. Catt delivered an address presenting the need and the plan of a proposed department of the League to be called "Efficiency in Government":

> First. We were a political body when we were working for the suffrage and we secured the vote by political action. Political work therefore lies along the line of the experience and the training of this body. I repeat that if the successor of the Suffrage Association does not take politics as one of its chief branches of work no other group of women will.

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[1] Carrie Chapman Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools," Chicago Citizenship School, February, 1920, The Woman Citizen, V (October 23, 1920), 58-82.

> Second. Where women have voted they have centered their political efforts on correction of laws concerning women and children. They have so specialized that they have kept out of the real domain of the management of political parties and that, too, without realizing how completely they had remained on the outside. . .
>
> Third. . . .Therefore we urge that a study of the politics shall be elevated to an equal position with education in citizenship and that the two be combined in one department.[1]

She suggested that a research program be promoted through the State League of Women Voters in order to study such matters as the election laws; how to secure and train election officers; how to improve election booths, ballots, and primary laws; the elimination of corruption; proportional representation; and how to make all units of government more efficient and more representative.[2]

Attitude toward Political Parties

As the women reorganized their two million forces with a new title and for the purpose of using the ballot, some politicians questioned their motives. Mrs. Catt devoted several speeches to the purpose of clarifying to men the political attitude of the women in the League of Women Voters. At the same time she endeavored to convince women that they should affiliate with parties.

> For years, we have been appealing for recognition by the political parties. Is it now our intention to stay on the outside and petition? If so, what was the use of our getting the vote? The only way to get anything in this country is from the inside of the parties.[3]

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Whose Government is This?" Speech delivered at Cleveland Convention of League of Women Voters, April, 1921, The Woman Citizen, VI (July 30, 1921), 8, 16.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "A Mighty Political Experiment," The Woman Citizen, IV (February 28, 1920), 913.

In the speech, "Looking Forward," delivered at the convention in which the League was formed, she stated: "Some people are afraid of us. They fear we mean to disrupt and trouble the parties. We shall trouble no party unless it fails to keep up with the times."[1]

> We are going to fight with you, gentlemen, and you with us, but we women are going to be a pudding stick inside of each party, until America becomes a nation rebaptized in the old principles of freedom --a nation which will go forward leading the nations of the world.[2]

At the Victory Suffrage Convention in Chicago, Mrs. Catt selected for her opening speech the title, "On the Inside," and took for her text the slogan "Get into the parties." An editorial in The Woman Citizen described this speech as crucial:

> It picked women up and faced them about completely in their feeling and conviction with regard to party affiliation. Many, perhaps most, of the women there had come with a rather definite antagonism to party affiliation. After that speech, with its clarifications, they stood overwhelmingly committed to its pronouncements.[3]

In portraying the future battle for women she reminded them of the power of the political machines and cautioned them about certain obstacles they would confront. She contended that men still must be converted to the idea of the equality of men and women:

> Now, because you get the vote, it doesn't mean that every ward or county chairman has suddenly become convinced that women can do things as well as men. You have got to begin and convert those men to the new idea. They may even say it is all right for women to vote, but when it comes to administrative work within the party,

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[1] Carrie Chapman Catt, Closing Speech at St. Louis Convention, March, 1919, The Woman Citizen, III (April 12, 1919), 960. (Notes by Alice Stone Blackwell.)

[2] Ibid., p. 960.

[3] "Mrs. Catt Opened the Victory Suffrage Convention in Chicago," The Woman Citizen, IV (March 6, 1920), 946.

that is the man's business.[1]

Neither would women be welcomed inside the center of the party where the real wheels moved without "a hard, long fight." To get your legislation into law "you must move right up to the center of things and get your influence there, but there is one terrible enemy, an incubus, that lies across your pathway and that is what we ordinarily call partisanship."[2]

> There are two kinds of partisanship, the kind that reasons out that this platform has more in it that you believe in than any other and that this party has more capability of putting those things into practice than any other. Therefore, you say I will line myself up with that party. That is the kind of partisanship that has led the world onward.
>
> The other kind, to be afraid of, makes you a Republican or a Democrat because you were brought up in those parties and your grandfather and your father were in them. . . .It is the kind of thing that blinds the sight and paralyzes the judgment. . . .
>
> In the League of Women Voters we have this anomaly: We are going to be a semi-political organization. We want political things, we want legislation. We are going to educate for citizenship. In that body we have got to be non-partisan and all partisan. . . .
>
> You must convert your respective parties to have confidence in you, confidence in your platform and confidence in the League of Women Voters. I want to warn you that there is only about one man in twenty-five who will be big enough to understand that you, a Republican, can work with you, a Democrat, in a non-partisan party and be loyal to your respective parties. . . .
>
> There is another danger. . . .The danger is that the League of Women Voters is going to be too timid and too conservative. . . .
>
> If the League of Women Voters hasn't the vision to see what is coming and ought to come, and be five years ahead of the political parties, I don't think it is worth having. . . .[3]

The Woman's Progress in the Use of the Vote

In a number of speeches Mrs. Catt endeavored to evaluate woman's

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[1] Ibid., p. 947.

[2] Ibid., p. 948.

[3] Ibid.

progress in the use of the ballot, and to encourage women to complete the struggle for equal rights with men and to purify the American democracy.

In reply to those statesmen who had expressed disappointment in women's failure to correct certain corrupt political practices, she explained: It is "impossible for the 'bride' to go into her mother-in-law's house and keep it in her own way."[1] It seemed to Mrs. Catt that the opposition to the woman voter was a continuation of that made to the suffragist. A new generation was needed to free itself from this restriction:

> Liberated from one struggle, a large number of women find themselves brought in conflict with the same opponents as before who now prevent the normal operation of woman suffrage.
>
> If there is any reason for discouragement because women voters in two general elections have not proved sufficiently omnipotent to move the affairs of this nation forward a quarter of a century, it may be found in this fact. The minority, stubbornly unconvertible, resisting, obstructing, is still here. Most of these men and women will never change their minds. They can't. There is nothing exceptional in this fact, it has been true of all movements. The cause must wait for its real test till majority and minority pass on. Those who come after accept an established fact as such, the resistance gradually disappears and cooperation to make the cause an effective factor in civilization comes. Meantime, the chief business of all progressive women is to carry forward education for equal rights and opportunities in politics, in industry, in social reform, in the church, in business, in education, in the arts and the sciences. That we are now in this second stage and our education going strong, is the second reason for rejoicing today. But there are gratifying, concrete results already.[2]

These results included such factors as: Women had gone to the polls in numbers approximating that of men. Their presence there had "revolutionized election day." Women had been recognized as "capable of holding

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "What Women Have Done with the Vote," Dinner attended by Women from Fourteen Nations at the Fifth Anniversary of the Completed Campaign for Equal Suffrage, Independent, October 17, 1925, p. 448.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Radio Address," August 26, 1925, pp. 2-3.

public offices."[1]

Mrs. Catt's appraisals of women's accomplishments were not concluded without an appeal to complete the tasks of improving the status of women and of democracy: "Indeed, there are problems enough boiling and seething around every woman of us to keep an army of keen thinkers and doers busy for a generation before they shall all be cleared away."[2]

In a speech before the League of Women Voters in 1940 she prescribed ten commandments as a "100-year plan" to save democracy. She declared that democracy could be protected only by developing a "master idea to combat the totalitarian governments' master idea of conquest, pillage, murder and oppression."[3] Her "ten commandments for an ideal democracy," which she said might require one-hundred years to make fully operative, were:

> 1. We will unite to correct all defects in our form of government and strive to complete the most perfect democracy the world has yet known.
> 2. To this end we will institute a thorough political housecleaning: We will tolerate no buying and selling of votes for cash, favors or prestige, no illegitimate political machine ruled over by a boss, no lying or whispering campaign which seeks the election of one candidate by tarnishing the reputation of his rival.
> 3. When a monkey wrench is thrown into a machine which disturbs or destroys its production it is called sabotage, which is a prison offense. We will also make the throwing of a propaganda monkey-wrench into the political machine sabotage, punishable with a prison penalty.
> 4. We will support candidates for Councils, Legislatures and

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[1]Catt, "What Women Have Done with the Vote," op. cit., p. 447.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Radio Address," Delivered at Luncheon of the NLWV, Hotel St. Regis, Wednesday, March 26, 1930, pp. 1-6.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address," Delivered before the Westchester League of Women Voters in the Rama-rack Country Club, October 29, 1940, New York Times, October 31, 1940, p. 25.

> Congress who are intelligent and not tied fast to a single, narrow idea.
>
> We will develop statesmen and stateswomen instead of politicians.
>
> 5. With the constantly improving political system we will unite to build the highest and truest civilization yet known.
>
> 6. To this end, criminality must be more strictly controlled. We will make "Thou shalt not kill" read as the first rule in the next century.
>
> 7. "Thou shalt not steal by theft or trickery" shall be reannounced as the second crime.
>
> 8. We shall make "truth" to illuminate our world as our highest virtue, and the "lie" as the filthiest of all offenses.
>
> 9. To these ends we will persuade all religions to talk less of creed, history and self-glory and more of the need to teach these amended commandments to all children, all the men and women of our land, that it may be purified and made strong.
>
> 10. We guarantee liberty in all its variations to all citizens. Every man and woman shall enjoy all rights and liberties to the full --when and if they do not interfere with the rights or liberties of others. . . .
>
> As the slogan to explain our aims to the world, let us take these immortal words of Woodrow Wilson: "What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."[1]

Mrs. Catt's premises and arguments concerning the use of the ballot may now be summarized. After the right to vote had been gained by women, Mrs. Catt organized the League of Women Voters to promote their usage of the ballot. It had as its goal to foster education in citizenship and to support improved legislation. For the first purpose Mrs. Catt conducted the Chicago School for Political Education which was intended to train citizenship teachers. For the promotion of research regarding political problems, the League set up a department of Efficiency in Government.

In supporting improved legislation, Mrs. Catt advised women to be active in political parties but to continue to be nonpartisan as members of the League and to support, at all times, that which was best for women

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[1] Ibid.

and for the nation regardless of party affiliations. It seemed to Mrs. Catt that in the use of the ballot women were confronting problems similar to those met in the struggle for the ballot. The power of the ballot had assisted women to make some progress for themselves and for the nation, yet many tasks were yet incomplete.

Logical Proof

Patterns of Reasoning

In analyzing the patterns of reasoning in the speeches treating the use of the ballot issue three basic questions were asked: Was the pattern deductive or inductive? What kinds of enthymemes were used? What was the nature of her inductive reasoning?

Deductive reasoning.--For this issue Mrs. Catt's deductive thinking is largely hypothetical and categorical; rarely does she use the disjunctive pattern. At least six of her speeches addressed to women employed the following hypothesis: If we do not want America to fall as other nations have done in the past, we must perfect our democracy by electing only government officials who support law enforcement and democratic principles. The following passage illustrates this type of reasoning:

> If we are to remain a leader among the nations, there must be no citizen who does not know the ideals that the stars and stripes represent. So we have set ourselves to the biggest task women ever undertook to stand behind this program [education of the illiterate voter]. We are not radicals, we are only looking forward, but the parties are to know that there is a power behind them, pushing them on to do the right thing.[1]

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Looking Forward," St. Louis Convention. Stenographic Report by Alice Stone Blackwell, The Woman Citizen, III (April 12, 1919), 960.

When advising the new woman voter she reasoned categorically that advantages were to be had on the inside of the political parties.[1] Mrs. Catt's less frequently used pattern of disjunctive reasoning is to be found in her contrast of the petition with the ballot:

> It isn't a question of whether they political parties ought to be powerful or ought not to be powerful. It is the trend of the present political development and they are powerful. And instead of appealing to them for the things you want, it is better to get on the inside and get the things you want.[2]

Sorites characterized those speeches developed by deduction. A brief illustration may be given from the introduction of the speech "On the Inside":

> [We are stupid, for] we can't express an idea so that other people will get the idea as we see it and feel it. . . .The result is that there is confusion.
>
> There is confusion and misunderstanding about the League of Women Voters that is pretty largely political. . . .They seem to think that it is going to keep women out of the political parties.[3]

Inductive reasoning.--Speeches developed by the inductive pattern of reasoning depended almost altogether upon history to support generalizations. The extent of the history was governed by the occasion or by the nature of the subject. For example, in her speech "How the Vote Came to Men," she developed the progress of men voters from the time of the American Revolution to 1920. She reached the conclusion: "I think the knowledge of these things would stimulate the loyalty to the principles of democracy that we need."[4] In 1929 she selected a sixty year

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "On the Inside," Delivered before the League of Women Voters, February 14, 1920. Victory Suffrage Convention in Chicago, The Woman Citizen, IV (March 6, 1920), 947-948.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Catt, "How the Vote Came to Men" (1920), op. cit., p. 641.

interval in order that she might glorify The Woman's Journal from its origin as "the organ, the patron, the guide, the staff, and the increasing faith upholder of the woman's cause."[1] From these specific instances she generalized that woman's greatest struggle was in the past and that woman's future was dependent upon her use of the ballot:

> Its bound volumes [The Woman's Journal] tell the story of six decades of the baffling, battling, losing, winning struggle of women to escape from outgrown repressions. Outlined against that setting sun stands woman, emancipated. To be sure there are a few odd jobs before the aim is quite accomplished, but she is rising upon another sixty years. Its record will tell what women have done with their newly acquired liberty.[2]

Generalizations developed through inductive reasoning centered around two themes: the improved status of women as indicated in the speech Then and Now and the improved status of the American democracy illustrated in her address delivered at the Rama-rack Country Club.[3] Repeatedly, she used specific instances, largely historical in nature. The speeches developed by inductive reasoning were delivered principally upon anniversary occasions, a type of speech for which she had opportunity to speak after 1920. In these speeches treating the use of the ballot issue Mrs. Catt gave some preference to the use of inductive reasoning and a combination of both deductive and inductive over the use of deductive reasoning.

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Sixty Years of Stepping Forward," The Woman's Journal, XIV (December, 1929), 7.

[2]Ibid., p. 35.

[3]Catt, Address delivered before the Westchester League of Women Voters (October 29, 1940), op. cit., p. 25.

Kinds of Arguments

For the following analysis three basic questions were asked: What were the kinds of arguments used? How frequently and under what circumstances did they occur? How did she endeavor to validate her arguments?

In this issue Mrs. Catt used examples extensively in a manner similar to that of earlier speeches. The illustrations of inductive reasoning, just given, indicate that the generalizations epitomized the many examples in a manner principally evocative. Exceptional cases were infrequent. Their use was chiefly to show how progress had been checked. Most examples referred to the major events in the history of the movement. The audience's acceptance of her examples depended greatly upon their willingness to respect her as an authority on the subject of suffrage.

In the over-all causal pattern of reasoning she contended that in practice American democracy had many defects such as the problem of the illiterate immigrant voter, organized corruption, political machinery, and weak democratic leadership--all of which had possibilities of effecting the destruction of America. To further establish her argument, by sign and analogy, she pointed to the downfall of nations. The indefinite time sequence between causes and effects permitted her to turn to other causes that might intervene to prevent the downfall of American democracy.

Such reasoning is illustrated in "The Nation Calls!" in which she presented an over-all cause to effect argument supported by numerous divisions of the causal relations. She stressed by hypothetical reasoning

the future dangers to America and considered the condition analogous to that of other nations:

> These facts [about illiteracy] announce to the smug and self-satisfied American the presence of an unmistakable national danger. It is idle to deny it and fool hardy to neglect it. The extent of its possibilities cannot be overestimated. Other nations have fallen when the causes were less obviously certain to bring disaster.[1]

These causes included the control of the illiterate vote by unscrupulous men,[2] and the political "strategy and manoeuvre" to gain a desired end.[3] These statements were supported by examples, many of which pertained to big industries. Recognition, however, was made of intervening causes operating to counteract illiteracy and organized destruction:

> Between these two stands the majority of our population, the common people, intelligent and understanding, respecting and upholding American ideals, voting wisely, conducting themselves honestly. To these classes we owe the fact that the Republic has lived and moved forward, despite its load of illiteracy and the consequent tempering interference of those whose only motive is private gain. It is to these we owe the victory of our nation in the war. . . .Whenever there is a cause for justice, of common national welfare, of national progress, here in America we "tell it to the people," and from mountain and valley, city and farm, this great middle class rallies to its support.[4]

To further alter the results of the cause Mrs. Catt turned to the League of Women Voters for assistance in educating voters.[5]

In "Whose Government is This?" she asserted that "government by the people rarely functions in this country, and it does not function

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[1]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 919.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 920.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 921.

anywhere in the world as yet." This statement was presented as the cause for the delay of woman suffrage; and in turn the delay of woman suffrage was used as a sign that government by the people rarely functioned in this country. In developing her causal relation argument she contended: "There are many causes why it [government by the people] does not function and any one of these causes may at any time be sufficient to delay normal progress in a government such as ours."[1] Acknowledgment was made for other causes (reform measures) to intervene for the purpose of changing the effect produced.

In her speech "On the Inside" she was principally concerned with a procedure whereby women might be most effective in improving the status quo. She used the suffragists' experiences outside of political parties when struggling for the ballot as a sign and as an analogy that women should get on the inside of political parties to advance their own interests and at the same time those of the democracy. This admonition involved many warnings concerning the weaknesses of women and the conflicting forces confronting them. In treating this generalization Mrs. Catt accounted for both positive and exceptional cases. The entire speech was highly analytical of problems confronting women that might prevent them from developing sufficient political influence to achieve their desired goals for themselves and for America.[2]

Causal reasoning in Mrs. Catt's speeches on the use of the ballot, indicated that she supported by sign and analogy two broad

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[1]Catt, "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit., pp. 8, 16.

[2]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., pp. 580-582.

generalizations: the promotion of equality of women with men and the promotion of an American government that would function democratically. It seems probable that American women would accept these generalizations without proof. In these speeches Mrs. Catt utilized her time attempting to analyze causes that could effect both the undesired and the desired goals. Though supported by factual illustrations, a complete connection between cause and effect could be only hypothetical since much of the effect was still in the future. In these arguments from causal relation, reasons were presented for the purpose of establishing the truth of the proposition; in the arguments from sign, reasons were stated apparently for the purpose of recognizing the truth of the proposition.

When Mrs. Catt argued from analogy she appeared to assume that the compared cases were alike in essential respects, as in the case of comparisons of the United States with other nations or of women's problems in the use of the ballot as compared with her problems in promoting the suffrage movement. She would select an incident of the past and use it as a basis to predict the future. She used a negative analogy to urge women to remain organized after receiving the ballot:

> There was no common body which could stand for a special session and bring political influence to bear. There was a federation of clubs which helped tremendously in several states, but it isn't an organization that is designed for that kind of thing. The Republicans within a Republican state, and Democrats within a Democratic state, did not have the means or the machinery with which to pull themselves together until somebody else did it for them or to say to their governor of their own party, "You ought to call this special session for us." Within the parties they were merely auxiliary.
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> That may happen in the future and especially will it happen if the women do not go into the political parties with the intention of being something more than men--too inside those parties.[1]

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[1] Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., p. 948.

When establishing the League of Women Voters Mrs. Catt concentrated upon the defining or the explaining of meanings and attitudes. This is the type of argument termed "explanation" by McBurney and others.[1] She found it important to define the meaning and purpose of the League of Women Voters, of citizenship schools, and partisan and nonpartisan attitudes. As she explained meanings and attitudes she was seeking gradual acceptance of her definitions.

Only about two of these twenty-three speeches contained much argument from authority other than those in which Mrs. Catt herself assumed authority. Her speech "How the Vote Came to Men" was based upon research done in a number of universities.[2] This speech contained more exposition than argumentation. In "The Nation Calls!" Mrs. Catt cited statistics from census reports of the government and from army figures for drafted men for the purpose of developing her argument that the illiterate immigrant was a problem of importance in the progress of American democracy.[3]

In about half of the speeches in the need of the ballot issue Mrs. Catt attempted to validate her arguments by using many examples of a historical nature. Negative examples were infrequent. At least another half of these speeches were based on causal relation arguments supported by a few arguments from analogy, sign, and authority. Purpose and occasion seemed to be the significant variables. Arguments from examples were delivered at anniversary occasions. She discussed the relation

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[1]McBurney, O'Neill, and Mills, op. cit., pp. 130-142.

[2]Catt, "How the Vote Came to Men" (1920), op. cit., p. 610.

[3]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 918.

between causes and effects most often in her highly persuasive speeches.

Methods of Support

This chapter concerns itself with two basic questions concerning methods of support: What types of support are used? What variables affected her use of support? The support used in this issue may be classified into two groupings: historical examples taken from the woman suffrage movement and varied types of support as found in several of her highly persuasive speeches. Historical examples would require undue length to illustrate. The varied type of support as revealed in two representative speeches is illustrated here.

"The Nation Calls!" opened with a description of the memorial she would not set up for the woman suffragists--"Not cut in marble or moulded in bronze."[1] By induction she pointed the listener toward a living, active memorial--the League of Women Voters. Since the women were weary from the long suffrage struggle, perhaps their natural tendency was to relax from further responsibilities. In this speech Mrs. Catt proposed three goals, two of which would require indefiniteness in time and all of which would mean considerable responsibility on the part of the women. In gradually explaining each of her three goals by exposition, narration and description, she developed an implicative persuasion aiming to establish the League of Women Voters. Data were supported by statistics; explanations were clarified by analogies and by the narration of specific incidents; situations were vivified and dramatized by imagery; and stress was gained by the employment of rhetorical questions.

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[1]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 917.

To open the speech "On the Inside" Mrs. Catt quoted Bismarck on the stupidity of the human race. She then cited specific instances of opposition to the League of Women Voters to illustrate the misunderstandings regarding the meaning of the organization. She combined personal testimony with analogy when she stated: "I don't think we have ever won the vote in a single state, even by a state referendum, where one or both of the political parties have not really, in their machines, given their consent that it should go through, so powerful are they."[1] By analogy she used this reasoning along with other observations of political parties to support her argument that women voters should get on the inside of parties. She named specific instances when admonishing women about the "two kinds of partisanship." Occasionally she introduced an image as suggested in this one: The center of a political party was like having the "door locked tight" and that warning should be made about the "incubus, that lies across your pathway"--ordinarily called "partisanship."[2]

In the use of the ballot issue, as in previous issues, Mrs. Catt utilized most of the types of support. In those fourteen speeches which were delivered for special occasions she did considerable reminiscing about the suffrage movement in order to stimulate a new generation to visualize the continuity of the woman's movement historically, to appreciate the ballot, and to use it for the advancement of woman's rights and for the improvement of the American democracy.[3]

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[1]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., p. 947.

[2]Ibid., p. 948.

[3]Catt, "How the Vote Came to Men" (1920), op. cit., 641.

A more varied type of support, highly integrated with the patterns of reasoning, is to be found in those nine speeches wherein she endeavored to establish the League of Women Voters, citizenship schools, and certain political attitudes. It is to be observed that the variety in kind of support increased with the desire to persuade. Apparently the purpose, subject, and the occasion were the significant variables influencing Mrs. Catt's selection of kind and amount of support to be used in the different speeches in this issue.

Refutation

This chapter concerns itself with two basic questions concerning Mrs. Catt's use of refutation: What were the basic methods used? And, what variables affected her use of refutation? Refutation in the speeches analyzed for this issue was not extensive. There were present, however, the two basic methods by which one may weaken or destroy the hearers' belief in his opponent's case: attacking directly what the opponent had said in support of his case, and the building up of a counter-proposition or argument.

When politicians charged the League of Women Voters with organizing for the purpose of keeping women out of politics, Mrs. Catt attacked the argument of the opponent by questioning its consistency:

> Is it our intention to remain on the outside of those political parties as we have been doing for sixty years, and to be applicants for their favor as we always have been? Are we going to petition them as we always have done? If so, what was the use of getting the vote?[1]

Upon another occasion she answered the same attack by building

[1] Ibid., p. 947.

up a counter-plan:

> The League of Women Voters is not to dissolve any present organization but to unite all existing organizations of women who believe in its principles. It is not to create sex antagonism but to develop co-operation between men and women. It is not to lure women from partisanship but to combine them in an effort for legislation which will protect coming movements which we cannot even foretell, from suffering the untoward conditions which have hindered for so long the coming of equal suffrage.[1]

Upon another occasion she attempted to reduce to the absurd and to argue by analogy in attacking a charge against law enforcement:

> "Recently the Honorable Dr. Butler has seen fit to say that the dry law ought to be repealed because it cannot be enforced."
> A few women applauded. Pointing her finger in their direction Mrs. Catt continued: "I want to say to you who applauded that that is the mushiest logic I ever heard."
>
> Stormy applause followed.
>
> "The Ten Commandments have been laws for thousands of years and nurder is still being committed. Should we repeal that law because it cannot be enforced?"[2]

At times Mrs. Catt felt that women were being unfairly evaluated in their use of the ballot. Upon such occasions she attempted to weaken the opponent's argument by highlighting the political progress of women. For instance, in 1925 she stated that the number of women voters approached the number of men, that the presence of women at polls had "revolutionized" election day, that women had been recognized as capable of public office in sufficient number for a promising start.[3] Again in 1930 she tended to minimize the causal relation argument of her opponent

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Address, St. Louis, March, 1919, The Woman Citizen, IV (December 6, 1919), 507.

[2]New York Times, May 8, 1924, p. 21.

[3]Catt, "What Women Have Done with the Vote" (1925), op. cit., p. 456.

by contending that ten years was not enough time to prove the worth of the woman's ballot:

> Beginning with January in this tenth anniversary year, newspapers and magazines have given unlimited space to widespread and varied comment upon its woman suffrage operation. . . .Yet what is a decade? A mere drop in the ocean; a small part in a century.[1]

The infrequent refutation used in this issue attacked the opponent's argument by pointing out inconsistencies and fallacies, by reducing to the absurd, and by minimizing the opposition, but more often she developed a counter-proposition. The infrequency of the use of refutation in these speeches may be attributed to the lack of controversy involved in the use of the ballot issue. It is interesting to note that the kind of audience did not seem to affect her use of refutation in this issue. Most of these speeches were delivered before audiences chiefly of women. Since the refutation was apparently intended for men, likely not present, it may be hypothesized that she expected the news report of her speech to carry her message to her opponents. This practice was not uncommon with Mrs. Catt, regardless as to issue. Refutation was not limited to those most highly persuasive speeches; it was, at times, present in an anniversary address.

Emotional Proof

This chapter concerns itself with two basic questions concerning emotional proof: What emotions did she arouse in her auditors and under what circumstances? To what impelling motives did she appeal, to what extent, and under what circumstances?

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Tenth Anniversary Address," August 26, 1930, p. 1.

A few instances illustrating her frequently used emotional components of pride and affection for the League of Women voters and for America may be observed as follows:

> For ten years the League of Women Voters has striven. It has done excellent work and found satisfaction in the doing, but before us gleams a coming glory: a nation is coming, coming; a nation, with ideals as noble, with intelligence as outstanding, with leadership as bold, as the greatest Revolutionary father pictured in his dreams--a nation never yet achieved.[1]

For the pioneer suffragists she asked for a "living memorial, a flesh and blood and continuing memorial."[2] For America she expressed great devotion:

> I believe in my America, I believe in her ideals, her common sense, her responsiveness to duty. When she understands, she has never proved flase to a single appeal to justice. She has never failed to rise to her full measure of greatness when the call has been made. She will not fail now.[3]

She expressed much joy over the right to vote and pride in the whole conduct of those who had struggled for it: "I don't know whether you go down upon your knees and thank God you have it [ballot] or not, but you ought to!"[4]

> The trial has been long and winding; the struggle has been tedious and wearying; you made sacrifice and received many hard knocks. Be joyful now.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> We should be glad and grateful today but more we should be proud, proud that the fifty-one years of organized endeavor have been clean,

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[1]Catt, "Radio Address" (March 26, 1930), op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[2]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 917.

[3]Ibid., p. 921.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, Concluding Address of the Law Enforcement Convention, Hotel Washington, April 10-11, 1924, from Woman's National Convention for Law Enforcement, 1924.

> constructive, conscientious. Our army never resorted to lies, innuendoes, misrepresentation. It never called its enemies names.[1]

Women who had received recognition in political achievements were acknowledged with pride:

> Women who are a credit to our claims are serving in high places. As legislators, Congresswomen, judges, administration officials and chiefs of important bureaus, Federal and State. Election Day has been literally transformed in most states by the presence of women as election officials and voters. The insistence by long headed women that party platform pledges shall be kept is in a satisfactory stage of agitation. Corrupt or incompetent rings or cliques here and there have been broken up, sometimes by the initiative and always by the aid of women.[2]

Usually when she excited her listeners to fear organized reaction and to be concerned about the future of America, she attempted to counteract the fear by stimulating them to boldness:

> How many times, at the end of a campaign, have I seen women with faces drawn, white and tearless, who spoke no bitter words of condemnation and betrayed little emotion. . . .I knew what was in their hearts. It was not the denial of the vote, but the manner in which that denial had been accomplished, which filled them with a speechless despair. . . .The unspoken prayer on her [my friend's] lips was "My country, my country; the rocks of destruction are ahead. God save her, God save her!"[3]

In the same speech she pleaded with the women to organize the League of Women Voters to "'Finish the Fight,' and to aid in the reconstruction of the nation."[4]

She sought to release restraint by encouraging women to have confidence in the future:

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[1]Catt, "Be Joyful Today" (1920), op. cit., pp. 1836-1837.

[2]Catt, "Radio Address," (August 26, 1925), op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., pp. 919-920.

[4]Ibid., p. 917.

> The thought of the world is chaotic and despondent today. Any enterprise which can replace that chaos with resolution, the despondency with confidence, will contribute to the recovery. . . .Together women can strengthen each other's courage, clarify their united thinking and resolutely insist that progress has merely paused![1]

Infrequently Mrs. Catt expressed dislike for a group, which she stated in a factual manner:

> A small group of people determined to oppose promised legislation, if provided with money, as were the brewers and distillers, may hold back legislation and prevent action being taken, even though the masses of the people demand action. What the brewers did to the suffrage movement other groups of people have done and may do for other great causes. Such groups of people may make controlling contributions to political parties and in return secure promises of no action in legislatures or Congress, provided that party is elected to power. It may secure the orders of that party, all the way down the line to the most remote rural election district chairman, to defeat a referendum.
>
> Why were the railroads fighting ratification in Tennessee? Certainly not because the railroads cared whether women voted or not. Why was the Manufacturers' Association there to work against ratification? It was because these interests, quite disconnected, combined their lobbies to help the program of any one of them with the expectation that all the lobbies would be combined in support of their own program when necessity arose. . . .
>
> There is also the autocracy of what is known as the boss system to be watched. . . .[2]

Mrs. Catt may have been admitting the emotion of shame and she may have been rebuking when she stated "We Americans never made a perfect application of democracy. Now our example of neglect is finding imitators."[3]

Her sympathy for others may be illustrated:

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Address at Woman's Centennial Congress, November 25, 1940, Hotel Commodore, New York. New York Times, November 24, 1940, Section II, p. 3.

[2]Catt, "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit., p. 8.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Dedication of Bronze Tablet," Des Moines, Iowa, May 10, 1936, p. 4.

> I pray you, women of America, look backward over the ages and observe the status of your sex. Once, without a question, women were the equals of men, but while mankind was yet in a primitive stage, women were gradually reduced to a subjection and tutelage from which they very painfully struggled up to the present. They were robbed of property, wages, inheritance, education, freedom of thought or speech and rights over their children.[1]

Frequently in the use of impelling motives Mrs. Catt would accumulate a number of motives in one statement as in the following ethical as well as emotional appeal:

> Arise women voters of East and West, of North and South, in this your first union together; strong of faith, fearless of spirit, let the nation hear your pledge all that you have and all that you are to a new crusade--an American crusade, a national crusade; a crusade that shall not end until the electorate of Republic is intelligent, clean, American.[2]

In the next statement she combined altruism, affection, honor, duty, security, self-preservation, and reverence to the government:

> What could be more natural than that women who have attained their political independence should desire to give service in token of their gratitude? What could be more appropriate than that such women should do for the coming generation what those of the preceding period did for them? What could be more patriotic than that these women should use their children's children?[3]

Acquisition, security, and social approval were a part of her advice relative to political parties: "the only way to get things in this country is to get them on the inside of the political party."[4] Duty was conjoined with warnings and adventure in her advice to the women:

> If you stay long enough [in political parties] and move around,

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[1]Catt, "Radio Address," (August 26, 1925), op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[2]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 921.

[3]Ibid., p. 917.

[4]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., pp. 947-948.

> and keep your eyes wide enough open, you will discover a little denser thing, which is the numbra of the political party, the people who are planning the platform and picking out the candidates, doing the real work that you and the men sanction at the polls. You won't be welcome, but there is the place to go.[1]

It is possible that the weariness of the women from the long suffrage struggle may have prompted Mrs. Catt to use strong appeals to the mastery motive. She told the League of Women Voters that their nonpartisan motive would be misunderstood and criticized; but they must "teach this nation that there is something higher than the kind of partisanship that is standpat no matter what happens"; they must not "be too timid and too conservative"; they must not "trail behind the Democratic and Republican parties," but "be five years ahead of the political parties. . . . The League of Women Voters must sail through to glorious success or wreck upon the rocks."[2]

The mastery motives of duty and leadership combined with self-esteem are suggested in these remarks:

> If ours is to be the great leading nation among the world's nations we must not only look to the method of the registering of the opinions of the people with greater care than is now the case, but more assiduous attention must be paid to the education of the people in the issues that are properly to be decided at the polls. . . .I repeat that if the successor of the Suffrage Association does not take politics as one of its chief branches of work no other group of women will.[3]

She called up the mastery motive again in appeals to freedom and prestige:

> We are going to fight with you, gentlemen, and you with us,. . .

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 948.

[3] Catt, "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit., pp. 8, 16.

> until America becomes a nation rebaptized in the old principles of freedom--a nation which will go forward leading the nations of the world![1]

She asked her listeners to look to the ballot as the power by which they could administer their duties, acquire their needs, gain respect, and lead others to higher morals and greater freedom.[2]

It was Mrs. Catt's habit regardless as to issue, to use more emotion in her conclusions than in any other part of her speeches. Conclusions in this issue, and especially in the anniversary speeches, contained more emotion than usual. Under such circumstances she frequently urged women to excel, as in One Hundred Years of Women's Progress:

> Up and at it, women of today! We, of the past, drudged and labored that you might enjoy liberties you never had. [Sic.] Will you not bequeath to those who come after you the removal of irritations yet remaining? Your ideal lies far ahead. March toward it! I rejoice in the belief that you will.[3]

The emotional components used by Mrs. Catt in developing the use of the ballot issue included boldness--fear, pride--shame, reverence, joy, pity, and disgust. Reverence was expressed for the pioneer women of the suffrage movement and for America. When the Nineteenth Amendment was being ratified, she showed pride and joy in the achievements of women, in the possession of the ballot, and in the liberties of America. When women first entered politics she encouraged them to be bold in assuming their political responsibilities. At all times she would have her listeners feel hatred and disgust for corrupt political practices, shame for

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[1]Catt, "Looking Forward" (1919), op. cit., p. 960.

[2]Catt, Concluding Address of the Law Enforcement Convention (1924), op. cit., pp. 1-4.

[3]Catt, One Hundred Years of Women's Progress (1939), op. cit., p. 3.

the politicians who had neglected the best interests of America, and fear for the future of the nation. Occasionally in an anniversary address pity and sympathy were excited for those women who had lived in servitude to men in the past.

In the use of impelling motives as proof, Mrs. Catt seemed to attempt an association of her ideas with the following desires of her listener: Security and self-preservation could be obtained by courageously performing one's patriotic duty in the promotion of a truer democratic nation which in turn would render fair play to women as well as to men. In so doing the listener was expected to be stimulated most by mixed (altruism, affection, honor, duty, security, reverence), mastery, and social approval motives and subsidiarily by the organic motives.

Ethical Proof

In this section of the study these questions were asked: How did the speaker establish herself as an authority with her auditors? How did she identify her character? Did she appear to seek the good will of her listeners?

When Mrs. Catt proposed a memorial to the suffragists she wanted one that would "bless our entire nation and bring happiness to the humblest of our citizens."[1] She urged "women to take up politics as a patriotic duty" and to make "quite respectable the 'lady politician.'"[2] She appealed to women to do "a general housecleaning in all political party

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[1]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 917.

[2]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., p. 582.

machinery in order to make our democracy a more worthy example to the world."[1] For women she advocated a "code for free citizenship and responsible voters."[2] They were to "elect men to all legislative positions who are clean, honest, and alert; men who will yield to public demand when it is produced by numbers."[3] They were to "keep the banner of women's rights flying until every vestige of the old tradition ordering subjugation has been chased from the earth."[4] In the preceding instances she tended to associate herself and her message with that which may be considered fair-minded, sincere, and virtuous in a political sense.

Her knowledge and position were revealed in her frequent reviews of historical data and in her prestige as counselor to the League of Women Voters. Her acquaintance with people and places gave the effect of a person of broad knowledge.[5] Familiarity with civil government was shown by her analyses of governmental units.[6] Common sense was indicated by her desire to apply her knowledge of government to practical politics,[7]

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Then and Now, Address Delivered at Celebration of Mrs. Catt's Eightieth Birthday, Hotel Astor, New York, January 9, 1939. Sponsored by Leslie Woman Suffrage Continuing Committee with the cooperation of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

[2]Ibid., p. 21.

[3]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., p. 581.

[4]Catt, One Hundred Years of Women's Progress (1939), op. cit., p. 3.

[5]Catt, ibid.; Speech at New York Herald Tribune Conference, September 27, 1934; "Dedication of Bronze Tablet" (1936), op. cit.; and many others.

[6]Catt, "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit., pp. 8, 16.

[7]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., p. 580.

by her acceptance of constructive criticism,[1] and by her consistency in admonishing women to become members of political parties after they had struggled to achieve the privilege.[2]

In her address before the National Women's Christian Temperance Union she said:

> I want to congratulate you upon being. I want to congratulate you upon the wonderful superwomen you have had for your presidents. . . .Anna Gordon tells me tonight that when the convention was held there forty-two years ago she served in it as a page. Think of her stick-to-it-tiveness. Now, she is retiring from the national presidency, I understand, in order to devote more attention to the World's work and I strongly suspect that she means to disseminate all round the work the germs of "the most terrible mistake this country ever made." I haven't words to express the honor and admiration I feel for Miss Gordon.[3]

Mrs. Catt recognized the constructive work of others repeatedly in her speeches throughout the woman suffrage movement. In closing the dedicatory speech to the work of the Iowa suffragists she stated:

> Alas, the glorious Des Moines group, who had been the propulsive force of the Iowa movement for a generation, those who had never paused nor hesitated, never found any sacrifice too severe, nor any duty too irksome, were no longer here when the final triumph came. To use an old simile:—they had won the war for Iowa women, but had lost all the battles for fifty years.[4]

Problems of her audiences regarding misunderstandings of the aims of the League members, their timidity in assuming responsibilities in political parties, and their desire to convert men to the idea of equality

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[1]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 921.

[2]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., pp. 947-948.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address at National Women's Christian Temperance Union," 1925, The Union Signal, LI, No. 46 (November 28, 1925), 2.

[4]Catt, "Dedication of Bronze Tablet" (1936), op. cit., p. 1.

of the sexes called forth understanding and sympathy from Mrs. Catt.[1]

Occasionally Mrs. Catt used invective as illustrated in her attack on Nicholas Murray Butler's argument for repealing the Prohibition law when she called it "the mushiest logic she ever heard."[2] More frequently she used explanation to develop a rebuke:

> A very slight acquaintance with man suffrage movements in Europe before the war revealed the fact that there was no more important contributory influence to the delay of the enfranchisement of men than the exaggerated reports that self-government had been a failure in this country. Thousands of intelligent, observant, foreign-born citizens quite unintentionally reinforced those reports with illustrations of the manner in which money and intrigue frequently replaced public opinion in the determination of elections. Among the factors intricately entangled, which made conditions possible for a Kaiser to dream of world command, no honest-minded American will forget American sins of omission.[3]

When one examines Mrs. Catt's positive appeals for personal approval, sympathetic acceptance, and belief in her probity, the results tend to reveal a personality oriented to ideals held high in American culture. The texts of her speeches suggest that she relied extensively upon her experiences and upon her prestige as a counselor of women to establish her sagacity, an important part of her ethical proof in this issue. By her praise of people and their activities, accompanied by mild criticism now and then, and by her repeated evidence of understanding the problems of others, she sought to establish good will.

Arrangement

In the analysis of Mrs. Catt's use of arrangement in her speeches

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[1]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., pp. 947-948.

[2]New York Times, May 8, 1924, p. 21.

[3]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 920.

treating the use of the ballot issue this basic question was asked: What were the basic patterns in the introduction, conclusion, and body of the speeches?

In the speech "On the Inside" she began by clarifying the meaning of the purpose of the League of Women Voters and then she analyzed the political status of women in order that she might challenge them to get on the inside of the political parties.[1] In "Looking Forward" she directed an appeal to the audience to make a profitable use of the ballot.[2] When introducing the speech, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools," she explained the status of the controversy in citizenship education, she excluded irrelevant matter on how not to conduct these schools, and then challenged the women to prepare for a long range program in educating citizens to vote.[3] Similarly, in "The Nation Calls!" she first excluded those types of memorials she did not choose for the pioneer suffragists, set up her proposal by definition and analysis, and gave causes for the discussion to follow.[4]

In more than half of all of the speeches her introductions were briefer, containing references to her person and to the audience,[5] a

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[1]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., pp. 947-948.

[2]Catt, "Looking Forward" (1919), op. cit., p. 960.

[3]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., p. 580.

[4]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., pp. 917-918.

[5]Catt, Concluding Address of the Law Enforcement Convention (1924), op. cit., p. 1.

narrative,[1] an ironical statement,[2] a contrast of the present status of women with the past,[3] an analogy,[4] and an epitome.[5]

An analysis of the basic patterns used by Mrs. Catt in the introductions of the use of the ballot speeches shows the following characteristics: The length of the introductions varied from one sentence to approximately one-third of the entire speech. Those having brief introductions usually started with a significant date in suffrage history and developed from that point. Those having longer introductions were frequently involved with the development of a proposed task to be performed. At times she made personal references, but more often her introductions were directly addressed and related to her audiences as individuals and organizations.

The following examples are representative conclusions used in more than half of the speeches: she challenged her audiences to use the vote in maintaining a high moral outlook in the nonpartisan League of Women Voters,[6] to meet the task of educating citizens to vote,[7] to uphold

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[1]Catt, "Address at National Women's Christian Temperance Union" (1925), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, Radio Address (August 26, 1925), op. cit., p. 1.

[3]Catt, "Sixty Years of Stepping Forward" (1929), op. cit., p. 7.

[4]Catt, "Tenth Anniversary Address" (1930), op. cit., p. 1.

[5]Catt, One Hundred Years of Women's Progress (1939), op. cit., p. 1.

[6]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., p. 948.

[7]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., p. 582.

clean and intelligent politics,[1] to enforce the laws,[2] and in general to improve American democracy. She proposed that women get on the inside of political parties,[3] that they expand the citizenship school plans,[4] and that they do research to improve the efficiency of the government.[5] Encomiums stressed her confidence in women to accept responsibilities delegated to them,[6] and emotional appeals, or sometimes sentiment, gave force to her conclusions:

> Friends, it is a hard future, but every problem can be solved and some of them must be solved. For your own sake, face the future cheerfully; for your friends' sake, be optimistic, for your children's sake, be confident and for the sake of all things, be bravely unafraid.
> God bless you, good friends, fellow workers. God bless you all.[7]

> I have confidence in the Conscientious purpose and the high moral outlook of this body.[8]

> Let us prayerfully use our votes and use them right.[9]

In her conclusions Mrs. Catt frequently made proposals or gave advice in a challenging manner involving encomiums and emotional appeal.

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[1]Catt, "The Nation Calls!" (1919), op. cit., p. 921.

[2]Catt, Concluding Address of the Law Enforcement Convention (1924), op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Catt, "Looking Forward" (1919), op. cit., p. 960.

[4]Catt, "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit., p. 582.

[5]Catt, "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit., p. 16.

[6]Catt, One Hundred Years of Women's Progress (1939), op. cit., p. 3.

[7]Catt, Then and Now (1939), op. cit., p. 22.

[8]Catt, "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit., p. 948.

[9]Catt, Concluding Address of the Law Enforcement Convention (1924), op. cit., p. 3.

The climaxes of her speeches came just before or as a part of the conclusions.

About nine of the speeches in this issue were developed by a functional order as illustrated in this outline of the complete speech "On the Inside":

Introduction

I. There is confusion.

A. We cannot express ourselves clearly or be understood.

B. The aim of the League of Women Voters is misunderstood.

C. Exactly what is the attitude and aim of the League members?

Body

II. To obtain legislation it is necessary to get on the inside of political parties.

A. It is the present political trend.

B. Otherwise you would be in the status prior to obtaining the ballot.

III. At the same time you will need a strong political organization of women.

A. Recent experiences indicate the need.

B. The progress of women within the political parties will require a united effort.

1. Men are not entirely converted to the idea of equality of sexes.

2. Participation in political parties requires guidance.

3. The masses of women are inexperienced in political practices.

C. To function adequately this organization must be nonpartisan.

1. This attitude will free women to choose their political parties.

2. It will train women to work with all parties.

3. It will assist women to rise above party criticism.

Conclusion

IV. The League of Women Voters must have vision.

Organization of the body of these speeches may be cast into two classifications: functional and chronological. This latter arrangement, including more than half of the speeches on this issue, contained historical data and repetition of narratives for the purpose of establishing a contention.[1] Those functional in type were basically a psychological approach to the solution of a problem. Sometimes the problem was analyzed into cause and effect or into partitions, but in each instance the speech culminated in a climax.[2]

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[1]This group included speeches for special occasions as "Address at National Women's Christian Temperance Union" (1925), op. cit.; "Radio Address" (March 26, 1930), op. cit.; Speech at New York Herald Tribune Conference (September 27, 1934), op. cit.; One Hundred Years of Women's Progress (1939), op. cit.

[2]This group included the more highly persuasive speeches as "On the Inside" (1920), op. cit.; "Looking Forward" (1919), op. cit.; "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit.; "How to Conduct Citizenship Schools" (1920), op. cit.; and Concluding Address of the Law Enforcement Convention (1924), op. cit.

Synthesis of Arrangement and the Elements of Invention

The basic question involved in this section is, how did arrangement affect or modify the elements of invention? The twenty-three speeches on use of the ballot evolved from either a circumstance or an occasion that appeared to influence both the organization and the internal ordering of the proofs. The type of occasion was usually the celebration of an anniversary event or the convention of a national organization. The basic circumstance was the transition from the struggle for the ballot to the use of it. Her auditors, in most cases, appeared not necessarily to disagree with Mrs. Catt, but rather not to have crystallized their opinions. This factor may have caused the speaker to use more exposition than argument.

In the most persuasive speeches, less than half of the total, the speaker's purpose, its explanation and acceptance, seemed to demand complexity and integration in both organization and ordering of proofs. Speeches of this kind were deductive or a combination of deductive and inductive reasoning and included some discussion of the adequacy of proofs. Since much of Mrs. Catt's supporting materials came from historical data upon which she based her proposals for the future, it is obvious that time order played an important part in those speeches developed by inductive reasoning which included more than half of all of the speeches treating the use of the ballot issue. No special position for refutation seemed to be designated within the arrangement of these speeches. Its infrequent use occurred mainly as an integral part of an argument.

All of these speeches in this issue were basically logical.

Emotional and ethical proofs were usually part of her conclusions and also appeared interspersed throughout the speech proper. Two conclusions contained almost no emotion.[1] The use of rhetorical questions and direct address to stress ethos and emotion occurred most frequently when her intent to persuade seemed greatest. In each speech arrangement functioned with the elements of invention inseparably.

Summary and Conclusions

Premises and Arguments

In advancing the use of the ballot Mrs. Catt promoted citizenship schools to train the new voter, and she reorganized the suffrage forces into the League of Women Voters. This organization had as its goal the fostering of education in citizenship and the support of improved legislation. Mrs. Catt instructed the League members to train the new voters first in elementary political responsibilities and then in the more complex methods of improving the efficiency of government.

Mrs. Catt advised League members to be nonpartisan in League activities, but to participate in the political parties of their own choosing. In exhorting them to get into the center of the party machine, she warned them of difficulties and advised aggressiveness. She advocated that they work toward legislation having high moral standards supported by law enforcement.

When evaluating women's progress in the use of the ballot, Mrs. Catt contended that it had been retarded by an opposition similar to

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[1]Examples are "Whose Government is This?" (1921), op. cit., and "How the Vote Came to Men" (1920), op. cit.

that offered previously to the suffragists. She believed that a new generation would remedy this condition and that women had made progress in the use of the voting process and in the experience of holding public offices. She continually visualized further goals to be achieved by women for themselves and for the nation.

Logical Proof

In the use of the ballot issue Mrs. Catt gave some preference to inductive reasoning or to a combination of deductive and inductive over deductive reasoning alone. The deductive patterns were principally hypothetical and categorical involving sorites. The inductive method was adapted to special occasion addresses containing much historical data and reminiscences pertaining to the progress of women. These speeches concluded with appeals to improve the status of women and to make secure the American democracy.

In at least half of the twenty-three speeches arguments as to kind were of a cause to effect relation, usually reenforced with arguments from sign, analogy, definition, and authority. In arguing from causal relation she predicted future outcomes as contingent upon existent operating causes not being contravened by stronger causes. To validate such reasoning she pointed to analogies and signs drawn from historical events. In this manner she discussed the adequacy of the cause to produce the corresponding effect. Analogous reasoning usually appeared to assume the cases were alike in essential respects. Almost half of the speeches were developed from examples or specific instances. Arguments from statistics and authorities were not frequent. The sources of her ideas lay largely

in her own experiences in the woman's movement and in political activity.

As already indicated much support was drawn from historical data of the woman's movement. A more varied type of support, highly integrated with the patterns of reasoning, is found in those speeches intended to establish organized programs and political attitudes. Specific instances involved imagery in creating dramatic effects. Brief testimonials, narratives, figures of speech, statistics, and rhetorical questions were interwoven into the arguments. The variety in kinds of support increased with the effort to persuade. In this issue refutation was not of great significance. She charged the opposition with inconsistent reasoning regarding the political attitude of the League of Women Voters.

Emotional Proofs

In developing her emotional components for the use of the ballot issue, Mrs. Catt expressed respect and affection for those who had struggled in the woman's movement and showed reverence for American democratic principles often in her anniversary addresses. With pride and joy she made plans for the use of the ballot, recognized the political achievements of women, and challenged them to expand their liberties. When exciting her auditors to fear or to dislike of unprogressive actions, she encouraged them at the same time to be bold in assuming their political responsibilities.

Mrs. Catt appealed to motives of security and self-preservation when advocating a true democratic form of government, an argument that often accompanied her appeal for an improved status for women. Inside the political parties Mrs. Catt would have women find the security of

acquisition and of social approval, yet she warned them that the achievement would require much courage, self-assurance, and initiative on their part. Mastery, social approval, and organic motives were used singly and together. The appeal to mastery appeared in most speeches in this issue; social approval occurred in those early speeches at the time the League of Women Voters was being established; organic motives were infrequent.

Ethical Proof

In the context of these speeches Mrs. Catt's most used ethical proof tended to identify her as one gravely responsible for the guidance of the new woman voter and as persevering in directing a program for improved use of the ballot. Self-respect was evident as well as a cooperative attitude toward political parties. Virtue was associated with her appeal for clean politics. In the capacity of political adviser to women she tended to identify herself as their spokesman and source of wisdom, at the time of the establishing of the League of Women Voters. By giving recognition to the achievements of her predecessors, by offering more constructive criticism that destructive, by seeking to prevent misunderstandings between the sexes, Mrs. Catt laid strong claim to the good will of others. When discussing women's place with men in political activities, she concerned herself with good will tactics. When advising women she relied upon her experiences and her prestige. Ethical proof was only slightly affected by variables.

Arrangement

Mrs. Catt's introductions to these speeches were of two types: those long enough to develop the analysis of a problem, giving definition,

background, status, and obstacles; and those of a briefer type containing personal references, reference to the audience, a narrative, an ironical statement, an analogy, or an epitome of the occasion. About nine of the speeches in this issue were of the second type and were delivered mostly upon anniversary occasions. For her conclusions she usually made proposals or gave advice in a challenging manner involving encomiums and emotional appeal. The climaxes of her speeches came just before or as a part of the conclusions. The speech bodies were functional and chronological in order. The latter contained time sequence of historical data and a series of narratives supporting an argument and were delivered upon anniversary occasions. Those functional in type were basically psychological approaches to the solution of problems. They were used in persuasive speeches. Their complexity in arrangement marked them as being arranged by several orders, including psychological, problem-solution, chronological, increasing difficulty, partitions, predetermined analysis, causal relation, and climactic. This relation of arrangement and invention to the purpose and occasion of her speech is in keeping with that used in previous issues.

When developing the issue concerned with the improved status of women and democratic practices by the use of the ballot, Mrs. Catt's emotional and ethical proofs were subservient to her logical proof throughout the speech body, but they gained emphasis in the conclusion. Arrangement appeared to reenforce invention, and the two united to promote a single theme.

CHAPTER VI

THE ABOLITION OF WAR

Introduction

The rhetorical analysis of invention and arrangement as used in Mrs. Catt's speeches treating the issue, how may war be abolished, will be the aim of this chapter. Thirty speeches were selected after several readings of forty extant copies of her peace speeches.[1] Mrs. Catt, who assisted in the collection of speeches for this study, considered this group representative of her speaking.[2] Those excluded were indirectly applicable to the issue involved, were incomplete copies, or duplicated other speeches. The thirty analyzed seem to give a complete picture of her use of invention and arrangement in this issue.

The procedure of developing the study is similar to that followed in Chapter III. In the canons of logical, emotional, and ethical proof and of arrangement and a synthesis of arrangement and the elements of invention the same basic questions will be applied to the materials of these speeches.

Invention

Premises and Arguments

In the speeches promoting peace three issues seem to appear:

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[1]Indicated in bibliography by footnote number four.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview, 1943.

What are the causes of war? What are the "cures" of war? Can the "cures" of war be put into practice? The interweaving of these three issues by Mrs. Catt seems to require a unified treatment under a single larger issue: How may war be abolished?

Mrs. Catt indicated the trend of thinking in her premises and arguments when she designated as her principal interest "the cause and cure of war." Her reasoning throughout this issue lends itself naturally to a problem-solution order. The elements of reflective thinking include the goal to promote peace, the analysis of the problem, and the setting up and appraisal of possible solutions.

The premises and arguments of this chapter may be outlined as follows:

I. Statement of the goal.
   A. How can war be abolished?
   B. Why not limit the study to the "causes and cures of war"?
II. Analysis of the problem.
   A. Does the nature of the problem indicate a need for attention?
   B. What are the causes of war?
      1. What part do emotions have in war?
         a) What are the emotions that prompt war?
         b) By what means is emotional influence spread?
      2. Are wars fought "to keep, to recover, or to add?"
      3. What is the relative significance of the causes?
         a) How important is aggression?
         b) What is the comparative relation of the problem of defense to other problems?

4. Could all causes be labeled the competition of war systems?

5. How are interests in war motivated?

a) To what extent are moneyed interests responsible?

b) What other factors are involved?

III. Suggestions of solutions or "cures."

A. Shall we make a war upon war?

B. How can we accomplish a plan for peace?

C. Should we support all plans for peace?

IV. Reasoned development of the solutions or "cures."

A. Is the League of Nations satisfactory for the prevention of war?

B. Is the World Court designed to meet the war problem?

C. To what extent are treaties a guarantee of peace?

D. How effective are the disarmament conferences?

E. What are the moral aspects in the problem?

F. What are the relative merits of reflective thinking in solving the war problem?

V. Further verification.

A. What use can be made of public opinion in putting solutions into operation?

B. How specific should plans be for effecting solutions?

Statement of the Goal

"In the last century," Mrs. Catt declared, "we women fought for our rights. Let us use those rights now to restore the rights of men."[1] "We could not do better than to make the aim of the next one hundred

[1] New York Times, November 26, 1940, p. 29.

years plan the abolition of war."[1]

In an impromptu speech, "A Call to Action," delivered before a mass meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, eight months after the proclamation of the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution, Mrs. Catt set forth an objective that was later to consume most of her time in public address:

> We want peace. We all want peace. We want to abolish that antiquated, barbarous, ridiculous method of quarreling and killing each other. We all want peace and yet we all stand back for somebody else to act.
>
> Well, let us make a resolution, each and every one of us, to consecrate ourselves individually and collectively to the business of putting war out of the world.[2]

To further her peace objective she united, in 1925, nine women's national organizations for the purpose of carrying on "an unremitting campaign to rouse America to join other nations of like mind in putting an end to world disorder, and establishing world peace."[3] For this cooperative program the women chose the title of "Conference on the Cause and Cure of War."

Analysis of the Problem

Symptoms of the problem.--Many of the speeches studied as a basis for this chapter presented conditions illustrating need for the abolition of war.

In June, 1923, just after Mrs. Catt had returned from a tour of

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[1]Catt, "Address at Woman's Centennial Congress" (1940), op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Catt, "A Call to Action" (1921), op. cit., p. 1183.

[3]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., pp. 410-411.

Europe and South America, she declared, "People talk about the prospect of a war in Europe. There is war there in the Ruhr." In every land she said she had found the people "turning to the United States and asking why we did not come with help. The United States," she stated, "was the only country that could mediate for Europe."[1]

Later in that year Mrs. Catt declared the hope of 1917 and 1918 in a "war to end war" was not the reality of 1923. More men were under arms in Europe than in 1914, more airplanes to drop bombs, more war chemical plants. "So completely is the military theory established, that every nation at war must do anything it can do 'to save itself and destroy its adversary.'"[2]

She continued:

> Let us ask ourselves a plain question and insist upon an answer. If the Germans were barbarians in 1915 and 1916 because they introduced these new instruments of destruction, what are the great powers of the world today since they deliberately add these horrors to the preparations for the next war and hint of still more terrible possibilities. It must be remembered that while all the great nations have added these methods of war, not one of them has proposed any plan for their elimination.[3]

Conditions in the United States indicated that this country was not conducting itself as a peace country:

> When the United States refused to join the League or tell why it wouldn't do so, the world put its own construction upon that action.

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The 'Next War' Is Now On In the Ruhr," Biltmore Hotel, New York, June 5, 1923, New York Times, June 6, 1923, p. 20.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" Before Ramsey County League of Women Voters, St. Paul, Minnesota, November 10, 1923, p. 4. Possibly also called "Peace or War--Swords or Plowshares," and possibly delivered also in 1925.

[3]Ibid., p. 6.

> That explanation is that the United States has imperialistic ambitions which would be checkmated by the League. It is even charged with emphasis in many quarters that the United States is the great coming militaristic power.[1]

After enumerating eleven imperialistic traits charged against America, she concluded, "There is more hostility of feeling toward this country now than at any other time of its history."[2] The "undefined and unauthorized" Monroe Doctrine points to a condition lacking "peace and good will":

> The Monroe Doctrine is something to which one hundred per cent patriotic Americans give allegiance. In Latin America, one hundred per cent patriots give unequivocal opposition and condemnation to it. The editor of the most important paper in South America, commenting upon the thirty interventions of the United States in the Latin-American Countries, writes: "The Doctrine of Monroe is the shield and bucklet of United States aggression; it is a sword suspended by a hair over the Latin continents."[3]

Repeatedly she stressed that the war problem was being agitated by beliefs that America was a "young military giant growing up. . . .Although all Americans disclaim the charge, those who distrust the United States can make a fairly good cause against us."[4]

Not only America but also the entire human race gave evidence of supporting a war institution rather than a peace institution:

> War is an institution as old as human records and it is almost inextricably entwined with the law, the precedents and the thoughts of nations. It is bound up with social stability, education, and even religion. War is picturesque, heroic, dramatic, romantic, vivid.

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

[3] Carrie Chapman Catt, "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" Fourth CCCW, The Woman's Journal, XIV (March, 1929), 14.

[4] Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Status Today of War and Peace," Third CCCW, Washington, D. C., January 16, 1928, p. 3.

> War makes a picture for the artist and rhythm for the poet. Writers find material for stories in it, and each is full of action, heroism, events, humor, pathos, tragedy. All the things that have made human life are bound together in the tales of war. This combination grips human sensibilities with well-nigh unshakable power.[1]

> What I want to make clear is that war is an institution and peace is not; peace is merely the negative of war. There is no authority to support peace, and it can neither conscript men nor money.[2]

Mrs. Catt considered the need of destroying the war institution and substituting for it a peace institution to be the "gravest question in the entire world":

> How may the human race become possessed of sufficient sanity and common sense to make an end of war; to lop off all the needless loads from the aching, tired backs of all peoples; to break the chains of fear which have kept men enslaved to war, with its costs and its penalties, for a million years? Men have struggled for freedom, but what humans have always needed most is freedom from war.[3]

Mrs. Catt contended that "wars settle nothing"; they "do not pay . . . .Wars bring no good to any land; they distribute evil influences everywhere":

> The World War will not be paid for, if at all, by the end of a century after its close. The demoralizing effects of that war upon the human race will certainly not be overcome in a hundred years. No nation can afford the waste of money a war costs. . . .The population of the entire world would assuredly unite in saying that the World War did not pay.
>
> No nation can afford the waste of human life in war. . . .Nor can nations normally endure the depression that is the inevitable outcome of war; nor can they endure the increase of crime, insanity, immorality, and suicide. . . .

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

[2] Carrie Chapman Catt, The Outlawry of War, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa., No. 2151, July, 1928, p. 4.

[3] Carrie Chapman Catt, "Speech at International Symposium," Broadcast, Delivered to National Council of Jewish Women, January 11, 1937, p. 1.

> Worse than all else is the fact that the human race is checked in its normal evolutionary climb upward.[1]

The magnitude and the timeliness of the problem led Mrs. Catt to declare that nations should make an "end of war."

Causes of war.--When the women decided to call their peace project a "Conference on the Cause and Cure of War," they had chosen an "exactly descriptive title."[2] In recalling this incident later, Mrs. Catt said:

> None of us knew what caused war nor what would cure it, but we had faith that master minds must exist somewhere that could point out the definite cause and the certain cure of war, and that we might learn the truth from them.
>
> . . . .There was controversy and conflict of opinion on every side. In the first conference our speakers enumerated causes until I counted 257, and they then went home leaving us to find the cures![3]

Frequently, Mrs. Catt considered the emotions of suspicion and hate to be instrumental in causing war:

> On one side of most heads there is a belief in peace, sincere and honest; in the other, so much of the spirit of the cave man lingers with his caution, distrust, suspicion, jealousy, hate, revenge, and fear that it intimidates the peace side of the head. So all the nations composed of these bifurcated headed citizens want peace and prepare for war. . . .In order to make Nation B love and respect him, Nation A conscripts an army to knock the stuffin' out of Nation B if he gets impertinent. Nation B, observing, adopts conscription and adds a few naval ships. Nation A, observing, puts in as many naval vessels, adds a few more and some submarines. B, observing, buys some submarines and goes into airplanes. A adds airplanes and sets rumors afloat of a new poison gas. B goes into chemistry. With each addition to the preparations, the taxes mount higher and higher. To reconcile the people to them Nation A tells its people how utterly untrustworthy is Nation B and Nation B tells its people how untrustworthy is Nation A. Even the school histories begin this training

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[1]Ibid., p. 1.

[2]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 410.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address before Conference on Cause and Cure of War," 1931, pp. 2-3.

in youth, so the minds of both people are filled with misinformation, suspicion and hate and are thus as effectually mobilized for war as are the men in training. An accident happens and bang goes the explosion.[1]

Less frequently she spoke of propaganda as a medium used to advance the fear motive:

Propaganda, that most powerful and dangerous arm of the war institution, proceeds apace. The number of those who believe the "next war" is near is increasing and several writers have fixed that approximate date and named the cause. The public mind is being reconciled to it.[2]

On the occasion of her eighty-fifth birthday she quoted William Penn as having said, "All wars are fought 'to keep, to recover, or to add.' That is certainly the cause of the war. The Allies are fighting to keep, the Axis to add. Keepers vs adders describe all wars."[3]

Aggression is still a cause of war, but the term "aggression" as a cause of war, according to Mrs. Catt, had become outlawed and nations "build only for defense":

Once nations took what they wanted and when they wanted it.

> The ancient rule sufficeth them, the simple plan
> That they should take who hath the power, and they should keep who can.

This was once the universal rule. But wars of aggression are no longer in good form. The ten years of peace building has put them completely out of good standing. They have ceased to be ethical, they have in fact become indecent and immoral, yet careful examination will show that every nation has its statesmen who strategically can

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 8.

[2]Catt, "The Status Today of War and Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Eighty-Fifth Birthday Address," CCCW, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, January 10, 1944, p. 1.

wring from any situation as many just causes for defense as its war power needs.[1]

The problem of defense as a cause of war was repeatedly stressed by Mrs. Catt as being more significant than other causes:

> At present, most countries believe that a nation will one day violate its vow, but by what term that nation shall be officially known, what penalty shall be applied and how, are as yet quite undetermined facts. The nations never have lost sight of this big gap in the peace machinery. . . .Meanwhile, because this gap is not filled, disarmament conferences move slowly, and many a proposal which would help tighten the peace machinery is not presented at all.
>
> There are many smaller gaps which plague authorities and darken their vision with signs of future wars. "The freedom of the seas" which is supposed to be the pet of Great Britain: "high tariffs" which Americans are supposed to adore: "economic rivalries" which vex all the nations are a few of a large number of gaps which may take years to fill with peace machinery. To my mind there is one gap larger than any other, in fact it includes all the rest. . . .
>
> Defense is the greatest gap in the peace machinery. . . .No international commission has dared approach the questions that defense involves, yet this mystical word. . .is the gap through which armies and navies, poison gases, airplanes, submarines, ambulances, nurses and doctors, may unexpectedly be hurled helter skelter any day into another war. . . .When you except defense from the disputed subject to settlement by peaceful methods, what is the character of the offense that you so except?[2]

By way of simplification of the 257 causes counted in 1925, Mrs. Catt stated in 1931, "The delegates [Cause and Cure of War Conferences] . . .have learned that competition in armament building is the chief cause of war. . . ."[3] She had stated a similar idea in a slightly different manner in 1930: "The causes of war, which we were told in 1925 numbered 257, now, by the application of logic and hard study, have been

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace, National CCCW, January 15, 1930, p. 6. Published by the Fifth National CCCW.

[2]Ibid., pp. 4-7.

[3]Catt, "Address before Conference on Cause and Cure of War" (1931), op. cit., p. 4.

reduced to one. That one is the competition of the war systems of nations."[1] Three years prior she had minimized the causes of war in this manner: "Wars now have no causes; they have no excuses, and wars go on because nations have the habit and move by precedent."[2] By 1931 Mrs. Catt was ready to dispense with the analysis of the causes of war and devote her study to the solution of the problem:

> The crucial task for us is no longer, as in the beginning, to inquire what is the cause and the cure of war. We know. The crucial question now is: how may our beloved nation be persuaded to assume world leadership in the peace movement.[3]

Motivation for war.--Mrs. Catt gave much consideration to vested interests.

> War is also a mighty vested interest and millions live by it. Not only is war the daily support of soldiers and sailors and their officers, but the profit from the supplies of war itself and from the supplies of hundreds of ramifications of the war machine is the chief support of many an industry. The combination of traditional opinion plus the widespread bread-and-butter interest in war furnishes colossal support of the institution of war and a well-nigh insurmountable resistance to peace.[4]

She considered militaristic groups as partly responsible for war:

> Those who have been in authority have not been able to get away from the obsession of the war mania. There are two militaristic groups in every land who believe there must always be war, one is a little minority who like war, profit by war and want war. It is said 21,000 millionaires were made by the war [World War I] in this country. It wouldn't be strange if some of them would like to make another million or so. The other militaristic group honestly and

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[1]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, "The Status Today of War and Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 4.

[3]Catt, "Address before Conference on Cause and Cure of War" (1931), op. cit., p. 6.

[4]Catt, "The Status Today of War and Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 1.

> sincerely believe that the only way to maintain peace is by keeping up so powerful an armed force as to frighten all enemy nations. Altho [sic.] this has been the policy of all tribes and nations since men came down out of the trees and began to walk erect and has never yet succeeded, they are unwilling to let it go and try any other method.[1]

There are, she contended, "War lords who have no faith in a world of peace [who] will preserve at any cost these precious accumulations of war materials from the destructive threats of disarmament."[2]

Industrial interests, she felt, stimulate newer war creations:

> The fact of continual change challenges the inventor, intrigues the manufacturer, and invites the cupidity of the investor. The continuous appeal to carry preparations forward, with the new improvements, the new inventions, the new schemes, the possible purposes, and to try them out in another war is an enormous power which is stimulating the building of armament in this time of peace instead of cutting it down, as the honorable pledges of nations demand.[3]

Money was not the only interest in war according to Mrs. Catt. There were those who "like war; they enjoy the excitement, the adventure; they find chances for promotion, prestige, and for showing statesmanship."[4] She questioned, "Is it not true that men and nations <u>like</u> the squeeze of war's tentacles when not too threatening? Do we not all, more or less, <u>enjoy</u> apprehension and dote on the delightful gossip it presents?"[5]

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 7.

[2]Catt, <u>The Outlawry of War</u> (1928), <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 1-2.

[3]<u>Ibid</u>.

[4]Catt, "Eighty-Fifth Birthday Address" (1944), <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 2.

[5]Carrie Chapman Catt, <u>Who Can Answer?</u> Forty-fourth Congress of American Industry, December 8, 1939 (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, December, 1939), p. 10.

The forces of ignorance, customs, and the war as an institution ranked high in the promotion of war, she thought:

> The greatest enemy of all new ideas, as you know, is ignorance, and there is plenty of it in the United States, as elsewhere. The next greatest enemy is loyalty to all customs long established, and war is the oldest institution in the world.
>
> The third greatest enemy is the war institution itself with its traditions of honor and glory, plus the vested interests which make profit from war. The real problem of peace versus war is that no nation is willing to take the risk of disarming itself while other nations are preparing for war.[1]

In an endeavor to evaluate the strength of those forces motivated to promote war she compared them with the strength of the peace forces:

> To the most casual observer it is evident that the advocates of peace are growing in number, that the various groups are more tolerant toward each other, that there is more friendliness between them, and that slowly but certainly they are being convinced of the need of a common program, a unanimous aim, and the advantage of a common directing agency. Yet these highly desirable ends are as yet remote and their probability uncertain.
>
> On the other hand, it is also clear that the advocates of war are increasing in number, and that there is a greater solidarity among them than among peace forces. Using as a symbol the game called "tug of war," the forces are pulling hard at one rope, the peace forces are pulling at many ropes and thus distributing their energy in many directions.[2]

Determining the Solutions or "Cures"

In 1923 after stating that those persons desiring peace should first clarify their thinking on the problem and then clarify the thinking of the nation, Mrs. Catt offered five conclusions of her own:

> My first. . .war must be abolished.
> My second is that war will only go when the military mania

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "International Broadcast," NBC Network, January 23, 1936 (Washington, D. C.: Delegate's Worksheet, Eleventh CCCW, No. 4, January 21-24, 1936), pp. 1 ff.

[2]Catt, "The Status Today of War and Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 1.

surrenders to faith in law based upon public opinion and to gain that end there must be a war upon war--not a war of bloodshed and poison gas, but an organized army of soldiers nevertheless which shall drive the old order back into the scrap heap at the point of truth, reason and plain common sense.

My third is that if there is to be a war upon war, it must be an all around war and that such a war will never be victorious unless this country takes charge of its own sector. No other nation or nations can fight our share of this great world battle. Indeed, could I have my own wish, this country would pick up the world leadership where it laid it down and boldly, unafraid, march on.

My fourth is that the people in this country who want peace must agree upon the way they want to attain it. There are seventy-four associations, more or less national, which are urging peace, but they have different programs. There are many well-known people preaching peace, but they too have different plans. There must be unity, for in unity alone is there strength.

My fifth is that to aid the movement toward unity I shall personally support all the programs or plans of cooperation to abolish war that now are or may be proposed provided they are in any degree reasonable or practicable. If every believer in peace would adopt this policy, we should soon have a common program.[1]

League of Nations.--It was with regret that Mrs. Catt observed the United States' refusal to participate in the League of Nations. It seemed to her that the League offered an opportunity to test the practicality of international arbitration. In that first decade of her promotion of peace she gave the League of Nations much attention in her speeches.

Just before the 1920 Presidential election Mrs. Catt expressed her personal views concerning the League of Nations and the "political snarl" in which it seemed to have been "entangled." In part she said:

> I am myself a firm believer in the League of Nations. I am no new convert. I endorsed the idea many years ago when I read that such a plan had been proposed intermittently for some centuries, and always hoped it might come in my day. I feel toward those who claim to believe in a league but not in this one as I have felt toward those who professed to believe in Woman Suffrage but found the times

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., pp. 12-13.

never ready for it, or the method quite unsuitable.

When the Covenant came from the Peace Commission, I confess to disappointment over some of its provisions, but I, having had considerable experience in efforts to get many minds, including those of different races and nationalities, to come to agreement, understood better than many that no covenant can be made quite satisfactory to any one person or nation, since its composition must come by compromise of many differing views.

. . . . . .

I believe in the League: 1. Because war is an atrocity which should be eliminated from a world calling itself civilized. 2. Because men are too belligerent to make an end of war without the aid of some war abolishing agency. 3. Because all proposals ever offered for the avoidance of war have been tried and have failed except one—a League of Nations; therefore let it be tried. 4. Because the Covenant of the League proposes a union of all the world for the very definite purpose of making an end of war. 5. Because it provides for the substitution of arbitration for the killing of men as a more civilized method of settling international differences. 6. Because it provides for an International Court which may interpret international law and to which international questions may be referred. 7. Because it provides for the reduction of armies and navies to the smallest force necessary for the maintenance of national safety. 8. Because it provides for the abolition of compulsory military training and vast armies which always tend to bring on wars. 9. Because it provides for an economic boycott to bring recalcitrant nations to terms, with force used only as the last resort. 10. Because it provides for the abolition of secret treaties which have been one potent cause of war. 11. Because it imposes an obstacle against the spread of imperialism, or grabbing territory of rival nations, as Germany and Austria stole Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, and England seized portions of South Africa from the Dutch, and thus removes the chief cause for wars of aggression. 12. Because it provides for the protection of small nations never before able to maintain their independence. 13. Because it offers protection to such unhappy peoples as the Armenians,. . . .14. Because it makes such appeals as that of the Irish a world responsibility and brings all the sentiment in all nations favorable to a new order to bear on the problem.[1]

In 1923, after reviewing four proposals for ending war, she concluded that only the League of Nations is world inclusive and aims at the abolution of war. That alone cannot abolish war, she contended, "unless

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[1]"Mrs. Catt on League of Nations and the Presidential Election," Letter to the Editor of The Woman Citizen, reprint from The Woman Citizen, October 16, 1920, p. 1. (These ideas are distributed in a number of her earlier speeches on peace.)

all the nations are included and its aim strongly supported by the people at home."[1] For the United States she recognized three possibilities, only one of which she approved:

> First, shall we sulk outside the League tent and grouchily find fault with everything the League does and do nothing ourselves? Second, shall we knock down the League and set up the mythical as yet "Association of Nations" whose covenant has not been written, or devise some other plan of which no hint has yet been given? Third, or shall we enter the League and side by side with the rest of the world fight the war against war?
>
> . . . .By elimination there is nothing among present proposals left but to enter the League. The field is open for other proposals, but as yet they do not come.[2]

World Court.--A topic less frequently discussed than the League of Nations was the World Court. To Mrs. Catt the World Court was a "necessary, useful step toward peace," but "not a strong or bold step," for it could not make law, only interpret it. She stated that it was the "only question concerning peace actually before our people [1923]. By all means let us join."[3] Her reasons for advocating the World Court were:

> 1. Membership is an easy first step toward peace. 2. It is an institution with which we are acquainted. 3. The World Court is an American idea and proposal. 4. The richest nation in the world should help pay the bills of this first real World Court. 5. It will contribute enormously toward world peace. 6. It will give evidence to the world that this nation means to cooperate with other nations to gain peace.[4]

In an explanation of the extent to which the World Court is solving the war problem, she said:

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 17.

[2]Ibid., p. 17.

[3]Ibid., p. 15.

[4]Catt, Radio Address (August 26, 1925), op. cit., p. 7.

> A World Court. . .has been established with fifty nation members, and we hope with another entering soon. It provides a place and a method for the settlement of all international disputes described by the lawyers as juridical.
>
> . . . .The diplomatic initiative has not yet been ratified by the governments of these powers, but when and if the clauses are so ratified, and when and if Japan and the United States follow their example, all of the great fighting powers will have given and recorded their solemn pledge to submit to the World Court all judiciary causes and the accomplished fact will be the most amazing act in ten thousand years of history. More, in the decade just closed, the chief nations of the world have bound themselves to their neighbors by additional treaties of arbitration, all of them important, and some truly astounding. This has been a plan particularly respected on the Western Hemisphere. Several nations have treaties of arbitration with every nation on the two continents. . . .
>
> The most astounding of the arbitration treaties are the famed pacts of Locarno. They are more complete than any that had preceded them, and they bind together in compulsion to peace the nations that occupied the very center of the late war. Lastly, in this marvelous evolution of ten years, came the most dashing and astonishing of them all, the Briand-Kellog pact renouncing war, and now signed by fifty-one nations.[1]

Treaties.--Distributed throughout many of Mrs. Catt's speeches were discussions of treaties. She said, "'Build Friendships, not Warships, for National Defense'" is the slogan of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War in its campaign for a multilateral treaty to outlaw war."[2] Mrs. Catt did not consider any treaty a guarantee of peace, but a covenant set up "in order to achieve peace. . . .The more pledges a nation makes, the stiffer the pledge, the freer from reservations, the bolder the terms, the more certainly does the treaty approach a guarantee. The present proposal [Briand] is a bolder, franker, clearer agreement than any that have preceded it."[3] "If those who formulate the treaty

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[1]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Peace by Pledge," The Woman's Journal, XIII (June, 1928), 26.

[3]Ibid., p. 26.

[Briand-Kellog] shape it to cooperate with the League of Nations and in no respect introduce a single question of conflict, a cause will have been found worthy of our united sacrifice and devotion."[1]

International law.--Of frequent discussion by Mrs. Catt was the problem of putting international law into operation. Recognizing that any nation might withdraw from any or all of these covenants Mrs. Catt concluded that "any and all peace machinery might break down in a time of stress."[2] Two theories, she said, had arisen concerning the possibility that a "nation might violate its vow and deserve a penalty. . .: one, that peace must be enforced by arms, and two, that peace might be controlled by moral suasion."[3] Just what to do in case a nation violated its vow was considered a gap in the machinery of peace which caused disarmament conferences to move slowly as well as proposals "which would help tighten the peace machinery" not to be presented at all.[4]

To this problem she proposed:

> The nations of the world must define exactly what defense is and under what conditions defense is really defense before there will be sufficient intelligence to approach the task of filling this gap.
>
> The next step must be a series of treaties which make the submission of disputes of all varieties to peaceful methods of settlement compulsory. . . .
>
> Should ships and guns be sunk in deep seas, others could be built; should armies be disbanded, others could be mobilized; but when nations by voluntary agreement have pledged themselves to submit to peaceful settlement all causes of disagreement with any other nation, and to recognize the pledge as compulsory, war will end.[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 36.

[2] Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 3.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 4.

[5] Ibid., pp. 4-7.

Disarmament conferences.--Mrs. Catt considered the problem of disarmament to be "more political in character than military, and more psychological than political."[1] By way of illustration she referred to the naval conference at Geneva:

> The effect of the conference is nothing done toward disarmament, and irritated distrust between the countries, and a threat of naval competition. The facts are that each of the three nations approached the problem with the thought and belief in probable war and not with the determination to cooperate in bringing a reign of certain peace. This situation has been aggravated by the proposed big naval program of our own country. It is doubtful if disarmament conferences can or will make much progress through direct discussion of disarmament itself. It will be of little avail for technicians, who alone can determine the manner in which, by degrees, the nations can proportionately reduce armament, to meet for this purpose while the political and commercial minds of their nations are centered upon probably war and preparations for imagined defense.
>
> . . .Successful and effective disarmament will come sooner if the approach is through another avenue than a disarmament conference.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> In disarmament conferences it is necessary to define "adequate" self-defense. Disarmament would naturally proceed down to the point necessary for adequate self-defense. But who can determine when a nation is prepared adequately for self-defense?
>
> The great need as a preliminary to disarmament and as a preliminary to the erection of a dependable peace institution is an international parliament with authority to agree upon a few definitions--the vocabulary need scarcely exceed fifty words, beginning with the word WAR itself. What is war and when is the use of force war?[2]
>
> My solution [said Mrs. Catt] of the disarmament question is to proceed by a flank movement to build up a peace institution that will be positive and aggressive, not negative; compacts that will employ the word SHALL, not may; put the peace institution under the State Department and develop that Department into an active unafraid power for peace. Give the new peace institution some of the eighty-two cents per dollar now going to the war institution and set up as lively a publicity section for arbitration as there is for a big navy.[3]

Mrs. Catt thus spoke from a body of ideas which were the product of the international problems of her day. Though the development of her

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[1]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[3]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

thesis reflected her reliance upon contemporary events, there seemed to be an expression of Mrs. Catt's inner self when she turned her attention to moral and mental aspects in the war problem.

Other solutions.--When advocating the construction of a new foreign policy she stressed the principles of the Golden Rule and set forth three commandments:

> (1) All nations are created free and equal. (2) All nations possess the inalienable right to govern themselves each in its own way. (3) Any nation which interferes with the right of another nation to govern itself shall be declared an outlaw among nations.[1]

She further contended that "where investments and the fundamental rights of man conflict, the rights of man should have the supremacy."[2] These responsibilities she allotted to the people who should "persuade the voters." The foreign policy of the United States should be one "other nations will follow."[3]

She rebuked the white man for talking eloquently of the brotherhood of man and failing to put the theory into noticeable practice. "The superiority complex never fails to make itself felt and the inferiority complex responds eternally with resentment."[4] In a few speeches she dwelt upon the need of man to experience a realization of guilt for his war conduct before the abolition of war could be accomplished. She developed an ironical vision of "MAN'S most incredible, inexplicable, and

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy (Philadelphia, Pa.: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1927--Reprint, No. 2071), pp. 2-3.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[4]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., p. 3.

monstrous misbehavior"--WAR. She concluded with an appeal to her audience to be ashamed:

> Just how ashamed are you of WAR history, and of the years the human race has wasted its brain power in inventing new armaments to kill, instead of trying to find a way to stop war. If you are not ashamed now, kneel at your bedside tonight and ask God to make you ashamed. It would be the greatest blessing that could come to you. When you have become ashamed, work to make your family, your friends and townsmen ashamed likewise. I long to see a great army of the Ashamed, marching up Capitol Hill to our government, in order that, together, we may make a gigantic apology for MAN'S WAR record. Do not Mistake! When we go, we will not say "So sorry, so very sorry." We will demand reparations for the sins that have been committed, even in the name of liberty. . . .
>
> When nations have been sufficiently ashamed to make peace for general reparations for wrongs done to other nations, they will come speedily and in humility to insist that the old moral code, so long violated, shall be uplifted in the peace movement of the world, and the old immoral code, which has been the sponsor of every war since time began, shall be repudiated forever. Then, and I believe not until then, can there be real hope of perennial peace.[1]

Another speech was devoted to evoking reflective thinking about destroying "war with an idea":

> We can't settle a battle with tears--that has been tried. We might settle it with humor if we are smart enough.
>
> . . .Somebody, sometime, somewhere, somehow will have an idea, which will end the war business. Whoever produces it will be immortalized.[2]

Repeatedly she pleaded with the human race to reason: "Now, the human race for its own safety and decency must sharpen its wits, energize its reason and indomitably fix its determination to make an end of this horrible savagery which takes possession of men and leads them to

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "A Belated Apology;" also called "Ashamed of War," Thirteenth Annual CCCW, Washington, D. C., January 19, 1938, No. 3 (Washington, D. C.: Delegates Worksheet), pp. 1-2.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War," January 22, 1940, Hall of Nations, Hotel Washington, (Washington, D. C.: Delegates Worksheet), No. 3, pp. 4-5.

demoniacal deeds."[1] She reasoned further: "Don't make war respectable by giving it complicated reasons for its existence. War has no right to be in this world. War must go, and when it goes some of the complications about which we think so much today will go with it."[2]

Further verification.--To put solutions for the abolition of war into practice Mrs. Catt relied upon the assistance of public opinion and precise planning.

In an international broadcast, 1935, she pleaded:

> We would like the air audience all the world around to join in our acclaim. Make an end of the outworn, brutal business of war. How? Educate, educate, educate. Face squarely the facts of war. Join hands and voices the world around and make known your wish. NO MORE WAR.[3]

In a broadcast in 1937 she said:

> When common sense possesses the minds of men, there will be no more war. Women, you are the world's best teachers, in homes, schools, and society. Go forth, one and all, and teach that common sense. It is a mighty task to change the mind of the world. It requires courage and heroism, but you possess these qualities and the world's mind has been changed many times. It can be changed again. Go: the world is waiting for your message.[4]

Repeatedly she pleaded that America should lead in influencing public opinion:

> The only way to end war is through public opinion. Nations which have shut off free speech, parliamentary bodies, and private agitation,

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[1]Catt, Then and Now (1939), op. cit., p. 22.

[2]Carrie Chapman Catt, "Address," Eleventh CCCW, January 21, 1936, Hall of Nations, Hotel Washington (Washington, D. C.: Delegates Worksheet), No. 2, p. 3.

[3]Catt, "International Broadcast" (January 23, 1936), op. cit., p. 2.

[4]Catt, "Speech at International Symposium" (January 11, 1937), op. cit., p. 2.

> be they Fascists or Communists, are only arsenals of canned tradition and are consequently the chief maintainers of the war system. Ours is a government where the people, more or less, rule. Here, we may think, speak, and agitate. It is therefore a suitable place in which to begin. The United States of America, when it sees and thinks straight, can answer the question HOW?. . . .Any proposal to end war, however, must be based upon the understanding that war is a very old and world-around institution with its feet still deep in the primeval era. War will not cease until destroyed, root and branch. It cannot be destroyed without the cooperation of many nations. Those who would lead, therefore, must dig deep into the debris of war to find the truth, and, finding it, must hold it up to public view without apologies. Heroics of ancient poetry must be dropped and the plain, unvarnished truth told--alas, the world still likes war; it is still our pet institution. When we learn to hate war because it is so abominable and thoroughly uncivilized it will go. The people will arise and drive it out.[1]

Characteristically, Mrs. Catt looked to a plan to achieve the abolition of war:

> [In 1940 she advised the women against being content with] pushing forward one small cause, but join with others in a hundred years' plan for the big problems. No large question has been solved in less time than one hundred years and some damaging customs of the human race supported by fools, bigots and slaves, have required thousands of years for their removal. . . .Make your plans, your blueprints, and your resolves so logical and complete that no mental bomb throwing can knock a hole in them.[2]

Summary

All issues in Mrs. Catt's speeches promoting peace have been synthesized into a single larger issue, how may war be abolished? Her premises and arguments lent themselves naturally to the problem-solution order of thinking, and were concerned principally with the "causes and cures of war." She pointed to the signs of international hostilities, the known devastations of war, and the idea that war is a well-established

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[1]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., p. 11.

[2]Catt, "Address at Woman's Centennial Congress" (1940), op. cit., p. 2.

institution and peace merely the negation of war when emphasizing the magnitude and timeliness of the war problem.

In promoting the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War Mrs. Catt sought to abolish war by determining and extinguishing its causes for existence. It seemed to her that humanity believed in peace, but retained the spirit of the cave man's emotions of distrust, suspicion, jealousy, hate, revenge, and fear. These motives had been kept alive through propaganda. Such emotions were being manifested in man's endeavor "to keep, to recover, or to add" possessions. Causes of war were enumerated into as many as 257 by speakers at Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War, which Mrs. Catt reduced to one chief cause: the competition in armament building. She considered the vested or economic interest in war to be the most powerful stake group. Adventure, glory, promotion, prestige, loyalty to custom, faith in a powerful armed force to frighten all enemies were factors luring people to accept war. The solidarity of the war advocates exceeded that of the peace advocates.

In determining solutions or "cures" of war she supported international systems including the League of Nations, the World Court, treaties, disarmament programs, and international law. She considered the League of Nations to be a world-inclusive effort to abolish war, and the World Court and the treaties to be useful steps toward the achievement of peace though not guarantees of it. The United States could profit by supplanting the War Department along with the revenue consumed in its operation with a Peace Department. The moral standards of our foreign policy needed to be elevated. Men should repent for their war behavior, and apply their best thinking to its elimination. Solutions to the war

problem were intended to be effected through public opinion and precise planning over a long period of time.

Logical Proof

Patterns of Reasoning

Analysis of thirty of Mrs. Catt's speeches advocating the abolition of war reveals that seventeen of them were developed mainly by inductive reasoning, five by deductive reasoning, and eight by a combination of the two patterns.

Inductive reasoning.--Frequently these speeches followed a problem-solution order of arrangement concurrent with an inductive pattern of reasoning. The conclusion was often composed of a series of suggested solutions.

In "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" she developed her theme inductively by enumerating a number of specific instances and reasons to indicate the comparative relation between the influence of peace and of war upon public opinion. In "The World Never Stops" a slightly different type of induction appeared as the analysis of insecure and secure attitudes in both Europe and America.[1]

Different from these was the use of a narrative to explain the methods of eliminating war as used by the women of Sumatra. From this story she exhorted the audience to believe that eventually someone would make himself immortal by thinking of the idea that would destroy war.[2]

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, "The World Never Stops," Address to International Council of Women, Hall of the Americas, Washington, D. C., May 7, 1925, New York Times, May 8, 1925, p. 3.

[2]Catt, "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War" (1940), op. cit., pp. 4-5.

In establishing her inductions, Mrs. Catt sometimes drew a conclusion from a single fictitious or hypothetical narrative.[1] At other times she enumerated current international problems. Characteristically she appraised the adequacy of the examples to support the conclusions. A brief illustration is, "They [nations] honestly wish to clip the wings of the war power and to restrain war as an admitted menace to the safety of civilization. Yet all nations are controlled by suspicion and distrust of each other and they dare not let go of the institution of war."[2] Often she listed exceptions to her examples:

> The United States made the first definite proposal to establish a World Court. The last seven presidents and both dominant political parties have endorsed the idea. The Court has become a reality with a membership of fifty-two nations. All the states in the world acknowledged as nations except eleven are now members of the Court. The exceptions are Argentina, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru, which are members of the League, and Afghanistan, Ecuador, Egypt, Mexico, the Soviet Republics, Turkey and the United States, which are not members of the League.[3]

When Mrs. Catt reasoned by a combination of inductive and deductive logic, she either set up a goal and went about to achieve it through the problem-solution order or she stated a generalization and supported it with specific instances, statistics, and illustrations from which she derived a restatement of the original generalization.

The procedure may be noted in The Outlawry of War which started

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[1]Catt, "A Belated Apology" (1938), op. cit., p. 2; and "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War" (1940), op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[2]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Catt, "The Story of the World Court," The Woman's Journal, XIV (1929), pp. 13, 34.

with a dilemma:

> The first horn of the dilemma is, therefore, the honorable pledge of the Allies to disarm themselves. The second horn is that the Allies do not feel so much inclined to virtue in 1928 as they did in 1919, when the treaty was written and they were sore troubled and war weary.[1]

After developing the causal relation of the dilemma she proposed a number of solutions.

In Gaps in the Machinery of Peace she utilized a combination of deductive and inductive reasoning by starting with her conclusion: "The work yet to be accomplished before there will be a warless world is the demobilization of the war system and the mobilization of a substituted peace system." After arguing from evidence and reasoning, she restated the conclusion at the end:

> Stand fast then by the one cause, the one cure, of war and the certain policy that a warless world lies at the end of a constantly applied policy of building up the compulsory peace institution and tearing down the outworn war institution. Meanwhile let us try to put less of the taxpayers' cash in ships and guns, planes and bombs, and more in the type of foreign policy which makes for friendship and good will.[2]

In brief, Mrs. Catt's inductive reasoning in individual speeches was usually based upon several factual cases. She developed a few of her later speeches from single hypothetical stories. Characteristically she discussed the adequacy of her examples and noted exceptional instances. Several generalizations were framed in hypothetical or disjunctive form.

Deductive reasoning.--Only five of the thirty speeches treating the war issue may be considered sufficiently deductive to be cast into a

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[1]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 8.

broad enthymematic pattern. Two of these concerned international arbitration; two, America's foreign policy; and one, women's responsibility in advancing human progress. The speech of this group most deductive and soritical in pattern was her maiden peace speech--"A Call to Action." Cast into a broad enthymeme it may be stated in this manner: A nation that believes in "the voice of the people settling questions. . .should take the initiative to bring about a reduction of armaments looking toward world peace." America is such a nation; therefore, Americans "are the appointed ones to lead in this question [reduction of armament]."[1] This enthymeme was supported by other enthymemes; one of the most prominent being: A nation having all its parts united in a method of peace "can act collectively with other nations." America is not united; therefore "nobody in any other nation and nobody in this nation knows what we are going to do" in regard to the League of Nations.[2] Another of her significant enthymemes was: International arbitration assists in bringing peace. All people want peace. Therefore, all people should want international arbitration.[3]

"My Faith" is a speech containing a series of ideas stated in hypothetical form which Mrs. Catt believed would assist in abolishing war if they could be put into effect.[4] Her consideration of America's foreign

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[1]Catt, "A Call to Action" (1921), op. cit., pp. 1183-1184.

[2]Ibid., p. 1184.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "My Faith," or "Fourteen Points for Peace," Delivered at Richmond, Va., April 21, 1925, New York Times, April 22, 1925, p. 25.

policy included the following hypothetical form of reasoning: If "our foreign policy creates resentment, irritation, and even fear, on the part of many at home and abroad," so that war may ensue because of it, it is "time to begin a revamping of our foreign policy." Certain resentment can be cited and other instances can be predicted. "My suggestion," therefore, is that "the policy be changed."[1] More specifically she reasoned hypothetically that when investments and fundamental rights conflict in a foreign policy, the rights of man should have the supremacy.[2]

In regard to the Monroe Doctrine she reasoned categorically: Any document undefined and unauthorized is an obstacle to peace and good will. "The Monroe Doctrine, undefined and unauthorized, is an obstacle to peace and good will."[3] She supported this reasoning in hypothetical form: If a nation extensively expresses resentment toward a doctrine, ill will is indicated. South Americans have expressed themselves in this manner toward the Monroe Doctrine. South Americans appear to have ill will toward the Monroe Doctrine.[4]

Of the thirty speeches treating the war issue, five were deductive having an emphasis upon hypothetical enthymemes with categorical next in frequency. The soritical pattern of reasoning occurred in a few of her early peace speeches.

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[1]Catt, Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy (1927), op. cit., pp. 1-3.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]Catt, "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" (1929), op. cit., p. 14.

[4]Ibid., p. 12.

Kinds of Arguments

This group of speeches is singular in that most of the arguments move from causes to effect to solutions. Since her solutions pertained to a speculative future, the connection between the cause and the solution was assumed.

Peace promoters started with 257 causes and Mrs. Catt concluded with one chief cause.[1] Cures of war were comparable in numbers to their respective causes.[2] The effect, war, was the known element. The validity of Mrs. Catt's speeches rested upon her ability to determine the unknown components--causes and solutions to war. It was upon the adequacy of possible solutions to eliminate the effect, war, with its causes that Mrs. Catt concentrated in the content of these speeches. In the process she noted many weaknesses in the solutions including such factors as the fear of nations to disarm and the failure of any world organization to carry out its mandates either by force or persuasion.[3]

Methods of Support

In the abolition of the war issue Mrs. Catt used almost all of the types of support, but she proportioned her use of them somewhat differently from that of previously discussed speeches.

A few representative illustrations give insight into her choice of materials. Statistical data were important in establishing her arguments:

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[1]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Several speeches in this group.

> Andrew W. Mellon, in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, and submitted to Congress in November, assigned 82 per cent of the Federal expenditures for 1927 to past and future wars. This is, eighty-two cents out of every dollar paid in Federal taxes by the people of the nation goes to the maintenance of the institution of war. The amount of money spent on peace by our nation is so small it has never been named in the budget.[1]

Examples of specific instances related to World War I may be illustrated:

> The United States is not conducting herself as a peace country. Our own government has just given a demonstration of what it can do with an airplane. It has sunk two naval ships doomed to be scrapped by the Washington Conference by bombing them from 10,000 feet in the air. Col. Davis points to this example as a thing an enemy might do to us.[2]

In World War I America had for a brief period been an example to other nations:

> There was something strangely exalting to Europeans in the fact that the United States had put her money and her men into the Great War with the declaration that she would ask nothing in return. That was not the European way.[3]

The progress of man was compared to the frog in the well: "We may now put a similar question to educated adults. If the human race climbs steadily upwards for a century, but falls backward ninety-nine years as a result of wars, when will it reach real civilization?"[4]

To Mrs. Catt, slogans had an important part in influencing public opinion. In her endeavors to get her listeners to adopt a peace policy

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[1]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[2]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 5.

[3]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt, "International Broadcast," January, 1935, pp. 1-2.

she stated:

> You may ask what good can one person do. So, I asked myself, but I remembered a good, old slogan of the suffrage campaign. We won that struggle and the slogan is good for another. "I am only one, but I am one. I cannot do everything, but I can do something. What I can do, I ought to do. What I ought to do with the help of God, I will do."[1]

"Build Friendships, not Warships, for National Defense,"[2] was the slogan of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War in its campaign for a multilateral treaty to outlaw war. To counteract that which she considered to be the universal war slogan, "The way to obtain peace is to prepare for war," she originated the slogan, "The way to obtain peace is to prepare for peace."[3]

These peace speeches ranged from none to many quotations: Her acquaintance with the statements of statesmen, both national and international, with current editorials and reports, and with books treating the subject of peace, suggest that she spoke from a body of current ideas. Presidents of the United States, especially those of Mrs. Catt's time, were frequently quoted. Statements were used by people of international renown, such as David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England; Jan Smuts, Premier of South Africa; William Morris Hughes, Premier of Australia; Robert Laird Borden, Premier of Canada; Georges Clemenceau, Premier of France;[4] Adolph Hitler, Chancellor of Germany; Erich Ludendorff, German

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 13.

[2]Catt, "Peace by Pledge" (1928), op. cit., p. 26.

[3]Catt, "A Word to General Pershing," op. cit., p. 9.

[4]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 2.

general;[1] Francesco Nitti, Premier of Italy, and Benito Mussolini, Premier and dictator of Italy.[2] News correspondents,[3] statesmen,[4] generals,[5] professors,[6] philosophers,[7] historians,[8] novelists,[9] poets,[10] and the Bible[11] were quoted. For authors directly concerned with the subject of peace, she turned to such sources as Glower Dickinson, International Anarchy; Bradbury A. Fiske, How We Shall Lose the Next War and When; Parker Thomas Moon, Imperialism and World Politics; Nathaniel Pepper, White Man's Dilemma; and John Blakeless, The Origin of the Next War.[12] Classical quotes came from Julius Caesar[13] and the Romas historian, Cornelius Tacitus.[14]

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[1]Catt, "Address at Woman's Centennial Congress" (1940), op. cit., pp. 4, 6.

[2]New York Times, March 11, 1923, p. 9.

[3]Catt, "Peace by Pledge" (1928), op. cit., p. 26.

[4]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 5.

[5]Catt, "Peace or War—What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., pp. 4, 25.

[6]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 3.

[7]Catt, "Address at Woman's Centennial Congress" (1940), op. cit., p. 3.

[8]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 5.

[9]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 6.

[10]Ibid., p. 26.

[11]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., p. 1.

[12]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., pp. 1-9.

[13]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., p. 1.

[14]Catt, "Peace or War—What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 8.

National problems and attitudes were simplified by a personal illustration; for example she recalled that in childhood a spanking alone created retaliation, but a spanking accompanied with reasoning and sympathetic understanding stimulated repentance on her part.[1] Mrs. Catt's speeches, delivered late in life, used narratives to implement persuasion in two ways: to illustrate a point and to expand a hyperbole. Her narration about two matriarchal queens, who settled a dispute which arose on their island of Sumatra by engaging a battle between two representative bullocks, was intended to illustrate the point that someone could originate an idea today that would destroy war.[2] Drama and imagery were used to ridicule the wisdom of twentieth century man in his inability to settle disputes:

> An episode may have taken place some two or three millions of years before Christ which may have given MAN a wrong start and he may never have the courage to correct the mistake.
>
> Suppose on one bright spring morning, some men were climbing down out of their trees where all men then lived. . . .The other group did the same and, directly, they were engaged in a pitched battle, all screaming, slamming, pounding, punching, kicking, and biting each other.
>
> They had nothing to fight about. There were trees enough for all; land and food enough for all. . . .Of course, those ancestors of ours, we must confess, were mere morons. They had small brains and did not use what they had. From the tree tops, MAN had seen gigantic beasts eating each other alive and they merely followed their example. The history of MAN shows completely that he has always been short on original ideas and long on imitation. . . .He has followed WAR with devoted loyalty from that day to this, because his father and his great grandfather did.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Let us paint a wee picture and call it THE EVOLUTION OF MAN. Beneath the picture, it is written: THIS WAS THE KING OF MEN IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1939. HE HAD THE LARGEST BRAIN EVER DISCOVERED, THE

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[1]Catt, "Eighty-Fifth Birthday Address" (1944), op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Catt, "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War" (1940), op. cit., pp. 4-5.

> MOST EDUCATED POSSIBLE FOR ANY MAN TO RECEIVE: LOOK, HIS BREAST IS COVERED WITH THE RECORD OF SUPER-DEGREES FROM UNIVERSITIES. HE WEARS THE KEY. Solomon, in all his glory, knew little compared with this, wisest of all men, the climax of a million of years of human evolution. Look again; this man wears a gas mask. He is followed by a woman and a baby, a dog and a cat, and all four wear gas masks. He shepherds them into a dark hole and scuttles in after them in the hope that he may escape the effects of the war neither he nor any man knows how to stop. Shall we acknowledge that picture as the final climax of our evolution, or do something about it?[1]

Such descriptive narratives as the preceding examples gained further emphasis by a supplementary list of rhetorical questions, e.g.:

> Let the cash register continue. Is it not true that all wars have been based upon violations of the moral code; that is, upon lies, theft, and murder? Is it not true that each nation relies upon the possession of the deadliest weapons for success in establishing the justice of its cause? Was any really important dispute ever justly settled by any war?[2]

By way of summary, Mrs. Catt supported her arguments in this issue with statistics and data treating the subject of World War I, its reparations, and international peace systems that grew out of it. When she wanted to stress the increasing dangers of war she contrasted past and present war conditions. Contemporaries were quoted frequently. At times slogans were used to influence public opinion. The greatest change from that of previous speeches was in her increased reliance upon imagery, both factual and fictitious, which was used to ridicule the wisdom of twentieth century man in his war behavior. The peace speeches also differed from the suffrage speeches in that they contained fewer rhetorical questions and fewer examples in a single speech. The use of support did not vary appreciably with the steps in the problem-solving order except

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[1]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., pp. 4-9.

[2]Ibid., p. 9.

in the amount used. The statement of the problem varied the most in that it was sometimes a single question or statement having no support. The analysis of the problem and the suggested solutions along with their reasoned development utilized the larger amounts of support.

Refutation

Frequently in editorials related to the subject of peace Mrs. Catt directed refutation to individuals. In the speeches concerned with peace her refutation was addressed primarily to public opinion. All of the common methods of refutation were employed with concentration upon faulty deduction and induction, the exposition of inconsistency in arguments, reductio ad absurdum, and the challenging of evidence.

Challenge of faulty deductive application of a principle to a particular instance occurred frequently. In the treatment of the armament issue, for example, she contended that the whole problem of war versus peace resulted from the simple contest between two slogans: "The way to obtain peace is to prepare for war," or "The way to obtain peace is to prepare for peace." The first of these slogans she considered to be a faulty deduction, for, she contended, "you tend to get that which you prepare for." She appeared to understand that national insecurity and adherence to tradition interfered in the drawing of a logical inference, at least in practice. Therefore, she set about to influence public opinion to accept her conclusion of the enthymeme. The following quotation illustrates her strategy in treating this issue in refutation:

> Statesmen are not blamable for the hesitation in this transition period from war to peace. This is still a world populated with men equipped with war minds. War is still the policy of nations. Armies

> and navies cannot be scrapped at this period. Every nation is still based on force. Defense is still needed. The puzzling question is --who can judge how much and what kind of defense is required. Because this question remains unanswered statesmen are prone to follow the easy old beaten path. It is always with agony that new trails are blazed. It is not the business of departments of army and navy to create a new policy of peace. There can be no compromise with the old war slogan, and therefore, the way out of the present maze or tradition, precedent, and unclear thinking is the substitution of a wholly new slogan for the old one. "The way to maintain peace is to prepare for peace."[1]

The fallacy of lack of evidence from which to formulate a generalization was brought to the attention of her auditors with some frequency in these speeches. An example of this device occurred in a broadcast when she refuted the contention that the way to secure peace "is to be so much stronger than your enemy that he dare not attack you." Mrs. Catt replied that the world had uniformly adopted this policy and had "supported it for several years." That theory had "never stopped war," but had "steadily built up the war machine to a greater and ever more deadly power."[2] In both of the preceding examples Mrs. Catt had challenged her listeners to avoid the fallacy of conforming to tradition.

Americans supporting the Monroe Doctrine were admonished not to ignore the question when she stated:

> With much perturbation of mind and spirit, I venture to declare. . . that the Monroe Doctrine, though all the world be for it, is false in theory and pernicious in its application. It is false in its theory because there is no logic, there is no justice, there is no ethics which can possibly make justifiable the right of any nation, by its own assumption of authority, to assume direction over any

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[1]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Catt, "International Broadcast" (January 23, 1936), op. cit., p. 1.

other nation without that nation's consent.[1]

The fallacy of using equivocal definitions was stressed in many ways, especially in discussions treating the word "defense." The next two examples illustrate not only her challenge upon inaccurate definitions but also upon inconsistency, a method of refutation frequently used by Mrs. Catt:

> It seems that when the angel of peace speaks of defense she means protection against assault of a wicked neighbor, but when Mars speaks of defense he means keeping all the war machinery ready and oiled so that if a native should steal the major's cat a penalty may be administered to the people to whom the native belongs, and that in the logical name of defense.[2]

In continuing the section just quoted she used reductio ad absurdum, a type of refutation that increased with use in her later speeches. Another similar example concerned that which Mrs. Catt considered to be a "Counter Code" to the "Moral Code" of man. "The creed of all nations. . .practiced by all men":

> Whatever we do is right; whatever our neighbor does is wrong. All men within our frontiers are good men and any harm done to them by outsiders is justifiably punishable. To lie to a stranger or to break a pact or treaty with another nation in such way that it redounds to our advantage is a patriotic Virtue spelled with a large V. God always rewards such acts, but if an outsider lies to us, or breaks a treaty with our nation, that nation becomes a Vicious people, also spelled with a large V. To steal from an enemy and bring the loot home, or to capture territory for our benefit is sterling honesty. God rewards such noble acts and monuments are built by all nations to such heroes. However, should the enemy take our territory, he is a skunk and a traitor. We are free to forget the injunction about killing and may hang him to the nearest tree without trial.[3]

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[1]Catt, "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" (1929), op. cit., p. 9.

[2]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., p. 7.

[3]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., pp. 6-7.

The inconsistency of the foreign policy of the United States and its inactive participation in international arbitration were attacked by Mrs. Catt upon several occasions. The following use of passion was unusual; it was a part of a defense for the League of Nations after it had been rejected by the United States government:

> Fifty-four nations, many of them paying the costs of the great war, are also paying the bills for the first world attempt to attain and to maintain peace. This nation, with half of the gold of the world in its coffers, is only paying the costs of war and preparing for another. That fact is enough to make a normal minded dog laugh. Democratic governments make bewildering blunders at times, but never was there a more stupifying one than this. We are a great folk for giving advice, but pretty poor hands at taking it.[1]

Mrs. Catt's method of argument, strongly marked by clarity of analysis, lent itself naturally to the exposition of inconsistencies in argument and to the inclusion of detailed counterplans. She availed herself of the whole gamut of refutational devices to make clear the inherent weakness of arguments supporting the policy of war and to gain support of solutions aimed to promote international peace.

Emotional Proof

Those listeners making up the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War were "in favor of the ideas and measures she proposed. They formed a group that was united and ready to work for a common purpose."[2] Those people needed only to be assisted in the formulation of the precise plan and action to achieve their purpose. To people at large she offered encouragement to accept proposals intended to promote the policy of peace

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., pp. 14-15.

[2]Draughon, op. cit., p. 86.

and evoked them to reject practices that might terminate in war.

In touching off those responses that would promote the ready perception and favorable reception of her ideas, Mrs. Catt, at times, addressed herself intensively to her auditors' emotions, motives, and attitudes. Upon these occasions she sought hate of destructiveness, release from suspicion and fear, and repentance for war behavior. She attacked the motives of selfishness and adherence to traditions and appealed to desires for safety, freedom, altruism, and power.

She asked her auditors to "hate war because it is so abominable and uncivilized";[1] but she admonished them to reject the "emotions of suspicion, fear, hate, and revenge," which create "mutual dread" and destroy "mutual confidence."[2] This revulsion for war was frequently stated in this manner: "Treat it as a sin, a crime, an iniquity, an unethical institution, an unpractical policy, or what you will, it is, in truth, a barbarism with no rightful place in an unenlightened age."[3]

Upon several occasions Mrs. Catt asked her auditors to be ashamed of war, the most "inexplicable" behavior of man. The entirety of one speech was devoted to such an apology, including an appeal to high morals. In order to restore belated justice she placed more confidence in man's emotion of shame than in his ability to follow arguments:

> The pleas on behalf of peace that we are making now would leave every imperialistic nation with all loot in her safe possession while

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[1]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., p. 11.

[2]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[3]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 4.

> denying imperialistic aggression and conquest to others. To my mind, this is the real foundation of all trouble and the hesitation to foreswear war. It is not from arguments that peace will come, but it will arise out of the purified souls of men who have put morality above immorality. The sooner, dear friends, that you become ashamed of the past and strive to restore belated justice, the quicker will come the sunset upon war and the sunrise upon peace.[1]

Images of the destructiveness of war were used to make it seem objectionable, and peace, the absence of war, worth the effort to achieve it. To illustrate, the motives of sympathy, humiliation, and injustice were invoked in an address broadcast to the people:

> Could we see the nations as they actually are today, we would observe millions of men and women in factories, workshops, mines, offices, streets, and kitchens, all striving to earn their daily bread. But they look tired, downhearted, woebegone. Do they work too hard? No, it is not the work they do that makes them look so disconsolate, it is the unnecessary loads they carry, loads which have nothing to do with their daily work. . . .What are these big, staggering loads and why do people working have to carry them?
>
> These are war loads. All generations have had them and it has always been compulsory to carry them day and night without ever laying them down. One load is filled to bursting with the taxes the nation has laid upon the people for the purpose of paying for the last war. Another load, still larger and heavier, is filled with the taxes necessary for the next war. Other loads are the dread and the worry of the coming war and its aftermath, usually more terrible than the war itself.[2]

Mrs. Catt advocated the restraining of acquisitive wants as practiced in aggressiveness:

> "Keeping up with Lizzie" is an infection not confined to neighborhoods. The possession of a colony, or a string of colonies, is the first long step toward becoming a big nation; the second, to jostle other trade nations out of its markets and to steal theirs.[3]

She pleaded with her listeners to free themselves from the conformity of

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[1]Catt, "A Belated Apology" (1938), op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Catt, "Speech at International Symposium" (1937), op. cit., p. 1.

[3]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., p. 2.

tradition: "Wars now have no causes; they have no excuses, and wars go on because nations have the habit and move by precedent."[1]

She upheld morality and self-preservation in this attack upon wastefulness:

> The World War will not be paid for, if at all, by the end of a century after its close. The demoralizing effects of that war upon the human race will certainly not be overcome in a hundred years. No nation can afford the waste of money a war costs. . . .[2]

She also spoke of the waste of life and the need of security:

> No nation can afford the waste of human life in war. One man in every four of the two gigantic armies in the World War died in service. Nor can nations normally endure the depression that is the inevitable outcome of war; nor can they endure the increase of crime, insanity, immorality, and suicide. Nor can the war generation patiently carry the staggering load of war taxation.[3]

> The truth [about war, Mrs. Catt stressed] is that every war is followed by exhaustion, exhaustion of man-power, food, material, health, money, hope, intellectual and moral standards. A war does to civilization exactly what a hard frost does to a blooming garden. Before a nation repairs its losses, another war comes. This is why we are unable to think straight.[4]

She warned against the destructive nature of war in its effects on civilization: "Worse than all else is the fact that the human race is checked in its normal evolutionary climb upward."[5]

The reputation, respect, and honor of the American nation depended upon its active participation in the League of Nations:

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[1]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 19.

[3]Catt, "International Broadcast" (January, 1935), op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[5]Catt, "International Broadcast" (January, 1935), op. cit., p. 1.

> To find fault and do nothing is clearly rank cowardice. To stay outside in the hope that the League will fail, while doing all we can to make it fail, is such arrant presumption that it is not worthy of a self-respecting people.[1]

When Mrs. Catt utilized the mastery motive in appealing to the American nation to "assume the world leadership in the peace movement," she considered that she had touched upon the "crucial" response needed in the solution to the war problem.[2]

Frequently Mrs. Catt appealed to the social approval motives by requesting loyalty of all peace promoters to each other and to their goal: "It [war] cannot be destroyed without the cooperation of many nations."[3] The people in this country who want peace must agree upon the way they "want to attain it."[4] The solidarity of the advocates of war and their advantage of numbers makes it all the more imperative that the peace forces pull together.[5]

In presenting the evils and difficulties of the problem she attempted to move her auditors to retreat from materialism and such negative emotions as distrust, suspicion, jealousy, hate, revenge, and fear--all of which belonged to the unjust and unfair state of war. She appealed to shame for the weaknesses and sin of man in his war practices

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 17.

[2]Catt, "Address before Conference on Cause and Cure of War" (1931), p. 6.

[3]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[4]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 13.

[5]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 1.

and to sympathy for those small nations and unhappy people who had suffered as a result of war devastation.

In deploring the current situation she concentrated upon the dangers of war to security and to self-preservation. War was considered to be wasteful economically and intellectually. It impaired and endangered our freedom of action, freedom of thought, and freedom of discussion. It worked against the rights of man and the progress of civilization. It was destroying the reputation of the United States as a leader of democratic principles. The situation was made especially acute by the neglect of duty and responsibility on the part of the United States toward sharing her burden of expense and of leadership as involved in the problems of international arbitration. The increasing expansion of war equipment inventions was making excessively dangerous the safety of all humanity.

Mrs. Catt's peace proposals would bring no dire consequence, she maintained, but a friendly relationship that could be viewed with confidence and pride. To support a peace institution instead of a war institution would improve the stability and sense of security of everyone, would free government spending for that which would be constructive, and would permit the wisdom of man to concentrate upon the advancement of civilization. It would restore greater freedom of action, of thought, and of opportunity. The peace institution should be cherished because it would be honorable and in keeping with the moral code. Yet, in order to effect a peace policy, all forces must unite boldly in a dynamic organization having a single specific goal.

In Mrs. Catt's analysis of the war problem and to some extent in

her suggested solutions she utilized more appeals against negative emotions and motives than she had used in promoting the suffrage cause. This change in the manner of using emotional proofs seems best explained by hypothesizing that Mrs. Catt considered that she was supporting a negative proposition which demanded the destruction of a well established institution--war.[1]

The speaker employed more imagery in the emotional proof of her peace speeches than of her suffrage speeches, and especially in her later speeches. The reason for this change in her persuasive pattern may be ascribed, by conjecture, to her change in subject matter, to her consummation of a broader philosophy through the experiences of a long and active life, to her change in attitude with advancing age, or possibly to other factors. In 1943 she remarked that contrary to her previous practice she believed that emotional appeal had advantages over logical. "Logic gets the least in results."[2]

Ethical Proof

In the peace speeches Mrs. Catt interwove several kinds of ethical proof into single passages. This situation lends itself to an analysis by speech excerpts rather than by isolated ethical appeals. Most frequently ethical appeal occurred in introductions and conclusions. Three speeches in this group contain direct ethical appeal diffused throughout the speech.

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[1]Catt, "Blessed Are the Peacemakers" (1937), op. cit., p. 11.

[2]Statement by Mrs. Catt, personal interview.

This usage appeared in the speech "A Call to Action."[1] By employing the first person pronouns she identified herself with those who believed that the whole world was for peace in desire, but uncertain as to how to obtain it: "We don't settle that question when we have a million different points of view, or no point of view, but wait for somebody to act." With the same approach she offered rebuke:

> I ask you if there is anybody anywhere at this moment with an earnest crusading spirit who is campaigning to arouse America to lead in this matter. Oh, no! We are as stolid and as indifferent apparently, and as inactive as though there was not before us the greatest question which was ever presented to the nations of the world.[2]

From her experiences in Europe she spoke with great sympathy for the war-torn people there and again identified herself with those Americans who should be rebuked for being indifferent toward the world situation:

> We live in paradise over here in comparison [to Europeans]; we are disgustingly fat and altogether too well-clad.
>
> . . . . . .
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> Our aloofness, our isolation, our silence upon the question! Oh, Americans, let us be silent no more; let us send a message across the sea and join hands with the men and women of every land who want to put this terrible thing out of the world. We can do it. But there must be no timidity among us; there must be no cowardice.[3]

In the remainder of this speech Mrs. Catt established herself as one pleading for that which she believed to be noble. An interspersing of such pleas in most of her speeches may account for her auditor's comments, who described her as an "inspiration and a driving force."[4]

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[1]Catt, "A Call to Action" (1921), op. cit., p. 1184.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, op. cit., p. 243.

In the speech entitled "My Faith" Mrs. Catt relied heavily upon her own convictions as evidenced by the expression "I believe," repeated with the introduction of each of the fourteen points.[1] Such an appeal may have served to establish the speaker as a woman of solemn faith.

In the introduction of an address delivered before the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War Mrs. Catt rather modestly focused the attention of her auditors upon herself as an authority on procedures for achieving a reform measure when she stated:

> I have been celebrating of late an anniversary for I was recently reminded that I began work for woman suffrage fifty years ago. Now no one likes to hear of another person's experience, but I give you my solemn word that there is such a difference in the way the world thinks of many things now as compared with fifty years ago that it is almost impossible to believe it, and so I would like to bequeath to you two ideas which it has taken fifty years to get into my head. Investigate these, prove them, and you will be worth one hundred per cent more than you are now![2]

As Mrs. Catt advanced in years she spoke more and more as one having authority based upon knowledge and experience. In concluding a banquet address before a group of peace promoters she said:

> Maybe you think I do not know anything about this [solutions to the war problem]. For the last twenty-five years I have done nothing except try to answer the question "Why is War?" I have read more than a thousand books on war, and most of them are pretty poor books. Out of it all I think that war is bunkum, and I think if we had the intelligence and the backbone and spiritual strength we could destroy war with an idea. I invite you to bring in your ideas.[3]

In this speech Mrs. Catt, in addition to reflecting her own prestige, also suggested determination and idealism--personality traits which

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[1]Catt, "My Faith" (1925), op. cit., p. 25.

[2]Catt, "Address" (January 21, 1936), op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Catt, "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War" (January 22, 1940), op. cit., p. 5.

were strong throughout her speaking career.

In the following introduction it is of interest to note that she attempted to establish herself as an authority to speak not only as an individual but also as a representative of a generation of women with whom she had labored:

> MADAM CHAIRMAN: WOMEN OF THE WORLD:
> I have no mandate to speak for American women and I make no pretense to do so. I speak only as an American woman, living in a safe spot and looking outward on a crushed and toppling world. Yet I feel that I have a constituency and that it gives me authority to speak. It is composed of many women of many lands with whom I labored for half a century. They were the leaders of the woman movement on six continents. Some of them are exiled now and some have gone on before. They were a gallant, courageous, intelligent, outstanding group. In the background, too, I hear other voices of great women whom I never saw. They began the movement and led it during its earlier generations. This multitude of women, were they here, would not only permit me to speak for them, but implore me to do so. Three things they would have me say.[1]

The preceding passage is heavily charged with ethical proof. In the main it appears to convey to her audience of women a favorable impression of the speaker's good will, character, and sagacity. Good will is revealed through her attempt to offset any personal reasons she might have had for giving this particular message. In this same speech these women were identified with high moral principles and a desire to make the world a better place in which to live. In establishing the impression of sagacity and understanding of her topic, she referred to her broad familiarity with her constituency composed of many women of five continents with whom she had labored for half a century.

In "A Belated Apology" her expression of modesty seemed to reveal

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[1]Catt, "Address at Woman's Centennial Congress" (1940), op. cit., p. 1.

good will toward her audience. In part of her introduction she inferred that the anthropologist who wrote an apology for man and stopped short of apologizing for war needed "an additional and a much more extensive apology." She continued:

> I do not possess the temerity to offer such an apology, but I do volunteer to present an inadequate pre-preface to the volumes of apology yet to come. I venture to appoint the super-superior group known as the Cause and Cure of War to hear and consider it.[1]

In the first part of the passage she showed humility and at the same time linked the opposite cause with that which was unworthy. In the second part good will appeared to be revealed through her offer to submit her apology to the judgment of her audience. In this same speech she made association of herself with that which was virtuous by upholding a moral code: "Thou shalt not lie. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not kill."[2]

Infrequently, the peace speeches contained suggestions of a genial and subtle wit. When speaking for a constructive foreign policy she prefaced her suggestions in this manner:

> I am an expert too. I never knew it before. Unfortunately I have no parchment from a university telling the observer that I am an expert, and the thing I am an expert in has no chair in a university anyway.[3]

A serious subject might be expressed with a sense of humor: "Ladies and Gentlemen, we should be full of good cheer tonight. We are ten thousand years nearer to permanent peace than were the cavemen ten

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[1]Catt, "A Belated Apology" (1938), op. cit., p. 1.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Catt, Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy (1927), op. cit., p. 3.

thousand years ago."[1] or "Nations are much like people. . .when they get big, they can do things they would have been spanked for when little."[2]

Frequently she integrated her pathos and her ethos. In the following passage she seems to suggest an understanding, courageous, and noble personality having a sensitive interest in her audience, while at the same time making a strong emotional appeal:

> Friends, it is a hard future, but every problem can be solved and some of them must be solved. For your own sake, face the future cheerfully; for your friends' sake, be optimistic, for your children's sake, be confident and for the sake of all things, be bravely unafraid. God bless you, good friends, fellow workers. God bless you all.[3]

Frequently when rebuking American public opinion she seemed to be fair-minded and tactful while arousing the emotion of fear for the insecurity of America's future or challenging Americans to desire self-esteem among the nations of the world. To illustrate, after pointing out eleven traits of imperialism charged to the United States by other nations, she commented:

> It matters very little that some of these charges may be disputed; that others are exaggerated; the facts are that they are believed by millions of people of other lands and they repeat them as the explanation of why we did not join the League. There is more hostility of feeling toward this country now than at any other time of its history. Some of it may be inspired by jealousy and envy, but much is clearly due to genuine fear and suspicions of its intentions. It will not disappear as the result of after dinner oratory while our war preparations are leading the world. It can only be calmed by sincere proof that we want peace. It is one thing to refuse to join a League of Nations aiming to end war, but it is quite a different thing to so conduct itself as to be considered a military meance to

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[1]Catt, "Blessed Are the Peacemakers" (1937), op. cit., p. 10.

[2]Catt, The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit., p. 2.

[3]Catt, Then and Now (1939), op. cit., p. 22.

the world.[1]

In the preceding passage, in addition to the pathetic proof, Mrs. Catt associated herself and her message with that which seemed to be just and respected conduct for a nation; she characterized those who would oppose her argument as approving of imperialistic tendencies; and she revealed consideration for those being rebuked by examining the charge made against the United States.

An examination of Mrs. Catt's devices of ethical proof used in her speeches advocating the abolition of war reveals that she seemed to establish herself as a speaker having knowledge based upon experience in social reforms. To establish her sagacity she referred to a broad familiarity with women of five continents. Humility and expression of good will were evidenced by submitting her apology for war to the judgment of her audience. By upholding high morals she repeatedly associated herself with that which was considered virtuous. By frequently identifying herself with those she rebuked she evidenced humility and good will. At times she revealed a genial, subtle wit without affecting the sincerity of her message.

As in her previous speeches the distinction between the emotional and ethical proof is not always manifested. Thus it is that Mrs. Catt availed herself of the Aristotelian gamut of ethical proof to establish her personal credibility as one possessing sagacity, moral character, and good will.

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 20.

Arrangement

In the opening of these speeches Mrs. Catt's frequent use of references to establish a common bond may be illustrated by such excerpts as the following: "I believe with Major General John F. O'Ryan that war can and will be abolished when the people get on the job."[1]

In the next quotation, the introduction is so stated as to relate the theme of her speech to the program that had preceded:

> The program of this annual meeting of the Academy has consisted of many addresses concerning different phases of the application of American foreign policy. I am sure all who have listened to this program are convinced that whatever else may be said of its application, our foreign policy creates resentment, irritation, and even fear, on the part of many at home and abroad that war may ensue because of it. It has been said that our foreign policy and its application are flawless. It has been said that it is doing great mischief. I believe both statements are correct. How can that be? It is easily explainable.[2]

Characteristically, Mrs. Catt expressed her concept of public opinion:

> When the great war came to an end, there was one thought that seemingly rose uppermost in every thinking mind the entire world around and that was "Such a war must never be permitted to happen again."[3]

When she opened a broadcast by stating, "The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War is now sitting in its tenth anniversary session,"[4] she was focusing the attention upon the occasion.

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[1]Catt, "My Faith" (1925), op. cit., p. 25.

[2]Catt, Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy (1927), op. cit., p. 1.

[3]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., p. 1.

[4]Catt, "International Broadcast" (January, 1935), op. cit., p. 1.

Less frequently she started a speech with a reference entirely personal, but before a group celebrating her eightieth birthday it is possible that her audience would accept her birth date as a starting place in the review of the progress of women: "In a neat little house in the quiet town of Ripon, Wisconsin, there lived a family named Lane in 1859."[1] Another infrequent manner of approach to her audience occurred as a shock device: "It requires considerable temerity to express a skepticism concerning a thing so universally believed in this country as is the Monroe Doctrine."[2] She immediately declared the doctrine false and unjust.

An introduction, very characteristic of Mrs. Catt, was the prompt and terse statement of her specific theme along with the status quo: "The gravest question ever asked of the Human Race is this: WAR, how can we get rid of it? It is no new question."[3]

In her opening statements she not only showed awareness of her audiences, the occasion, her theme, and herself as a speaker, but she also gave attention to the use of varied patterns such as description in the form of imagery, exposition often historical, argument frequently a contention, and occasionally a kind of humor resulting from an incongruous statement.

These introductory remarks were usually brief, ranging from one sentence to a paragraph or two. Very promptly she moved into her subject

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[1]Catt, Then and Now (1939), op. cit., p. 5.

[2]Catt, "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" (1929), op. cit., p. 9.

[3]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit., p. 1.

matter. Her logical structure arranged according to the problem-solving technique may best be considered by indicating main headings in a few samplings. In a speech, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (also called "Peace or War--Swords or Plowshares") delivered before the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War were established, the speaker chose this framework:

I. Introduction to the problem and statement of goal.
   A. How did the principle work, "a war to end war"?
   B. "The world did want peace then [1917], it wants it now."
II. Analysis of the problem
   A. "There are two militaristic groups in every land who believe there must always be war."
   B. Five factors are involved in the situation.
III. Suggestion of solutions and reasoned development
   A. Americans have made four proposals for ending war.
      1. These four proposals weighed for adoption.
      2. The League of Nations is the most tenable solution at this time.
IV. Further verification
   A. To implement the League of Nations would mean the changing of the mind of the United States as a nation.
   B. "Let us turn our faces toward peace. . .let no party or paper or neighbor or husband or wife intimidate you."

Two speeches delivered before the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, one promoting peace and the other directed toward the procedure for promoting peace, are representative of Mrs. Catt's desire to

change the status quo. An examination of the main headings in Gaps in the Machinery of Peace reveals:

I. Analysis of the problem

A. The delegates to this conference have reduced the need of considering many causes and cures of war.

B. "The work yet to be accomplished before there will be a warless world is the demobilization of the war system and the mobilization of a substituted peace system."

C. "Yet today no king, president, or prime minister would officially acknowledge these points as facts, since the discussion has not gone so far in official conferences."

D. Predictions for the future are based upon the recent past advancement in international arbitrations.

II. Reasoned development of solutions

A. The solutions now in experimentation have many weaknesses.

1. The problem of defense is basic.

a) To what extent is the problem of "defense" obstructing the solution?

b) How may we meet the problem of "defense"?

III. Further verification

A. Nations must make certain decisions.

1. They cannot "except any dispute which a nation may choose to define as an affront leading to justifiable armed defense."

2. They must make compulsory the settlement of all disputes of all nations by peaceful means.

B. "Let us try to put. . .more in the type of foreign policy which makes for friendship and good will."

In "Blessed Are the Peacemakers," a speech delivered before a Cause and Cure of War Conference for the purpose of changing their policy of procedure, Mrs. Catt devoted most of the speech to the delineation and the analysis of the problem and concluded that the solutions be referred to a committee. She stated that there were "three practical, fundamental weaknesses" in the program of the peace movement. She concluded that the solutions involved the elimination of the weaknesses. The solution step was merely indicated rather than developed.

Apparently the variation in audience did not alter her use of the problem-solving structure, for it occurred in speeches delivered before organizations who had purposes other than that of peace. For example, when delivering The Outlawry of War before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, she developed her main headings:

I. Introduction to and analysis of the problem

A. Nature of the problem

1. "The nations of the world are confronted by a situation which is a proverbial dilemma with two horns."
2. There are "three very practical situations that are not discussed in public debate, but serve as effective deterrents to forward action in the back of the minds of statesmen."
3. "War is probably the oldest institution known to man."
4. "Peace has been only a temporary cessation of war."

B. Recognition of obstacles

1. Lack of precise terminology prevents the success of international conferences.
2. "The question of sanctions, an undetermined policy, hinders disarmament."

II. Suggested solutions

A. "The beginning of an international dictionary would assist a disarmament conference far more than any other contribution that could be made."

B. "My solution of the disarmament question is. . .to build up a peace institution that will be positive and aggressive, not negative."

III. Further verification

A. How my solution would work put into practice.

B. Keep the program going until confidence can be achieved.

In Mrs. Catt's peace speeches she concentrated upon the analysis of the problem and the reasoned development of the hypotheses. Not all of the problem-solution steps were to be found in each speech. Neither were the developments of the steps in reflective thinking proportioned correspondingly for separate speeches. Mrs. Catt's preference for reflective thinking was preparatory to the use of intentional reasoning in the conclusion.

The conclusions in this group of speeches did not vary appreciably. The procedure was a plea for action in regard to a specific proposal or a challenge to the audience to respond to the need of the moment. At other times she admonished her audiences to have confidence in the evolutionary progress of man in his movement toward peace. A few examples will

suffice to illustrate.

In "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" ("Peace or War, Swords or Ploughshares"), after having analyzed four possible solutions for ending war and after elaborating upon the idea that the United States could bring peace to Europe, she concluded by attempting to inspire her audience to think in terms of acquiring peace:

> If I could have my wish, I'd have this government adopt that saying of one of its greatest and bravest soldiers, General John F. O'Ryan, "The American people can end war in our time if they get on the job." I'd have this nation realize that foreign policy is regarded by other nations as American--and not Republican or Democratic. I'd give a backbone to that policy and I'd have this nation sing so grand a chorus of peace that it would roll from ocean to ocean, from Alaska to Mexico and drown out the sound of all the war solos.
>
> Fellow citizens, let us turn our faces toward peace, with both sides of heads in such unison, that we know the direction we are moving. Whatever you do, be unafraid, let no party or paper or neighbor or husband or wife intimidate you.
>
> Whatever you do, keep your faith in the inevitable surrender of war to law.
>
> Whatever you do, be bold, be bold.
>
> For your guidance, I beg you to adopt a recent expression of Kipling's as a daily prayer. "Deliver me, O Lord, deliver me from the damnability of minor things."
>
> Whatever you do, do not go about weeping and telling folks you are ready to die for peace. Take a tonic and work for it.[1]

A conclusion presented in a pattern of intentional reasoning occurred in her attack upon the Monroe Doctrine as an obstacle to peace:

> The Monroe Doctrine, undefined and unauthorized, is an obstacle to peace and good will. At this time, when the nations are attempting to find a way to live together amicably, it is obviously important that all questions which have a disturbing influence upon good relations should be talked through to general understanding. The citizens of our own country, as well as those of the entire Western world, are entitled to know what the Doctrine is, where it came from, what it meant when it came, and where it is not leading. To this end I entreat you to read, study, reflect, discuss, debate, and investigate the Monroe Doctrine. A considerable library of new literature on the

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[1]Catt, "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit., pp. 25-26.

> subject, by no means in agreement, invites your attention. In a recent discussion on the Monroe Doctrine it was desired to secure one speaker who would represent our Government's point of view and twenty-four notable persons were invited and declined. The twenty-fifth, a military man, accepted. Ten years ago the first man invited would have accepted. The time to move concerning the Monroe Doctrine apparently has come. What the nation thinks about it today it will not think twenty-five years hence.[1]

At the close of "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" she epitomized her address by directing three challenging rhetorical questions to her listeners:

> In conclusion, will you, one and all, retire to silence somewhere with the world shut out and put three serious questions to yourselves.
> 1. How much moral courage have you?
> 2. Are you ready to unite with others to compose an obstacle big enough to stop the avalanche of the next war?
> 3. If men possess heroism enough to die for war, why should you not possess heroism enough to live and give for peace?[2]

At other times she closed her speeches with statements intending to challenge: "How may our nation be persuaded to assume world leadership in the peace movement?"[3] "I think if we had the intelligence and the backbone and spiritual strength we could destroy war with an idea. I invite you to bring in your ideas."[4]

Emotional appeals at the close of these addresses were usually present. In an international broadcast her very last statements were "Face squarely the facts of war. Join hands and voices the world around

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[1]Catt, "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" (1929), op. cit., pp. 14, 46.

[2]Catt, "The Status Today of War vs. Peace" (1928), op. cit., p. 9.

[3]Catt, "Address before Conference on Cause and Cure of War" (1931), op. cit., p. 6.

[2]Catt, "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War" (1940), op. cit., p. 5.

and make known your wish. NO MORE WAR."[1]

Even more emotion was revealed in a speech delivered in 1940 after Europe had entered the arena of World War II:

> Awake, awake, women of America. Make a plan, a blueprint, and a resolve, for we are not going back. We may be burned alive or buried alive, but we will not surrender. The nation agrees that we shall help Britain to the utmost and if the worst comes to worst, I suppose we shall fight, and if that comes too late, we will still rebel. Tyrants, by whatever name called, shall not rule over the human race. I would as soon believe that dinasaurs, as big as a house, and extinct before men were born, would return to swish their long tails through mudholes, as to believe that tyrants have again returned to rule over men. It cannot; it must not be. We will not go back. [Her reference here is regarding the status of women.][2]

An analysis of the patterns of arrangement of the peace speeches reveals that approximately ninety per cent of them were developed according to a problem-solution order. Only about three of these speeches could be labeled as having a dominant chronological order; and one of these, Then and Now, was developed as nearly by group-related order as by time order. Obviously, when relating the history of the development of war or when making a progress report for the peace promoters she resorted to the use of the chronological order. These segments, however, were only a part of a larger pattern already designated as the problem-solution order.[3]

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[1]Catt, "International Broadcast" (January, 1935), op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Catt, "Address at Woman's Centennial Congress" (1940), op. cit., p. 6.

[3]In a Master's thesis based upon five of Mrs. Catt's peace speeches Ruby Lee Draughon, op. cit., p. 94, had this to say about Mrs. Catt's order of arrangement: "She was consistent in her use of the past-present-future pattern, or one of its variations." It appears that Miss Draughon may have emphasized a subsidiary facet in Mrs. Catt's organization to the exclusion of her frequently present problem-solution order which utilized the time sequence in tracing the history of the problem or in reasoning from cause to effect in developing solutions.

These peace speeches moved toward their objective with a continuity that only slightly suggested the commonly known divisions of introduction, body, and conclusion. Frequently they opened with some courtesy remark such as a reference to the occasion, the audience, the speaker, or predecessors. Upon one occasion she resorted to a shock statement and upon another she introduced humor. Rather habitually a clear and definite statement of the problem appeared early in these speeches. Her expressed goal, to abolish war, seemed to occupy no definite position in the speech structure. The analysis of the problem and the evaluation of the solutions engaged the attention of her auditors most of the time. She reasoned that the accuracy of solutions depended upon the validity of the research activated in the diagnosis of the causes. Consequently she weighed and compared the relative merits of her proposed peace solutions in terms of the causes of war.[1] On the basis of such mental experimentation she approached a tentative conclusion. Further verification would have involved putting the proposed solutions into operation. This test Mrs. Catt frequently presented as a challenge to her listeners by concluding with an inspirational or emotional appeal. Speeches in this issue varied slightly in the number of steps included and also in the proportioning of the parts of the speech. Audiences appeared not to affect significantly the nature of the arrangement.

Synthesis of Arrangement and the Elements of Invention

The emergence of the unified theme--the abolition of war--was ever present throughout these speeches. The solutions to war seemed to

[1]Catt, Gaps in the Machinery of Peace (1930), op. cit., pp. 1-8.

emerge from the causes. This habitual analysis of causes and development of solutions adapted itself naturally to the problem-solution order of arrangement and to the inductive and causal relation patterns of reasoning. Supporting materials for the peace issue either were closely integrated within the argument or were set apart and later applied to a conclusion. Frequently both patterns occurred in a single speech thereby providing variety in the relation of invention to arrangement.[1] Suggestion became an important factor in integrating arrangement and the elements of invention in three speeches where the wisdom of man on the subject of war was reduced to a state of folly by means of an exaggerated image. The persuasion was strengthened by use of a climactic order.[2] It was observed that refutation, though infrequently used, was interspersed throughout those more highly argumentative speeches, which included about fourteen of these speeches.

An analysis of the placement of emotional proof in these speeches promoting peace revealed a similar arrangement to that used by Mrs. Catt in her suffrage speeches. That is, emotional and logical proof were about equally distributed in introductions, more emotional proof occurred in conclusions than in any other part of the speeches, and a distributed or intermingled relation existed between these two types of proof within the body of both the suffrage and the peace speeches. The suffrage speeches

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[1]A few examples include Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy (1927), op. cit.; The Outlawry of War (1928), op. cit.; and "Peace or War--What Shall We Do About It?" (1923), op. cit.

[2]Catt, Who Can Answer? (1939), op. cit.; "A Belated Apology" (1938), op. cit.; "Speech before Fifteenth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War" (1940), op. cit.

were supported with a greater proportion of logical appeal and the peace speeches as a whole contained a larger quantity of emotional appeal with the increased amount occurring in her later speeches in the form of imagery. Ethical appeal for both suffrage and peace speeches was incorporated most frequently in speech introductions and conclusions. Occasionally she diffused her ethical appeal throughout the speech.[1]

Summary and Conclusions

Premises and Arguments

All sub-issues in Mrs. Catt's speeches promoting peace have been synthesized into a single larger issue: How may war be abolished? Her premises and arguments adapted themselves naturally to a reflective order of thinking. In aiming at her goal she limited her problem to the study of "causes and cures of war."

An analysis of the problem indicated that signs pointing toward future wars were evidenced by internal hostilities of Europe and by imperialism and aloofness of America. War was considered to be a well-established institution entwined with law, precedent, and thoughts of nations; peace, the negation of war, was supported neither by men nor by money. War settles nothing, does not pay, brings no good to any land, and distributes evil influences everywhere. The magnitude and timeliness of the problem led to pleas that the continuance of war was no longer bearable.

In promoting the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, Mrs.

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[1]Instances were "A Call to Action" (1921), op. cit., and "My Faith" (1925), op. cit.

Catt sought to abolish war by determining and eliminating its causes. It seemed to her that humanity believed in peace but had retained the cave man's emotions of distrust and hate. Schools had kept up the precedent by training the youth through history; propaganda had been another agent promoting this fear motive. Speakers at the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War enumerated 257 causes for war in 1925; yet all of these Mrs. Catt reduced to two categories: a sense of national insecurity and the ambition to exploit others. The expression to "build only for defense," she said, had supplanted the outworn term "aggression." In 1928 she contended that wars had no excuses or causes but existed as a result of habit and precedent. Two significant causes included the inability of nations to determine a precise meaning for the term defense and to subject all nations to international law.

According to Mrs. Catt the vested or economic interest in war was possibly the most powerful stake group. Adventure, glory, promotion, prestige, loyalty to custom, faith in a powerful armed force to frighten all enemy nations—these lure people to accept war. The solidarity of the war advocates far exceeded that of the advocates of peace.

Mrs. Catt discussed solutions for the abolition of war ranging from significant international problems of government to strong moral persuasion. It was her purpose to support and to attempt to persuade others to support all programs to abolish war having any degree of reasonableness. She supported the League of Nations because it aimed to be world inclusive in its efforts to abolish war, and she argued that a chief problem in abolishing war was in the securing of the leadership of the United States to support the League. She supported the World Court and

multilateral treaties as useful steps toward peace though not as guarantors of peace.

Suggested solutions to the war problem included a demand for an exact definition of "adequate" defense to be used in achieving a satisfactory disarmament program and a definite policy for dealing with those nations violating their vows to an international peace system.

The United States could assist in a peace program by establishing a peace "institution" in the place of the War Department, by improving moral standards in her foreign policy practices, and by cooperating with other nations in promoting peace systems. All men should repent for their war behavior, and apply their most intelligent ideas to the elimination of war. To effect the abolition of war, public opinion must be educated and long range planning must be made with precision.

Logical Proof

In the abolition of war issue Mrs. Catt was in agreement with George Campbell's preference for induction. Four of the seventeen speeches developed by induction were based upon a single narrative, mostly imaginative. Thirteen followed the steps of problem-solving and were usually concerned with the current international problems. In those eight speeches in which she developed her logic by a combination of both deductive and inductive reasoning she either set up a goal and went about to achieve it through the problem-solution order or she stated a generalization and supported it with specific instances, statistics, and illustrations from which she derived a restatement of the original generalization. Only five speeches in this issue may be considered sufficiently deductive

to be cast into a broad enthymematic pattern. Two of these concerned international arbitration; two, America's foreign policy; and one, women's responsibility in advancing human progress. Emphasis was placed upon hypothetical enthymemes with categorical next in frequency. The soritical pattern of reasoning occurred in a few of her early peace speeches.

The manner in which Mrs. Catt attempted to establish the validity of her beliefs in these speeches depended chiefly upon a single method of reasoning--from causes to effects to solutions. With the effect--war--known to exist, it remained for Mrs. Catt to identify the causes and to relate them to the solutions. Since her solutions pertained to a speculative future, the connection between the cause and the solution was assumed. The validity of Mrs. Catt's speeches rested upon her ability to determine the unknown components--causes and solutions to war. It was upon the adequacy of possible solutions to eliminate the effect, war, with its causes that Mrs. Catt concentrated in the content of these speeches. In the process she noted many weaknesses in the solutions, including such factors as the fear of nations to disarm and the failure of any world organization to carry out its mandates either by force or persuasion.

Proofs of the arguments included the statistics and the data pertaining to World War I, its reparations, and international peace systems. Contemporaries were quoted frequently. Slogans were considered an aid in influencing public opinion. Imagery, both factual and fictitious, intended to show the wisdom of twentieth century man as reduced to a state of ridicule, came into usage in the later part of her speaking career. The use of support did not vary appreciably with the steps in

the problem-solving order except in the amount used. The statement of the problem varied most in that it was sometimes a single question or statement having no support. The analysis of the problem and the suggested solutions along with their reasoned development utilized the larger amounts and most varied support. Support in this issue differed from that of the woman suffrage issues in its distribution or proportioning within an individual speech; long lists of consecutive examples were not used; and rhetorical questions were not used as frequently as in the suffrage speeches.

The infrequent refutation used in these speeches was directed more toward public opinion than toward individual opponents. She challenged faulty deductions based upon the adherence to war traditions, fallacies in the lack of evidence for supporting the status quo war policies, and fallacies in using ambiguous terms when attempting arbitrations. Her clarity of analysis and exposition adapted itself to the exposure of inconsistencies, sometimes to the extent of reducing the war policies to the absurd.

Emotional Proof

Mrs. Catt's emotional proof was directed toward two types of auditors: public opinion and those ardent promoters of peace who were searching for the cause and cure of war. She asked both groups to be courageous in accepting proposals intended to promote the policy of peace and in rejecting those policies that might terminate in war. She sought hate of destructiveness, repentance for war behavior, and release from suspicion and fear. The organic motive of self-preservation provided

her most frequently used appeal, occurring in almost every speech. At other times she advocated the restraining of acquisitive wants as practiced in aggressiveness; she spoke of the waste of life and the need of security; she was concerned about the reputation of the United States in withholding from the League of Nations. In her analysis of the war problem and to some extent in her suggested solutions she requested more negative reaction on the part of her auditors than she had in her suffrage speeches.

Ethical Proof

Examples of Mrs. Catt's use of ethical proof alone and in combination with her emotional proof are more numerous in her peace speeches than in most of her suffrage speeches. Many indications of her trustworthiness, her intelligence, and her good will can be found in the speech manuscripts, especially in the introductions and the conclusions with some interspersing within the discussions. As many as three, at least, of the thirty speeches analyzed contained a diffusion of direct ethical proof throughout the entire speech. She seemed most frequently to reveal courage in boldly attacking an institution founded in tradition, sincerity in her desire to improve civilization by abolishing war, uprightness in her confidence that peace was to be achieved by individual and national moral living, intelligence in her diagnosis and search for a solution to the problem of war, and capacity for reproving the American government and public opinion with tactful consideration. Her personal traits revealed in the composition of her speeches seem to be in agreement with comments about her by those who knew her.

Arrangement

More than half of her speeches started with either a statement of the subject, a quotation, or a reference to the occasion. Most of the types of introduction were used at some occasion. Since these audiences were so very similar it would be difficult to determine why she preferred one kind over another. Twenty-four of these speeches closed with a proposal intended to inspire or challenge her auditors to action. The few others included quotations, summaries, and the statement of a dilemma.

The identity of the divisions of introduction, body, and conclusion became submerged in a continuity of development. Approximately ninety per cent of the thirty speeches analyzed in this section of the study were developed by the problem-solution order of arrangement. The steps were usually developed in the following manner: She established her goal not only as she understood its status to be but also as she understood it to be conceived by public opinion. Considerable time was given to the analysis of the war problem with especial emphasis upon causal relation and the weighing of solutions. For further verification Mrs. Catt appealed to her audiences for action or admonished them to be confident that the evolution of man was slowly but surely progressing toward peace. While there was some variation in her choice of steps for the structure of these speeches and considerable difference in the proportioning of the materials selected, it was apparent that the occasion or the audience scarcely affected the pattern of arrangement.

Both the theme, abolition of war; and the premises and arguments, causes and cures of war, appeared to be appropriately fitted to her commonly used inductive and causal relation pattern of reasoning, cast into

a problem-solution structure. Ethical proof was observed to be about equally distributed in introductions and conclusions. Conclusions revealed stronger emotional appeal than did other parts of the speeches. The distribution of emotional imagery throughout the speech increased in quantity as Mrs. Catt approached the close of her speaking career.

CHAPTER VII

FINAL APPRAISAL

The Problem

This chapter summarizes the purpose, the procedure, and the results of this study, and offers conclusions. It has been the purpose of this research to determine what elements of invention and arrangement were used by Carrie Chapman Catt in her speeches promoting woman suffrage and peace and how these elements were related. The term invention has been defined as the reasoning, imaginative, and attitude process experienced by the speaker preparatory to and during the persuasive act. The term arrangement refers to that rhetorical function which determines the order within the whole speech and the proportion of its parts.

The Procedure

This research process began with a review of the career, personal characteristics, and speech practice of Mrs. Catt, chiefly as revealed in the comments of her contemporaries. Primarily, however, the principal concern has been the rhetorical analysis of the suffragist's speeches.

The writer has been collecting copies of Mrs. Catt's speeches, and other memorabilia, for many years, and has succeeded in accumulating for this study one hundred and forty of the approximately one hundred and fifty copies now extant. She was fortunate in this enterprise in securing

the active cooperation of Mrs. Catt, herself, who approved the copies as faithful to her speaking. Of these one hundred and forty copies, forty were eliminated which did not deal with issues on the subjects of woman suffrage or peace, or which duplicated arguments and rhetorical devices of the remaining one hundred. Seventy of the latter concerned woman suffrage and thirty treated the subject of peace. These speeches were chosen, then, on the basis of complete coverage of arguments and valid representation of rhetorical devices.

The analysis of these speeches was carried out according to traditional rhetorical concepts as presented by classical and modern writers. The method of analysis is shown by representative examples in Appendixes II and III, pp. 425-462. Definitions of rhetorical concepts have been given in Chapter I, pp. 7-11, and Chapter III, pp. 82-83.

Several readings of the texts of the seventy speeches and application of traditional methods of analysis showed them to contain three basic issues which were inclusive of all the speaker's arguments on this subject. These issues are: Do women need the ballot? How can they best secure it? How should this ballot be used? By a similar process the thirty peace speeches were found to contain three issues: What are the causes of war? What are the "cures" or solutions of war? How can the solutions be put into practice? These three issues on war adapted themselves to a single larger issue: How may war be abolished? The findings concerning each issue have been reported as separate units. In this chapter they are presented as a total rhetorical system.

Possibilities of error in this research lie in (1) the sampling of speeches, (2) the authenticity of texts, (3) the interpretation of the

printed texts through the application of rhetorical concepts, and (4) the lack of complete data concerning the speech settings. Certain limitations in such a rhetorical study as this are inevitable, but they do not seem so great as to destroy the validity.

The Results

Background

To Mrs. Catt's contemporaries she revealed herself as a pioneer determined to achieve an apparently unattainable goal even though she had much opposition. Her faith in the evolutionary progress of the human race generated for her a confidence in humanity. This perspective led her to see each cause as a part of a larger movement. Praise of her and her cause was apparently evoked by her modesty, tolerance, sincerity, and statesmanlike behavior. She appears to have gained the respect of women in many nations as an organizer, a tactful executive, and an inspirational leader.

As a speaker she was unique in that she devoted sixty-four years speaking for two major causes--woman suffrage and peace. As a child she was a defender of her sex. Early in her suffrage career she assumed official responsibilities. Later she became president of the national and the international woman suffrage organizations. Such an extensive program kept her traveling and in conferences most of thirty-six years. Her services to women extended to five continents. Her contacts with public officials surpassed that of any other woman of her time. Seventeen months before the proclamation of the Nineteenth Amendment, she started preparations for the woman voter-to-be by organizing the League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Catt had shown interest in the promotion of peace for many years, and, in 1925, she became the primary organizer of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which was composed of twelve existing organizations of women. With the assistance of these women she advocated the settlement of international disputes without war. Prior to her death she spoke on the abolition of war for twenty-two consecutive years.

Seven thousand speeches have been credited to her, yet she was uncertain as to the total number she had delivered. Listeners who commented upon her speaking considered that her selection of subject matter was indicative of sincerity and common sense and that her logical presentation possessed a "calm emotion" that polarized their attention. She delivered her speeches with a communicative attitude that stressed the importance of her message. Mrs. Catt stated that her time for preparing her speeches was limited by her activities and that the simplicity of her woman suffrage objective and the similarity in these audiences determined her choice of material. She preferred the wider range of subject matter made possible in the subject of peace. She considered that any effectiveness achieved by her speeches should be determined by their ability to secure belief and action from the listeners. In evaluating her own speeches she did not consider them to contain literary or oratorical values.

Invention

Premises and Arguments

The findings concerning Mrs. Catt's speaking activities, premises, and arguments in each of the four issues reveal the following:

The need of the ballot.--The need of the ballot issue extended

throughout her active suffrage career. By 1911 she indicated a diminishing need of the issue. For the analysis of this issue thirty speeches were selected. Four of these were delivered to Congressmen, ten to mixed audiences, six to international women audiences at biennial conferences, and ten to audiences principally of American women at their annual national conventions.

A summary of her premises and arguments developing this issue is as follows: The right to vote was woman's natural heritage resulting from the evolutionary advancement of civilization; evolution was God's immutable law, through which controversies waged induced the emergence of truth. In the progress of the race the democratic form of government was no longer an experiment. The extension of suffrage to all men in the United States, however, had allowed corrupt control of illiterate voters, resulting in a reactionary attitude toward self-government. Skepticism as to the success of democracy had temporarily delayed the enfranchisement of women. Women had nevertheless continued to make educational advancements and desired to improve the status of the nation. To benefit humanity and to assist in overthrowing reactionary forces, women needed the power of the ballot. To grant this right was consistent with the ideals of democratic principles and necessary to maintain world respect for the United States as the leader in democratic government.

Method of securing the ballot.--The method of securing the ballot extended throughout her active suffrage career. Seventeen speeches were used in the analysis of this issue. Six were addressed to women at their annual national conventions. They were intended to improve the suffragists' methods of campaigning for the ballot. Nine were presented before

House and Senate Committees in an appeal for a federal amendment enfranchising women. Two were delivered before mixed audiences. These speeches were delivered at intervals over a number of years. Prior to the approach to the victory Mrs. Catt discussed the need issue concurrently with the method issue. Three years before the gaining of the federal amendment she concentrated her speeches upon its achievement.

Mrs. Catt directed her arguments on the method issue to the woman suffrage forces, to the voters, and to Congress. In building a membership of two million suffragists she spoke chiefly to enlarge and to unite the organization, to educate the members regarding the political obstacles that confronted them, and to prepare them to command the respect of the male voters. She had great faith that through education the best elements of the political parties would join the suffragists in a nonpartisan campaign against corrupt politics, thereby clearing the way for the enfranchisement of women and the improvement of democratic practices.

As women approached their goal the political parties adopted planks supporting woman suffrage by states' referenda. This act caused part of the woman suffrage forces to threaten a withdrawal of their support from the federal amendment. To meet this crisis Mrs. Catt stressed advantages of the federal amendment over states' referenda to unite the women in launching the federal amendment drive immediately. She succeeded in gaining for its support a mandate from the state organizations.

Mrs. Catt met the federal versus the state method controversy before both sexes by showing that the federal method was a surer and quicker process and that justice demanded immediate action, that most countries were dignifying woman suffrage as a national question, that their

political status would be inferior to that of the men if granted by the states' referenda. She rejected the state system in that many state constitutions contained difficult provisions for amendment, the statutory laws governing elections were inadequate, and the state method fixed responsibility upon no one. Women, she contended, should be enfranchised by a method no more difficult than that used by men.

Use of the ballot.--By 1919 Mrs. Catt was preparing the new woman voter-to-be in the use of the ballot. She continued to offer advice until near the close of her life. These twenty-three speeches analyzed on this issue are singular in that they were all addressed to women at conventions or upon anniversary occasions.

Mrs. Catt's premises and arguments followed this reasoning: The goal of the League of Women Voters, as she saw it, was to foster education in citizenship and to support improved legislation. She urged the League members to train the new voters first in elementary political responsibilities and then in the more complex methods of improving the efficiency of government. She advised League members to be nonpartisan in League activities but to participate in the political parties of their own choosing. In exhorting them to be active in the party machine, she warned of difficulties and advised aggressiveness. She advocated legislation having high moral standards supported by law enforcement.

When evaluating women's progress in the use of the ballot, Mrs. Catt contended that it had been retarded by an opposition similar to that offered previously to the suffragists. She believed that a new generation would remedy the condition and that women had made progress in the use of the voting process and in the experience of holding public office.

She continually visualized further ideals to be achieved by women for themselves and for the nation. Among these ideals she considered the abolition of war most significant.

Abolition of war.--The thirty speeches treating the abolition of war issue extended from 1921 to 1947. Twenty-five of these speeches were delivered before audiences of women, ten of which were presented to the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War. Five were presented to audiences of men, principally on the occasion of an annual convention.

The premises and arguments cast into a cogent whole were as follows: She described war as a well-established institution entwined with law and precedent; peace as the negation of war, supported by neither men nor money. Mrs. Catt pleaded that the continuance of war was no longer bearable. Among the 257 causes noted for war at the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War, she most frequently named evil emotions, desire for aggression and defense, competition in armament building, and special interest groups. Her solutions for the abolition of war ranged from international legislation to strong moral persuasion. She stated that she sought support of all programs aiming at abolition of war having any degree of reasonableness. She supported joining the League of Nations arguing that leadership by the United States was needed to abolish war. She supported the World Court and multilateral treaties as useful covenants set up to achieve peace. She did not consider them guarantees of peace. Solution of the war problem, she thought, required an exact definition of "adequate" defense as well as all other terms concerned with disarmament and a definite policy for dealing with those nations violating their vows to international peace.

Mrs. Catt suggested that the United States could profit by supplanting the War Department along with the revenue consumed in its operations by a "peace institution." All men should repent of their war behavior, and apply their most creative ideas to the elimination of it. To effect the abolition of war, public opinion must be educated and precision in long range planning must be achieved.

A review of Mrs. Catt's premises and arguments as presented throughout her speaking career identifies them as being inseparable from her activities in promoting woman suffrage as a social movement and in promoting peace education. She thought of enfranchisement as a means to gain such goals as the improvement of the status of women and the advancement of the democratic form of government. It seemed to Mrs. Catt that the woman suffrage situation determined her subject matter in those speeches. The singleness in purpose to convert people to woman suffrage provided her little variety in choice of content. She preferred the wider possibilities offered in the subject of peace.

Logical Proof

Patterns of reasoning.--In developing logical proof in the need of the ballot issue, Mrs. Catt appeared to choose deductive or a combination of deductive and inductive reasoning in most instances when addressing mixed audiences or men. When speaking before women, especially at international conventions, she selected inductive structure. Mrs. Catt considered that her deductive reasoning had one basic premise: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." All three types of enthymemes were used. Categorical and disjunctive enthymemes were addressed principally

to men and mixed audiences, and hypothetical enthymemes, to women.

To validate arguments pertaining to the method issue Mrs. Catt relied principally upon hypothetical and disjunctive reasoning which, toward the close of the movement, extended into sorites. In this issue as in the need issue, when reasoning inductively, she developed her generalizations from many examples, testimonials, and historical data. Inductive reasoning occurred more frequently in her early speeches.

In the use of the ballot issue she gave some preference to inductive reasoning or to a combination of deductive and inductive over deductive reasoning alone. The deductive patterns were principally hypothetical and categorical involving sorites. The inductive method was adapted to special occasion addresses containing much historical data and reminiscences pertaining to the progress of women.

Mrs. Catt chose induction as her principal pattern of logic when promoting peace, developing thirteen of the thirty speeches in the problem-solving manner and four by a single narrative. In those eight speeches in which she developed her logic by a combination of both deductive and inductive reasoning, she either set up a goal and went about to achieve it through the problem-solution order or she stated a generalization and supported it with specific instances, statistics, and illustrations from which she derived a restatement of the original generalization. Only five speeches in this issue may be considered sufficiently deductive to be cast into a broad enthymematic pattern. Emphasis was placed upon hypothetical enthymemes with categorical next in frequency. The soritical pattern of reasoning occurred in a few of her early peace speeches.

The urgency of her persuasive purpose was closely related to the

complexity in her use of rhetorical devices. Her soritical deductive reasoning emphasizing hypothetical and disjunctive patterns, characteristic of her speaking at the height of her career, conformed to Aristotle's belief that the enthymeme is the tool best adapted to effecting persuasion. Her early and late preference for induction meets more fully the demands of the rhetoric Campbell envisages. These differences may be attributed to changes in purpose, occasion, audience, and period.

Kinds of arguments.--Causal relation argument was Mrs. Catt's most adaptable kind to circumstances. It appeared in each issue and was used for different speech purposes, audiences, and occasions. It was present, though not always basic, in her early speeches on the need issue. It was significant in the speeches delivered before both women and Congressmen at the climax of the woman suffrage movement. In the use of the ballot issue it formed about half of the arguments. The abolition of war issue was almost completely causal relation with reenforcement by other kinds of arguments.

In the method issue Mrs. Catt allowed for variation between the cause and effect; in the need and use of the ballot issues she explained the possibility of interventions and attempted to counteract them hypothetically. The remote result in both the use and the war issues made a complete validation of her arguments impossible. When advocating the abolition of war, Mrs. Catt spent most of her time discussing the adequacy of possible solutions to eliminate the effect, along with its causes. In the process she noted many weaknesses in the solutions, including such factors as the fear of nations to disarm and the failure of any world organization to carry out its mandates either by force or persuasion. That

Mrs. Catt should give causal relation arguments emphasis seems to be in keeping with her social philosophy. She was not content to analyze any movement apart from its relation to larger movements extending over centuries.

Argument from examples was second in frequency of use by Mrs. Catt. In addresses delivered before International Woman Suffrage Alliances and upon later anniversary occasions, she validated her arguments by presenting many cases and by relating them to her conclusions. Provision was made for exceptional cases, not in every speech, but over a period of time. Arguments from many examples were less frequent when establishing her case before Congressmen. Those used resembled testimony intended to supplement her enthymemes. In late peace speeches she employed a single extended example, a practice less in keeping with the canons of traditional rhetoric. Mrs. Catt's interest in historical data and in the events associated with the progress of the woman suffrage movement may have prompted her to seek validity through the means of examples, especially in her early speeches. Upon anniversary occasions she usually depended upon personal experiences and knowledge of the woman movement as her chief sources.

In the extended analogy, characteristic of the need and method issues, Mrs. Catt recognized the resemblances of cases and often one or more differences, pertinent to her conclusion. The validity of her argument, then, depended upon the strength of her proof in showing that the differences were illogical. In the use of the ballot and the war issues, analogy seldom occurred in extended form, but as reenforcement of the causal relation. Mrs. Catt stressed argument from analogy at that early

period of her life when she was most concerned about the existence of two related movements advancing toward greater liberties--a man movement and a woman movement. She believed the enfranchisement of woman to be the inevitable climax of both.

Arguments from authority usually stemmed from her contemporaries and historical figures commonly acceptable to American audiences. As she gained experience in working with the suffrage movement, she relied extensively upon her knowledge of the movement and of political activities as sources for her arguments. Signs drawn from current or historical events were used to establish the recognition of the cause-effect relation. Those signs that could be shown as most plausible appeared in her speeches delivered not long before the securing of the ballot. In the use of the ballot and in the war issues the goal was often too remote to determine, in any final sense, the validity of her sign arguments.

Method of support.--Upon different occasions Mrs. Catt used almost every type of support. She relied extensively upon historical data drawn from political, social, and educational forces and upon experiences and reports concerning the suffrage movement. In most of her speeches delivered both early and late in life she stressed amplification more than the accumulation of arguments. The variety in kind of support increased with her desire to persuade. At the height of the suffrage movement and in her early peace speeches her supporting materials acquired characteristics of proof. Arguments, especially before Congressmen, were climaxed with many rhetorical questions. She utilized reminiscences upon almost all of the anniversary occasions.

A few of the later peace speeches were developed largely by

extended imagery, both factual and hypothetical. In the abolition of war the use of support did not vary appreciably from the steps in the problem-solving order. The statement of the problem varied most in that it was sometimes a single question or assertion having no support. The analysis of the problem and the suggested solutions, along with their reasoned development, utilized the larger amount and most varied support. Support in this issue differed from that of the woman suffrage issues in its distribution within an individual speech: long lists of consecutive examples were not used and rhetorical questions were less frequent.

Refutation.--It was Mrs. Catt's habit to attack her suffrage opponents' arguments by challenging faulty deductions and pointing out lack of evidence. Posing of dilemmas and reducing to residues were most frequently directed to Congressmen. Reducio ad absurdum was employed in attacking anti-suffragists' arguments and in disclosing man's lack of wisdom on the subject of peace. At times she exposed irrelevant arguments. In each issue, not necessarily in each speech, she developed a counter-proposition. In the need issue Mrs. Catt attacked the anti-suffragists more openly than she did the liquor forces whom she considered to be her "invisible enemy." Her principal refutational concern in the method issue was to point out faulty deductions in arguments supporting the states' referenda. The need and method of obtaining the ballot issues contained more refutation than other issues. The use of the ballot issue employed the least.

Upon a few occasions she attacked her opponent openly; more often she attacked the objection to her cause. She rebuked Congress for delaying woman suffrage and for failing to support the League of Nations. The

infrequent refutation used in the peace speeches was directed more toward public opinion than toward individual opponents. She challenged faulty deductions based upon the adherence to war traditions, fallacies in the lack of evidence for supporting the status quo war policies, and fallacies in using ambiguous terms when attempting arbitrations. Her clarity of analysis and exposition in all issues adapted itself to the exposure of inconsistencies.

Emotional Proof

Mrs. Catt rather consistently appealed to joy and pride in the women's achievements, especially when reporting the progress of women in her annual and biennial addresses. Upon these same occasions and mainly in the conclusions of her speeches she asked women to master the tasks before them, to be courageous, to seek prestige before political leaders, and to be altruistic toward those less fortunate than they, even the illiterate opponents. Throughout the suffrage period, and especially between 1895 and 1900, she aroused women to desire strong and unified organizations and to be impatient toward indifferent suffrage workers. In anniversary addresses she also urged women to revere those who had struggled before them. Inside the political parties she would have women find the security of acquisition and of social approval, yet she warned them that the achievement would require much courage, self-assurance, and initiative on their part. This latter appeal occurred in those speeches intended to give advice to the new members of the League of Women Voters. Organic motives were less frequently called forth in all suffrage issues.

Mrs. Catt's emotional proof in the abolition of war speeches differed from the woman suffrage emotional proofs in several ways. It was directed toward two types of auditors: public opinion and those ardent promoters of peace who were searching for the cause and cure of war. She asked both groups to be courageous in accepting proposals intended to promote the policy of peace and in rejecting those policies that might terminate in war. She sought hate of destructiveness, repentance for war behavior, and release from suspicion and fear. The organic motive of self-preservation provided her most frequently used appeal, occurring in almost every speech of the war issue. At other times she advocated the restraining of acquisitive wants as practiced in aggressiveness; she spoke of the waste of life and the need of security; she sought to make secure the reputation of the United States by its joining the League of Nations. In her analysis of the war problem and to some extent in her suggested solutions, she requested more negative reaction on the part of her auditors than she had in her suffrage speeches.

Mrs. Catt used emotional proof in the Aristotelian tradition by employing it as reenforcement for her logical proof. She used it habitually, as well, to appeal for action in her conclusions.

Ethical Proof

She asked Congressmen to be just, to maintain their self-respect, to accept their responsibilities by recognizing women as people, to maintain the reputation of the United States as a democratic nation, and to conform with the tradition of the American Constitution, but to reject the tradition of states' rights.

In the need issue Mrs. Catt spoke sympathetically of the problems of women, of illiterate voters who opposed her cause, and, at times, of Congressmen. When advocating the use of the ballot, she advised women to cooperate with men in political activities. In the use of the ballot and in the war issues she frequently attempted to clarify misunderstandings. Infrequently she directed invective toward individual Senators who voted against the woman suffrage amendment. In her early peace speeches she rebuked Congressmen for their lack of interest in the League of Nations.

For most audiences she seemed to establish herself as a person with confidence of success, with courage in assuming responsibilities, with a consistency of attitude toward the cause and toward its supporters and its enemies, and with aspiration for goals considered elevated and ethical in social and political activities. At times she sought good will by praising Congressmen. In the peace issue she frequently manifested boldness in attacking a traditional institution, war.

The text of Mrs. Catt's speeches supports the testimony of her contemporaries that she established authority by identifying herself and her messages with those events and principles in American history acceptable to her audiences, especially before Congressmen. In her later political career she achieved the role of spokesman in diagnosing women's political problems and in advising them in their political responsibilities.

In the text of most of these speeches she appears to have established herself in an Aristotelian manner, as sincere and determined in her purpose, as a woman suffrage authority, as a student of the subject of peace, and as a person seeking good will.

Arrangement

Most of the traditional types of arrangement were used by Mrs. Catt upon different occasions. She usually entered promptly into her theme and concluded briefly in those speeches delivered early and late in life. The speeches more strongly persuasive in purpose contained much longer introductions and conclusions. This change at the climax of the suffrage movement may be attributed to an increased desire to establish an acceptable attitude on the part of the audiences toward the message. It may indicate skill on the part of the speaker in adapting to circumstances.

She habitually closed her speeches with advice, or a challenge to act. Preferred types of arrangements included the chronological, extended analogy, causal relation, and problem-solution orders. Early and late speeches contained less complexity in the pattern of arrangement than those delivered soon before and after the acquiring of the federal amendment. About ninety per cent of the peace speeches were developed by the problem-solution order.

Conclusions

Inductive reasoning was associated with chronological or extended analogy arrangement in early speeches treating the need or method issues and with the problem-solution order in the war issue. Those speeches most complex in arrangement and strongest in persuasive qualities utilized deductive reasoning. Emotional and ethical proofs reenforced her logical proof throughout the speech bodies and gained emphasis in her conclusions. Ethical proof, more often than emotional, appeared in

the introductions. Mrs. Catt was basically a logical speaker until just before the close of her speaking career. She expressed her attitude toward this practice by stating that in her suffrage speeches she desired to reason with her audiences rather than to arouse them to emotions. Later she decided that emotion achieves more results. In most of her speeches promoting woman suffrage and peace, arrangement and the elements of invention merged, in a manner suggestive of Whately's rhetoric, into a functional whole supporting one central theme.

Mrs. Catt showed distinctiveness as a speaker in the following respects: Public address was an important means by which she assisted forty-one nations in achieving enfranchisement. It meant repeated speaking throughout the United States and in five continents at a time when world travel was considered unusual. Historians who speak of her, recognize her leadership in a movement significant in the history of American democracy. Public address was her most important medium in securing the cooperation of millions of women in promoting national peace education and in opposing the isolationist policy.

Mrs. Catt received little or no training in rhetorical theory and speech methods and yet she established the validity of her arguments in accord with traditional rhetorical concepts. In an Aristotelian manner she developed a pattern of invention based upon logical proof, reenforced with emotional and ethical proofs. In her most persuasive speeches she adhered to Aristotle's use of the enthymeme, subordinating examples to resemble testimony. The strength of her persuasive purpose was closely related to the complexity in her use of rhetorical devices. Her use of induction and imagery supports Campbell's theory. In arrangement of

emotional proof she was in agreement with Cicero, who considered its proper place to be chiefly in the exordium and the peroration with an occasional digression from the discussion to excite the passion. She practiced Whately's precept that there is a close and virtually inseparable relationship between the invention, use, and arrangement of proofs.

She was unique in that she spoke sixty-four years in advancing only two major causes--woman suffrage and peace. It seems probable that few leaders in social or political reform have used public address more extensively in the accomplishment of their goals, have concentrated longer and more intensively on one major question, have attained more obvious success in speaking, or have demonstrated more thoroughly the validity of traditional rhetorical precepts.

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**Speeches are listed in order of date presented. Most of these speeches are unpublished manuscripts, unless otherwise indicated.

An asterisk (*) will denote all speeches in Carrie Chapman Catt's private collections.

Speeches analyzed in this study are designated by footnote numbers as follows: need issue,[1] method issue,[2] use issue,[3] and abolition of war issue.[4]

Note the following abbreviations to be used: CCCW, Conference on the Cause and Cure of War; IWSA, International Woman Suffrage Alliance; NAWSA, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

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APPENDIX I

TABLE 2

CATT'S SPEAKING OCCASIONS[a]
1883-1947

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification[b]	Audience[c] Reactions
1883	Teachers Institutes Other assemblies		Expository	
1887 Fall, Four months	Fourteen paid engagements throughout the state of Iowa	Various subjects	Expository	Net $100 for total
1887-1889	Constant speaking, Iowa	State organizer for WS[d]	Expository and campaign	
1888	Marshalltown and Charles City, Iowa	"Zenobia," "Subject and Sovereigns," "The American Sovereign"	Campaign	

[a]Incomplete list.

[b]This classification is speeches of courtesy, expository speeches, commemorative speeches, after-dinner speeches, and campaign speeches.

[c]Audience reactions are based chiefly upon news reports.

[d]Abbreviations are: WS - Woman Suffrage; NWSC - National Woman Suffrage Convention; IWSA - International Woman Suffrage Alliance; CCCW - Conference on the Cause and Cure of War; NLWV - National League of Women Voters.

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1890				
February	Washington, D.C., NWSC	"The Symbol of Liberty"		Considered striking young volunteer
August-November	S. Dak.: Spoke from wagons, in grain elevators, granaries, school buildings	Referendum on WS	Campaign	Astonished at such a woman; referendum defeated
1890		"Woman suffrage and the Bible"		
1891				
February	Washington, D.C., Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives	Rights of women same as rights of men	Campaign	Indifferent
1892				
January 20	Senate Committee	"Speech before U.S. Senate"	Campaign	Favorable impression upon the committee
Summer	Iowa including Miss. Valley Conference, Des Moines	WS Organizing	Expository and campaign	
1893				
January 30	Little Compton	"A Lever of Power"	Campaign	Bright, piquant, logical, earnest

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
January 31	New Port Unity Club	"American Sovereign"	Campaign	Earnest, logical
February 1	Westerly, R.I. Opera House	"A Lever of Power"	Campaign	
February 2	Providence Hall	"American Sovereign"	Campaign	
February 2	Pawtuckett, R.I.	"A Lever of Power"	Campaign	
February 3	Chepacket, R.I.	"A Lever of Power"	Campaign	
February 4	Valley Falls, R.I.	"A Lever of Power"	Campaign	
Summer	Columbian Exposition, Chicago	Reform in government by giving the vote to women	Expository	Well attended
September 4	Denver, Coliseum Hall		Campaign	1,500 enthusiastic people
September-November	Colorado: Watermelon festival, mining centers, courthouses (29 counties)	WS vote amendment	Campaign	Victory attributed to "energy, magnetism and generalship" of Catt
October	Denver	Memorial service for Lucy Stone		

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1894				
First of year	New York, metropolitan district, 40 speeches	WS constitutional convention	Campaign	Amendment defeated
May	Kansas, all but two of 105 counties	Referendum on WS	Campaign	Referendum defeated; houses were packed, overflowing
1895	Huntsville, Ala.		Campaign	Charmed and surprised audience
January-February	Five Southern states, principal cities	Endeavored to leave working organizations and to secure delegates for convention	Expository and indirectly campaign	National Organization Committee formed
February	Atlanta, Ga., NWSC	Report of the Plan of Working Committee	Expository	Plan adopted
1896	Colo., Wyo., Nev., Utah, Mo., Minn., Ohio	Suffrage amendment	Expository and campaign	
August	Boise, Idaho, Gold Republican, Silver Republican, Democratic, and Populist Conventions	Calling for a suffrage plank in each platform	Campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
August	Boise, Idaho, political rally	Suffrage amendment	Campaign	
August	Southwestern Iowa, political rallies	Suffrage amendment	Campaign	
September, Fall	Northern and southern California	Suffrage amendment	Campaign	Amendment defeated
1896	NWSC	"Address"	Expository and campaign	
1897				
January	NWSC, Des Moines, Iowa			500, great applause
July	Adams, Mass., Anthony Reunion	Eulogy on S. B. Anthony	Eulogy	
1898				
February	Washington, D.C., NWSC	Report of the Organization Committee denouncing factionalism and luke-warmness	Expository and campaign	
	New Orleans, La., Constitutional Convention, Tulane Hall	Woman suffrage	Campaign	Born orator, charming listeners for hours as if she had spoken only five minutes

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
				Restricted amendment adopted
1899				
January 29	Denver	"Address"	Campaign	Salient thought finest orator of sex
Spring	Arizona Territorial Legislature	Woman suffrage	Campaign	Defeated by Committee
April	Grand Rapids, Iowa, NWSC	Need of financial backing	Expository	Sympathetic response
Summer	15 conventions, 51 set speeches, 13,000 miles	"The Traffic in Women"		
Fall	Speaking tour: Ohio, Iowa, Minn., Mont., Wash., Utah, Calif., Ariz., N. Mex., Colo., Nebr., Ind., and Ky.	To stimulate fellow workers	Campaign	
Winter	Oklahoma Territory Legislature	"Address"	Campaign	
1900				
February	Washington, D.C., NWSC	"Why We Ask for the Submission of an Amendment"	Expository and campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
Spring	Speaking tour, Tenn., Ark., Miss., and Ohio	Woman suffrage	Campaign	
May	Boston, May Festival, Mass. suffrage association	Ironical tribute to universities in reform movements	After-dinner and campaign	Arguments piled like charge of judge to jury
1901				
January 11	Debate: League for Political Education, NY.	Behalf of Equal Suffrage	Campaign	Opponents admitted effectiveness of argument
May 30	Minneapolis, NWSC		Expository and campaign	Leadership recognized--Colo. women present her with a silver gavel
	Manchester, N.H.			
Early winter	Boston, Legislative hearing	Refuted "remonstrants"	Campaign	
	Hartford, Conn., Legislature	WS	Campaign	Excells in oratory and logic
November 12-14	Lincoln, Nebr., WS State Convention			
November 25-26	Atlanta, Ga., WS State Convention			

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1902	Brooklyn Potsdam, N.Y.	"America for Americans"		Pleasing well modulated musical voice, distinct choice vocabulary —spoke without notes
	Builders' Exchange, Wilmington, Del.	Immigration		Careful attention
February 18	Washington, D.C., House Judiciary Committee	Request to investigate WS in operation	Campaign	
February 12-18	Washington, D.C., NWSC	Intelligence and individualism bases of self-government	Expository	
May	Helena, Mont., two weeks addressing organizations		Campaign	Thirty new suffrage clubs established in Mont. but amendment lost
May	Butte, Mont., 10 days addressing clubs		Campaign	
Summer	Minneapolis, National Education Association	"Feminization" of American schools	Expository	Brilliant, inspiring woman orator

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
July	Orange, N.J., Woman's club			
December 9	Concord, N.H. State Constitutional Convention	Petition for referendum	Campaign	Petition granted
1903				
January to March	State of N.H.	Referendum	Campaign	Referendum defeated
March 19	New Orleans, NWSC	President's address	Exposition: Report on accomplishments	Eloquent, logical; spontaneous ovation
March	Houston, Texas		Campaign	
	Hornellsville, N.Y., State Convention			
December 30	Mich., address to Teachers Convention	"Parting of the Ways"		
1904				
	Washington, D.C., Judiciary Committee of the House	Appeal for action	Campaign	
February 11-17	Washington, D.C., NWSC	Social and political status in the U.S.	Expository and campaign	
June	Berlin, Germany	Gavel presented to Susan B. Anthony	Presentation or courtesy	

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1904				
July 4	Chautauqua Park, Des Moines, Iowa	Debate with J. A. Boatman	Campaign	Scientific boxer vs untrained pugilist
Winter	Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences	"Women from the Standpoint of Evolution"	Expository	
1905				
March 20	Annual luncheon Sorosis Club	3 minute speech		
May 10	Boston Festival	"The Outlook"		
Summer	Boone, Iowa and Omaha, Nebr., spoke from train enroute to Oregon and at Council Bluffs		Responses to welcomes or courtesy	Ovations
Fall	Rochester, N.Y., funeral of Susan B. Anthony	Anthony's dedication of self to one increasing purpose	Eulogy or commemorative	10,000 or more present
1906				
August 7-11	Speaking tour in Europe: Norway, Denmark (International Alliance), Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Prague, Brunn, Vienna, Budapest	WS	Campaign	Received by government officials and with bouquets and banquets. Audience participated in debates after speeches

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1908				
February 19	House Judiciary Committee			
March 3	Committee U.S. Senate			
June 15	Amsterdam, IWSA	World status of WS	Expository and campaign	
1908	Buffalo, N.Y.	Debate with Mrs. Myers	Campaign	
	N.Y. State Convention		Campaign	
1909	Speaking tour of central Europe: Hungary (10 lectures); Prague, Berlin	WS	Campaign	Bohemians most enthusiastic
April 26-May 1	London, I.W.S.A.	Reviewed the work of the Alliance	Expository and campaign	Commended for neutrality toward militants
1910				
October	Minn. State Convention	WS	Campaign	
	Washington, D.C., Senate hearing	Comparison of suffrage for men and women	Campaign	
April	Washington, D.C., NWSC	WS	Expository and campaign	
June		"The Will of the People"		

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
October	N.Y., WS Party Convention			Greeted with resounding applause
1911				
June 13	Stockholm, IWSA (2 speeches)	"Is Woman Suffrage Progressing" and address to each nation represented	Expository and campaign	Ovations
1911 and 1912	Speaking tour around the world: 4 speeches in Copenhagen; several in Christiania and London; 35 speeches in South Africa; several in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, India; many speeches in Dutch East Indies, both Sumatra and Java; 5 weeks in Philippines; 2 public meetings in Shanghai; 1 in Nanking; audience of 1,000 in Peking, Tokyo, and Yokohama; spoke in Hawaii.	WS and other rights. Appeal to unite in feminist movement at home and internationally	Campaign	Organized branches in South Africa, Dutch East Indies, Philippine Islands, China, and Hawaii
1912				
September 14	Shanghai American Womens Club, Chang Su Gardens	"White Slave Trade"	Expository	Commanding personality, clear, decisive

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
November	New York City, welcome home to Mrs. Catt	Women in all stages of revolt, world over	Expository	Much ovation
November 19	Thanksgiving Rally Carnegie Hall	Suffrage Warning	Campaign	
1913	R.I., 2 speeches	"White Slave Traffic," WS Party	Expository	
	Michigan and Maryland		Campaign	
	2 weeks in England	WS and Militancy	Expository and campaign	Impetus to movement in England,
June 15-21	Budapest	"Omtermatopma" "Woman status throughout world"	Expository	Audience held breathless
September 15	N.Y. State WS Association, Workers Training School	History of government, showing woman's position	Expository	
October 24	Brooklyn, Convention of World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union	Recalls her early pledge to temperance	Expository	Received with applause
November 1	Brooklyn mass meeting	Opposing Anti-suffragists	Campaign	Ridiculed as opposing war
November 19	New York City, Thanksgiving rally	"Women Won't Endure Refusal. . .Longer"	Campaign	3,500 present

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1914				
January 20	Albany, N.Y., WS rally	Demanded right to vote in name of 8,000,000 women	Campaign	
January and February	N.Y. State speaking tour, 90 meetings in 5 weeks including Lockport, Rochester, and Ithaca	WS	Campaign	Added many members to the suffrage cause. Large donations resulted
June 12	Chicago, State WS Convention	WS	Campaign	Over 1,000 present; applauded vigorously
July 4	Aboard the Minneapolis	Patriotic	Commemorative	Captain of ship presented her with suffrage banner
1915				
January 1	N.Y.C., New Year's reception of the Equal Suffrage League	Against wars	Campaign	
October 9	N.Y.C., honoring Mrs. Chas. Whitman	Jokes on suffrage	Campaign	$1,000 raised
November 4	N.Y.C. Cooper Union	"Decisive battle" for second N.Y. State campaign	Campaign	Thunder of applause, constant "hurrahs," $115,000 raised;

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
				band played to her, "See, the Conquering Hero Comes!"
December 15	Washington, D.C., Senate hearing and Judiciary Committee	Best method for obtaining vote	Campaign	
December	Washington, D.C., NWSC	Soliciting cooperation	President's acceptance or courtesy	
1916				
February	Series of Congressional Conferences: Portland, Maine; Memphis, Tenn; Burlington, Vt.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Kansas State Convention, Topeka; campaigned 10 states in two months)	Federal amendment	Campaign	
March 7	Harrisburg, Pa.	"Woman's Place is in the Home?"	Campaign	
April, May	State of Iowa	Federal amendment	Campaign	
May 4	Waterloo, Iowa	"Address"		

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
May	Minneapolis, Minn.; Mississippi Valley Conference	Federal amendment	Campaign	
June	Chicago, Republican National Convention, Resolutions Committee	WS plank	Campaign	Granted plank with states rights' rider
	St. Louis, Democratic Convention, Resolutions Committee	WS plank	Campaign	Granted plank with states rights' rider
July 6	N.Y.C., National Education Association	Plea for assistance	Campaign	
August 3	Clarksburg, W. Va.	"Equal Suffrage"	Campaign	Enthusiasm reigned supreme
September 7	Atlantic City, N.J.	"The Crisis"	Campaign	The spark had reached the powder
November 21	Albany, N.Y., banquet	Suffrage finances	Campaign	Sort of aristocratic arrogance and intolerance in attitude toward anti's. $300,000 pledged. Brought women to feet applauding enthusiastically

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1917				
January 5	Washington, D.C., National Popular Government League	Against fraud within the laws	Campaign	
March 27	Aeolian Hall, N.Y.C., rally	International aid of women during war	Commemorative	
May	Speaking tour: Toronto, Canada; Columbus, Ohio	Suffrage first war measure, democracy begins at home	Campaign	
	Denver, Colo.; Portland, Ore.; Tacoma and Seattle, Wash.	Denver used war psychology to further vote	Campaign	Tacoma: Regal, calm, direct, leader
August 30	Saratoga, N.Y., WS Party State Conference	Women's vote—step toward ending wars	Campaign	Enthusiasm lasted 30 minutes. All filed past Catt
September	Maine, 1 week	Suffrage campaign	Campaign	Amendment defeated
October	N.Y., 1 month	Suffrage campaign	Campaign	Victory
November 7	N.Y.C., Cooper Union	Federal amendment next	Campaign	Seats and standing room filled, 2,000 more gathered outside

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
		"For a Better America"	Expository and campaign	
December 10	Preconvention meeting, Washington, D.C.	Address to Executive Committee	Expository	
December 14	Washington, D.C., NWSC	"An Address to the Congress of the United States"	Campaign	Salvos of applause. Grip of attention acute, a little hush followed the last word
	Baltimore, Suffrage School			
1918				
January 2	Washington, D.C., Sixty-fifth Congress	"An Address to the Congress of the United States"	Campaign	
January	Washington, D.C.	"Hearing Before the House Suffrage Committee"	Campaign	
March	Detroit, Mich., WS State Convention	Relationship of war to woman's vote	Expository and campaign	Budget, petition and political work for 3 states adopted

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
May	Boston, Mass. Opera House			$1,124 collection given to Red Cross
June	Ky.			
November	Wilmington, Del., WSNC			
December 3	Albany, N.Y., State WS Convention	"Women Voters' Council--State, National, and International"	Expository	
1919				
January 9	N.H. Legislature	Suffrage resolution	Campaign	Resolution carried
February	Legislatures of the U.S.	"An Address to the Legislatures of the United States"	Campaign	
February		"They Shall Not Pass"		
March	Burlington, Vt., WS State Convention			
March 8		"Encomiums of Philip Gibbs"	Commemorative	
March 24	St. Louis, Jubilee Convention, NWSA	League of Women Voters "The Nation Calls" "Looking Forward"	Campaign	League of Women Voters formed. Had listened to finer oratory,

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
				but not clearer or more concise statement of political policy
	NWSC	"Anniversary Speech"		
July	N.Y.C., dinner	League of Nations	Campaign	
Summer	Moylan, Pa., Dr. Shaw's funeral		Commemorative	
October-November, 6 weeks	Speaking tour in West: Chicago, S. Dak., Colo., Ore., Idaho, Salt Lake (Morman Tabernacle and State University), Calif. (Sacramento, Los Angeles), N. Mex. (Albuquerque)	Plea for special sessions of state legislatures	Campaign	Special sessions granted
1920				
January	Richmond, Va., mass meeting by Equal Suffrage League		Campaign	
January 27	Trenton, N.J., mass meeting by Ratification Committee		Campaign	
February 12-14	Chicago, WS Victory Convention	"On the Inside" Addressed to League of Women Voters	Expository and campaign	Some of her speeches better than

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
				others; this speech of convention
February	Chicago	"How the Vote Came to Men"		
February 15	Chicago, Ill., Memorial service to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw	"A superwoman and a superhuman"	Commemorative	Audience affected by the eloquence
February 18-24	Chicago, School of Political Education	Eighteen lessons on Citizenship	Expository	
March 18	Mass meetings in parts of state of Del., including Wilmington, Dover, and State Legislature	Ratification	Campaign	Closing argument one of clearest, strongest, and most reasonable arguments for WS heard in Del.
	Richmond, Va., State Legislature		Campaign	
May 3	New Haven, Conn.		Campaign	
June 6	Geneva, Switzerland, IWSA	"To the European People"	Expository and campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
July	Six weeks speaking tour in Tenn.		Campaign	Amendment ratified
		The Legal Tangle	Campaign	
	N.Y.C., Victory celebration	"End of the Road"	Commemorative	Hail, the conquering hero comes!
September October 30 November, December (13 days)	London, Central Hall, mass meeting and other occasions			Honored
1920	Bryn Mawr College	"Sine Dr. Shaw Non"	Expository	
1921				
April 13	Cleveland, Ohio, NWS Association	"Psychologies of Political Progress," but delivered "A Call to Action"	Campaign	Tears--tremendous applause
April 14	Cleveland, Ohio, convention	"Whose Government Is This?"	Expository and campaign	
June 12	University of Wyo.	"A Baccalaureate Address"	Commemorative	
November	Bryn Mawr, Course of lectures	"Politics and the Citizen," "How Politics	Expository	

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
		Functions," Political Parties: Their Strength and Their Weakness," "Responsible Government," and "How to Be a Good Citizen"		
August 26	1st Anniversary of 19th Amendment	Sex Equality		
1922				
January 16	N.Y.C., Town Hall	Wilson Foundation Fund	Commemorative	About 1,000 persons in audience. Funds came freely
February 2	Pan-American tea, Hotel Plaza, N.Y.	Progress of South American Women	Expository	
February 9	League of Women Voters, luncheon, Hotel McAlpin, N.Y.	Ten menaces to democracy	Campaign	Governor Miller repels attack on him
April	NLWV Convention, N.Y.C.	Round table discussion on political status of women	Expository	Criticized for comparing women in catholic countries with those in protestant countries
April	Pan-American Conference, Baltimore			

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
Fall	Speaking tour of Europe: Budapest, Prague, Vienna, Berlin Reichstag	Urges women to unite for their country	Campaign	Novelty
December	Rio de Janeiro, Congress, Brazilian Association for the Advancement of Women			
	Tour of South America. Many speaking engagements	Advancement for feminism groups: to strengthen existing organizations and to organize new WS branches	Expository and campaign	Greeted with flowers and welcomed by the respective governments, large and small
1923	Buenos Aires Branch of IWSA and Council of Women			
	Montevideo			
	Santiago, numerous women organizations			Offish at first; friendly later
	Lima, American Woman's Club, the American Embassy, 7 other women's meetings, and the University of San Marco			Caste system was barrier to organizations. One Indian woman embraced Mrs. Catt
March	Panama			

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
May 12-19	Rome, IWSA	(In two parts) "A New World for Women"	Campaign	Mussolini stared at her out of unmoving eyes
October 28	Cleveland, Ohio	"League of Nations"	Campaign	
November 18	San Antonio, Texas	"League of Nations"	Campaign	Crusader-idealist
November 24	1st Baptist Church, Ft. Worth, Texas	"League of Nations"	Campaign	Applauded again and again
December 4	Kansas City	"League of Nations"	Campaign	
		"Peace or War, Swords or Ploughshares"	Campaign	
1923-24	Tour of U.S.			
1924				
January	New York, Foreign Policy Association	"The Monroe Doctrine"	Expository	
April	Woman's National Convention for Law Enforcement, Washington, D.C.	Resist the wrong and assist the right	Campaign	
May 7	Westchester County League of Women Voters	Should laws be repealed that can't be enforced	Campaign	Stormy applause
	5th Anniversary	Federal votes for women.		

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
		"Peace or War, What Shall We Do About It"		
1924	Numerous Occasions	"The Three I's"		
1925				
January 19	CCCW, Washington, D.C.	Appeals to army and navy to avert wars	Campaign	
January 20	CCCW	Race question	Expository	
January 21	CCCW, Washington, D.C.	Defends conference	Campaign	Wave of enthusiasm
February 15	Palm Beach, Fla.	World Alliance for International Friendship	Expository	
	Funeral of Helen Gardener (Mrs. Seldon A. Day), Washington, D.C.		Commemorative	
March 18	N.Y. League of Women Voters	"The way to prepare for	After-dinner and commemorative	
March 22	Chelsea Methodist Church	"Is America Civilized"	Expository	
April 2	Hotel Commodore, N.Y. League of B. & P.W.	Women in the city, state, and nation	After-dinner	Committed a strategic error

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
April 21	Richmond, Va.	"My Faith" Fourteen points for peace	Expository	
April	Hotel Asete, N.Y.C., N.Y. Society of Ethical Culture	"Men, Women, and War"		
May 7	Washington, D.C., International Council of Women	"The World Never Stops"	Expository	Comforted
August 26	Women's City, Club, N.Y.C.	Radio address: Use the vote to secure peace	Expository and campaign	
	National Women's Christian Temperance Union Convention	Prohibition	Commemorative	
August 27		Women celebrate Suffrage	Campaign	
1925				
Fall	Lecture Tour	World Court, Kellogg Pact	Campaign	
1926				
January 4	Park Avenue Baptist Church, N.Y.C.	Prevention of war	Campaign	
January	Women's Christian Temperance Union, N.Y.C.	Dry law in peril	Expository	Amazed

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1926				
January 11	N.Y.C.	"Address"	After-dinner	
February	Lecture tour as far as Minn.			
March 14	Community Forum, N.Y.C.	"Keeping Step with the World"	Campaign	
July 21	Lake Mohansic, N.Y., League of Women Voters	Volstead Act	Expository and campaign	
August 16	Philadelphia, Sesqui Centennial	"Address"		
October 27	Carnegie Hall, N.Y.C., Political campaign	Denounces Senator Wadsworth	Campaign	
November 5	McMillan Academic Theatre, Columbia University	Political war in which battles never end	Expository and campaign	
December 7	Washington, D.C., CCCW	World Court essential	Campaign	
1927				
April 20	Hunter College Memorial service for Mrs. Katherine Tiffany	Her power of inspiration	Commemorative	

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
May 27	Foreign Division of Y.W.C.A., N.Y.C.	International Goodwill	Campaign	
April 23	Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science	"Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy"	Campaign	
July 15	Mass meeting of women voters, Honolulu	Women's place with women	Campaign	
July 18	Pacific Parley, Honolulu	"Three Times Three" Imperialism	Expository and campaign	
July 27	Honolulu	Japan's war menace over-population	Expository and campaign	
September 24		Symposium	Expository	
October 4	Women's Arts and Industries Exposition, N.Y.C.	War on spoils system	Campaign	
October 14	Springwood, N.Y., estate of Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt	Briand treaty	Campaign	
December 3	League of Women Voters	Tribute to Governor Smith	Eulogy	
December 7	N.Y.C., National Council of Women	Meaning of pacifism and patriotism	Expository	

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
	Exposition of Women's Art and Industries, N.Y.C.	What women could do	Campaign	
1928		"Let's Talk It Over"		
		"An Eight Day for House Wives"	Expository	
January 16	Washington, D.C., CCCW	"Status of War Versus Peace"	Expository	
March 29		"Why I Have Found Life Worth Living"	Expository	
April 7	CCCW	Women demand action	Campaign	
May 29	Orthodox and Hick-site Friends, N.Y.C.	War conditions	Expository	
June				
July 2-7	Chautauqua, N.Y. Women's club, 3 lectures	"Woman, Today, Yesterday and Tomorrow"; "Changing the Mind of the World"; and "The Crisis of the Ages"	Expository	
July	Philadelphia, American Academy of Political	"The Outlawry of War"	Campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
	and Social Science			
October 15	Radio broadcast WEAF from bed in New Rochelle	Urges women to vote	Campaign	
November 12	Waldorf Hotel, N.Y.C., N.Y. Federation of Women's Clubs	Urges peace program	Campaign	
November 24	N.Y. Committee CCCW	Urges peace program	Campaign	
1929				
January 17	Washington, D.C., CCCW	"The Monroe Doctrine"	Expository and campaign	
January 18	Washington, D.C., CCCW	Second appeal on Pan-American relations	Campaign	
June 21	Berlin, Germany, IWSA (sent her speech from N.Y.)	Pioneers in "Votes for women"	Expository	
	"Sixty Years of Stepping Forward"	"Sixty Years of Stepping Forward"	Expository	
1930				
January 15	Washington, D.C., CCCW	"Gaps in the Machinery of Peace"	Campaign	
February 8	N.Y.C., Committee on Militarism in Education	Attacks military training in schools	Campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
March 26	N.Y.C., Radio broadcast, Luncheon, 10th Anniversary of women voters, NLWV	Purposes of the League	Expository and commemorative	
October 21	N.Y. State Women's Committee for Law enforcement Inc.	Women, have a backbone!	Campaign	
November 8	N.Y.C. Federation of Women's Clubs	Work for peace as they worked for vote	Campaign	
		"This Changing World"		
December 3	Radio broadcast WJZ	Denounces war	Campaign	
1931				
January 19	Washington, D.C., CCCW	Appeals for U.S. leadership in peace movement	Campaign	600 delegates
April 14	Princeton, N.J.	Rally to disarmament	Campaign	Rising ovation, 1,000 audience
April 15	Washington, D.C., League of Women Voters Unveiling memorial tablet, Mrs. Catt honored		Commemorative	
1932				
January 21	Washington, D.C., CCCW	More cooperation with League urged	Campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
October 10	New Rochelle, N.Y., Woman's Hoover Club	Supports Hoover for re-election	Campaign	200 members
1933				
January 18	Washington, D.C., CCCW	Lost arms parley	Campaign	
July	Palmer House, Chicago	"Only Yesterday"		
1934				
January 16	Washington, D.C., CCCW	Pan-American Policy	Campaign	
March 23	Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Urged to adopt World Court	Campaign	
May 17	Women's Association of the American Jewish Congress, N.Y.C.	Condemning Nazism	Campaign	
September 27	N.Y. Herald Tribune Conference	Review of WS	Expository	
October 8	N.Y.C., CCCW	Drive on war	Campaign	
	N.Y., Convention	"World Alliance for Friendship through the Churches"		
1935				
January 10	League of Nations Association			

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
January 24	Washington, D.C., CCCW Radio broadcast	"Wars settle nothing"	Campaign	
February 14	Philadelphia	The Price of Peace		
September 6	White Plains, N.Y., Jane Addams memorial	Addams and peace	Commemorative	200 audience
November 18	American Woman's Association clubhouse, N.Y.C.	Reviews status of woman	After-dinner and expository	
1936				
January 21	Washington, D.C., CCCW	Compared complexity of suffrage with that of peace	Campaign	
January 22	Washington, D.C., White House	Acceptance, President Roosevelt's congratulations	Courtesy	
January 23	Washington, D.C., CCCW International broadcast with three others	Prospects of war and peace	Campaign	
February 26	American Jewish Congress, N.Y.	Frivolous women	Campaign	Three-minute ovation
March 21	Broadcast	"Women's State in World Peace"	Campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
April 7	N.Y.C., CCCW	Appeals for peace plank	Campaign	
May 10	Des Moines, Iowa, dedication bronze tablet, Capital Building	Suffrage in Iowa	Commemorative	
May 20	Westchester Country Club, Rye, N.Y., honoring Catt's 50 years' work	Status of women climbing	Campaign	Blue and gold bowl presented her; 250 women present
June 4	Washington, D.C., farm women	War is Enemy No. 1	Campaign	Audience rose to acclaim her
June 9	Sweet Briar (Va.) College	"The Woman's Century"	Expository	
October	New Rochelle, N.Y., Review of the News Conference	Welcome address	Courtesy	
October 27	Bronxville	"Address"		
November 11	Montclair, N.J., Armistice Day Program	"What Shall We Do About War?" Public opinion can and will abolish war	Expository and campaign	400 men and women present
December 8	N.Y.C., Federation of Women's Clubs	"What Shall We Do About War?"	Campaign	

TABLE 2—Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1937				
January 11	N.Y.C. National Council of Jewish Women, International Symposium Broadcast	Plea for peace	Campaign	
January	Chicago, CCCW	"Blessed are the Peacemakers"	Campaign	
September 24	New Rochelle, N.Y., Westchester County Review of the News Conference	New type of education --against war	Campaign	Audience 1,200
October 7	N.Y.C., CCCW Committee	Roosevelt's stand brings world closer to peace	Campaign	
November 20	Yonkers, N.Y., Woman's Club	Status of women	After-dinner	60 women present
1938				
January 19	Washington, D.C., CCCW, national	"A Belated Apology" or "Ashamed of War"	After-dinner	More than 1,000 delegates
March 30	N.Y.C., American Jewish Congress	Aid for Nazi victims "Nazis and Nazism"	Campaign	Cheering audience of 800 came to their feet for a three minute ovation

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
April 14	Vassar College	Importance of the Woman's Movement		
July 27	N.Y.C., Women's Organizations	Program for future women	Campaign	500 delegates; almost monopolized spotlight she shared with Miss Hesselgran from Sweden
October 19	N.Y., CCCW, National Committee	"The Outlook Today" Campaign for the rights of man	After-dinner and campaign	
1939				
January 9	Hotel Astor, N.Y., Mrs. Catt's 80th birthday	"Then and Now"	Expository, commemorative, and campaign	500 women leaders present
May 14	Mothers Day	Introducing candidates		
June 23	NBC	Radio Broadcast		
July 10	Broadcast from New Rochelle, N.Y., to National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Kansas City, Mo.	"One Hundred Years of Women's Progress"	Expository	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
July 13	N.Y. World's Fair (2 speeches)	War is women's fault; and women refuse to assume duties of citizenship	Campaign	Audience of 200 plus radio audience
August 2		Radio Broadcast		
August 8	Broadcast	"History of the Suffrage Movement"		
December 8	Congress of American Industry, N.Y.	"Who Can Answer"	Campaign	Applauded
1940				
January 24	Washington, D.C., CCCW, national	Destroy war with an idea	After-dinner	
March 22	N.Y. Centennial Congress Preview	Deplores war as institution	Campaign	
October 30	Port Chester, N.Y., Westchester League of Women Voters	Ten new commandments to save democracy	Campaign	
November 18	New Rochelle, N.Y., Women's Forum	Opposed totalitarianism	Campaign	
November 25	Woman's Centennial Congress, N.Y.C.	Opposed totalitarianism	Campaign	Hundreds of women applauded.

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
				Resolution pledged to her to promote woman movement
1941				
February 15	National Council of Women, N.Y.C., Luncheon	Denounced scrap sale to Japan	Campaign	Forty women present. Three Australian guests
October 17	N.Y. League of Women Voters, Hotel Gramatan	Stand for the principles on which civilizations evolved	Campaign	"You can no more listen to Mrs. Catt without being moved than you can stand still when a cyclone strikes. The difference is she moves one in the right direction."
1942				
January 9	Luncheon at the home of Mrs. Raymond Brown, N.Y.	The one thing sure is an uncertain world--the future	Expository and commemorative	Still active and eloquent
February 12	Society of a Free and Democratic Europe, Holland House	"It is up to women to win a fair and lasting peace"	Campaign	Fourteen nations represented
October 30	N.Y. Federation of Women's Clubs, Hotel Astor	Panel discussion with six other speakers Post-war problems	Expository	Delegates from 600 clubs

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1943				
April 7		"Civilization is Calling Us"		
October	New Rochelle, N.Y., New Rochelle Woman's Club			Subject was timely, more than usual interest
October 27	Paine Memorial Building, Westchester Citizens Committee for a Free Judiciary	Opposes "born politicians"	Campaign	Spoke with vigor she displayed a half century ago
1944				
January 9	Hotel Roosevelt, N.Y. Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace	A call to women to join hands with the women of the Axis-ridden countries to regain their lost rights.	Campaign	650 women present
May 3	Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace	Boulder peace aims urged	Campaign	
November 19	Hotel Biltmore	Reviewed women's struggle to gain education, property and other rights	Commemorative	800 women present Awarded American Association of University Women Achievement award for 1944

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
1945				
January 9	Mrs. Raymond Brown's home, N.Y. League of Women Voters	Be soldiers in the fight to prevent another war	Campaign	
August 26	Twenty-fifth anniversary of adoption of 19th Amendment Home, New Rochelle	Peace preservation urged	Campaign and commemorative	
1946				
January 9	Luncheon in her home, New Rochelle Directors of National American Woman's Suffrage Association			
November 27	American Association of United Nations dinner	Honoring Frau von Furth	Commemorative	
1947				
January 9	Hotel Roosevelt American Association of the United Nations	International disarmament	Campaign	Many speeches honored her
Undated		"The Ballot is Power"	Campaign	
Undated		"Democracy is Indivisible"	Campaign	

TABLE 2--Continued

Date	Place and Occasion	Theme or Title	Classification	Audience Reactions
Undated		"The Years I Like Best"	Expository	
Undated		"What Hope Lead to Foundation of League of Women Voters"		
Undated		"Are Women Inferior to Men?"		

APPENDIX II

PART I

AN ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURES OF THE UNITED STATES[1]

Woman suffrage is inevitable. Three distinct causes make it so.

1) 1. THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY AND THE THEORY OF OUR GOVERNMENT. Ours is a nation born of revolution; of rebellion against a system of government so securely entrenched in the customs and traditions of human society that in 1776 it seemed impregnable. From the beginning of things nations had been ruled by kings and for kings, while the people served and paid the cost. The American Revolutionists boldly proclaimed the heresies:

"Taxation without representation is tyranny."

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

2) The Colonists won and the nation which was established as a result of their victory has held unfailingly that these two fundamental

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[1]Carrie Chapman Catt, An Address to the Legislatures of the United States (New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., February, 1919).

The cover has a picture of John Bull taunting Uncle Sam by saying,

John Bull: "I say--What was the jolly old principle you fought me for?"

Uncle Sam: "Don't taunt me. I admit the inconsistency, but the United States will soon catch up with Great Britain. The Federal Suffrage Amendment is going through."

(This address is representative of those speeches of Mrs. Catt's that treat the issue: What is the best method for securing the ballot? In this same appendix and immediately following this speech is the case outline charted with the respective forms of proof--logical, emotional, and ethical. To facilitate a comparative reading of the speech with each respective division of the case outline in the chart, the paragraphs of the speech have been numbered in parentheses at the left margin. These numbers correspond to the numbers at the left margin of the case outline.)

principles of democratic government are not only the spiritual source of our national existence but have been our chief historic pride and at all times the sheet anchor of our liberties.

3) Eighty years after the Revolution Abraham Lincoln welded those two maxims into a new one:

"Ours is a government of the people, by the people and for the people." Fifty years more passed and the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, in a mighty crisis of the nation, proclaimed to the world:

"We are fighting for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts--for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

4) All the way between these immortal aphorisms political leaders have declared unabated faith in their truth. Not one American has arisen to question their logic in the one hundred and forty-one years of our national existence. However stupidly our country may have evaded the logical application at times, it has never swerved from its devotion to the theory of democracy as expressed by those two axioms.

5) Not only has it unceasingly upheld the THEORY but it has carried these theories into PRACTICE whenever men made application.

6) Certain denominations of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, non-land holders, workingmen, Negroes, Indians, were at one time disfranchised in all, or in part, of our country. Class by class they have been admitted to the electorate. Political motives may have played their part in some instances but the only reason given by historians for their enfranchisement is the force of the logic of these maxims of the Declaration.

7) Meantime the United States opened wide its gates to men of all the nations of earth. By the combination of naturalization granted the foreigner after a five-years' residence by our national government and the uniform provision of the State constitutions which extend the vote to male citizens, it has been the custom in our country for three generations that any male immigrant, accepted by the national government as a citizen, automatically became a voter in any State in which he chose to reside, subject only to the minor qualifications prescribed by the State. Justifiable exceptions to the general principle might have been entered. Men just emerging from slavery, untrained to think or act for themselves and in most cases wholly illiterate, were not asked to qualify for voting citizenship. Not even as a measure of national caution has the vote ever been withheld from immigrants until they have learned our language, earned a certificate of fitness from our schools or given definite evidence of loyalty to our country. When such questions have been raised, political leaders have replied: "What! Tax men and in return give them no vote; compel men to obey the authority of a government to which they may not give consent! Never. That is un-American." So, it happens that men of

all nations and all races, except the Mongolian, may secure citizenship and automatically become voters in any State in the Union, and even the Mongolian born in this country is a citizen and has the vote.

8) With such a history behind it, how can our nation escape the logic it has never failed to follow, when its last unenfranchised class calls for the vote? Behold our Uncle Sam floating the banner with one hand. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and with the other seizing the billions of dollars paid in taxes by women to whom he refuses "representation." Behold him again, welcoming the boys of twenty-one and the newly-made immigrant citizen to "a voice in their own government" while he denies that fundamental right of democracy to thousands of women public school teachers from whom many of these men learned all they know of citizenship and patriotism, to women college presidents, to women who preach in our pulpits, interpret law in our courts, preside over our hospitals, write books and magazines and serve in every up-lifting moral and social enterprise.

9) Is there a single man who can justify such inequality of treatment, such outrageous discriminations?

10) Woman suffrage became an assured fact when the Declaration of Independence was written. It matters not at all whether Thomas Jefferson and his compatriots thought of women when they wrote that immortal document. They conceived and voiced a principle greater than any man. "A Power not of themselves which makes for righteousness" gave them the vision and they proclaimed truisms as immutable as the multiplication table, as changeless as time. The Hon. Champ Clark announced that he had been a woman suffragist ever since he "got the hang of the Declaration of Independence." So it must be with every other American. The amazing thing is that it has required so long a time for a people, most of whom know how to read, "to get the hang of it." Indeed, so inevitable does our history make woman suffrage that any citizen, political party, or Legislature that now blocks its coming by so much as a single day, contributes to the indefensible inconsistency which threatens to make our nation a jest among the onward-moving peoples of the world.

11) 2. "THE SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN ALREADY ESTABLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES MAKES WOMAN SUFFRAGE FOR THE NATION INEVITABLE. When Elihu Root, as President of the American Society of International Law, at the eleventh annual meeting in Washington, April 26, 1917, said, "The world cannot be half democratic and half autocratic. It must be all democratic or all Prussian. There can be no compromise," he voiced a general truth. Precisely the same intuition has already taught the blindest and most hostile foe of woman suffrage that our nation cannot long continue a condition under which government in half its territory rests upon the consent of half the people and in the other half upon the consent of all the people; a condition which grants representation to the taxed in half its territory and denies it in the other half; a condition which permits women in some States to share in the election of the President, Senators and Representatives

and denies them that privilege in others. It is too obvious to require demonstration that woman suffrage, now covering more than half our territory, will eventually be ordained in all the nation. No one will deny it; the only question left is when and how will it be completely established.

12) 3. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD DEMOCRACY COMPELS THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF ITS OWN WOMEN. The maxims of the Declaration were once called "fundamental principles of government." They are now called "American principles" or even "Americanisms." They have become the slogans of every movement toward political liberty the world around; of every effort to widen the suffrage for men or women in any land. Not a people, race or class striving for freedom is there anywhere in the world that has not made our axioms the chief weapon of the struggle. More, all men and women the world around, with far-sighted vision into the verities of things, know that the world tragedy of our day was not waged over the assassination of an Archduke, nor commercial competition, nor national ambitions, nor the freedom of the seas but was a death grapple between the forces which deny and those which uphold the truths of the Declaration of Independence.

13) Our "Americanisms" became the issue of the great war.

14) Every day the conviction grew stronger that a world humanity would emerge from the war, demanding political liberty and accepting nothing less.

15) That prediction has proved true and in the new struggle emanating from the war, there is little doubt that men and women will demand and attain political liberty together. Yesterday men and women were fighting the world's battle for Democracy together--men in the army of the trenches, women in the supporting army behind the trenches. They paid the frightful cost of war and bore its sad and sickening sorrows together. Tomorrow they will share its rewards together in democracies which make no discrimination on account of sex.

16) The war brought new times. In the words of Premier Lloyd George: "There are times in history when the world spins along its destined course so leisurely that for centuries it seems to be at a standstill. Then come awful times when it rushes along at so giddy a pace that the track of centuries is covered in a single year. These are the times in which we now live."

17) It is true; democracy, votes for men and votes for women, making slow but certain progress in 1914, have suddenly become established facts in many lands in 1917. Already our one-time Mother Country has become the standard bearer of <u>our</u> Americanisms, the principles she once denied, and--cynical fact--Great Britain, not the United States, is now leading the world on to the coming democracy.

18) As an earnest of its sincerity in the battle for democracy, the government of Great Britain not only pledged votes to its disfranchised

men and to its women, but the measure passed the House of Commons June, 1917, by a vote of 7 to 1, the House of Lords in January, 1918 and became a national law on February 6th, 1918 by the signature of the King. In consequence of this law the women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and all the smaller British Islands participated in the parliamentary elections in December 1918.

19) Canada, too, has enfranchised its women from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The great Island Colonies of Great Britain (New Zealand and Australia) and Finland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland have long had woman suffrage. Sweden and Holland have now extended the vote to women, while France and Italy pledge votes to their women. The governments in process of formation amid the wreckage of the former empires of Russia, Germany and Austria, are promising equal suffrage for women.

20) No slogan of democracy is more worthy of immortality than that of the women of the New Russia, "Without the participation of women, suffrage is not universal."

21) Any man who has red, American blood in his veins, any man who has gloried in our history and felt the thrill of patriotic pride in the belief that our land was a leader of world democracy will share the humiliation that our country has so long delayed action upon this question. Other countries have beaten us in what we have been taught was our special world mission.

22) THE LOGIC OF THE SITUATION CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

23) Is it not clear that American history makes woman suffrage inevitable? That full suffrage in fifteen States makes its coming in all forty-eight States inevitable? That the spread of democracy over the world, including votes for the women of many countries, in each case based upon the principles our Republic gave to the world, compels action by our nation? Is it not clear that the world expects such action and fails to understand its delay?

24) In the face of these facts we ask you, Legislators of the United States, is not the immediate enfranchisement of the women of our nation the duty of the hour?

25) Why hesitate? Not an inch of solid ground is left for the feet of the opponent. The world's war has killed, buried and pronounced the obsequies upon the hard-worked "war argument." Mr. Asquith, erstwhile champion anti-suffragist of the world, has said so and the British Parliament has confirmed it by its enfranchisement of British women. The million and fifteen thousand women of New York; the two hundred and two thousand women of Michigan, the sixty-five thousand women of Oklahoma, the thirty-eight thousand women of Maine, the fifty thousand women of South Dakota, who signed a declaration that they wanted the vote, plus the heavy vote of women in every State and country where women have franchisement, have finally and completely disposed of the familiar "they don't

want it" argument. Thousands of women annually emerging from the schools and colleges have closed the debate upon the one-time serious "they don't know enough" argument. The statistics of police courts and prisons have laid the ghost of the "too bad to vote" argument. The woman who demanded the book and verse in the Bible which gave men the vote, declaring that the next verse gave it to women, brought the "Bible argument" to a sudden end. The testimony of thousands of reputable citizens of our own suffrage States and of all other suffrage lands that woman suffrage has brought no harm and much positive good, and the absence of reputable citizens who deny these facts, has closed the "women only double the vote" argument. The increasing number of women wage-earners, many supporting families and some supporting husbands, has thrown out the "women are represented" argument. One by one these pet misgivings have been relegated to the scrap heap of all rejected, cast-off prejudices. Not an argument is left. The case against woman suffrage, carefully prepared by the combined wit, skill and wisdom of opponents, including some men of high repute, during sixty years, has been closed. The jury of the New York electorate in 1917, the jury of the electorate in Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma in 1918 heard it all, weighed the evidence and pronounced it "incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial."

26) Historians tell us that the battle of Gettysburg brought our Civil War to an end, although the fighting went on a year longer because the people who directed it did not see that the end had come. Had their sight been clearer, a year's casualties of human life, desolated homes, high taxes and bitterness of spirit might have been avoided. The battle of New York was the Gettysburg of the woman suffrage movement. There are those too blind to see that the end has come, and others, unrelenting and unreasoning, who stubbornly deny that the end has come although they know it. These can compel the women of the nation to keep a standing suffrage army, to finance it, to fight on until these blind and stubborn ones are gathered to their fathers and men with clearer vision come to take their places, but the casualties will be sex antagonism, party antagonism, bitterness, resentment, contempt, hate and the things which grow out of a rankling grievance autocratically denied redress. These things are not mentioned in the spirit of threat but merely to voice well known principles of historical psychology. Benjamin Franklin once said "The cost of war is not paid at the time, the bills come afterwards." So too the nation, refuses justice when justice is due, finds the costs accumulating and the bills presented at unexpected and embarrassing times. Think it over.

TWO WAYS

27) Women may be enfranchised in two ways.

1. <u>By amendment of the National Constitution</u>. This process demands that the amendment shall pass both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds vote and shall then be ratified by the Legislature of three-fourths of the States.

2. By amendment of State Constitutions. This method sends the question from each Legislature by referendum to all male voters of the State.

THREE REASONS FOR THE FEDERAL METHOD

28) There are three reasons for choosing the Federal Method and three for rejecting the State Method. The Federal Method is best.

1. Because it is the quickest process and the place of our Nation in the procession of democracy demands immediate action.

29) In 1869 Wyoming led the way by extending full suffrage to women and in 1919 will round out half a century of the most self-sacrificing struggle any class ever made for the vote. It is enough. The British women's suffrage army will be mustered out at the end of their half century of similar endeavor. Surely men of the land of George Washington will not require a longer time than those of the land of George the Third to discover that taxation without representation is tyranny no matter whether it be men or women who are taxed! We may justly expect American men to be as willing to grant to the women of the United States as generous consideration as those of Great Britain have done.

30) 2. Every other country dignifies woman suffrage as a national question. Even Canada and Australia, composed of self-governing states like our own, so regard it. Were the precedent not established our own national government has taken a step which makes the treatment of women suffrage as a national question imperative. For the first time in our history Congress has imposed a direct tax upon women and has thus deliberately violated the most fundamental and sacred principle of our government, since it offers no compensating "representation" for the tax it imposes. Unless reparation is made it becomes the same kind of tyrant as was George the Third. When the exemption for unmarried persons under the Income Tax was reduced to $1,000 the Congress laid the tax upon thousands of wage-earning women--teachers, doctors, lawyers, bookkeepers, secretaries and the proprietors of many businesses. Such women are earning their incomes under hard conditions of economic inequalities largely due to their disfranchisement. Many of these, while fighting their own economic battle, have been contributors to the campaign for suffrage that they might bring easier conditions for all women. Now those contributions will be deflected from suffrage treasuries into government fund through taxation.

31) Women have realized the dire need of huge government resources at this time and have made no protest against the tax, but it must be understood, and understood clearly, that the protest is there just the same and that disfranchised women income taxpayers with few exceptions harbor a genuine grievance against the government of the United States. The national government is guilty of the violation of the American principle that the tax and the vote are inseparable; it alone can make amends. Two ways are open; exempt the women from the Income Tax or grant them the vote

--there can be no compromise. To shift responsibility from Congress and the Legislatures to the voters is to invite the scorn of every human being who has learned to reason. A congress which creates the law and has the power to violate a world-acknowledged axiom of just government can also command the law and the power to make reparation to those it has wronged by the violation.

32) 3. If the entire forty-eight States should severally enfranchise women their political status would still be inferior to that of men since no provision for national protection in their right to vote would exist. The women of California or New York are not wholly enfranchised for the national government has not denied the States the right to deprive them of the vote. This protection can come only by Federal action. Therefore, since women will eventually be forced to demand Congressional action in order to equalize the rights of men and women, why not take such action now and thus shorten and ease the process?

THREE REASONS AGAINST THE STATE METHOD

The three reasons why no American should insist upon the State amendment process are:

33) 1. The constitutions of many States contain such difficult provisions for amending that it is practically impossible to carry an amendment at the polls. Several States require a majority of all the votes cast at an election to insure the adoption of an amendment. As the number of persons voting on amendments is usually considerably smaller than the number voting for the head of the ticket, the effect of such provision is that a majority of those men who do not vote at all on the amendment are counted as voting against it. For example, imagine a State casting 100,000 votes for Governor and 80,000 on a woman suffrage amendment. That proportion would be a usual one. Now suppose there were 45,000 votes in favor and 35,000 against woman suffrage. The amendment would have been carried by 10,000 majority in a State which requires only a majority of the votes cast on the amendment, as in the State of New York. If, however, the State requires a majority of the votes cast at the election, the amendment would be lost by 10,000 majority. The men who were either too ignorant, too indifferent or too careless to vote on the question would have defeated it. Such constitutions have rarely been amended and then only on some non-controversial question which the dominant powers have agreed to support with the full strength of their "machines."

34) New Mexico, for example, requires three-fourths of those voting at an election, including two-thirds from each county. New Mexico is surrounded by suffrage States but the women who live there can secure enfranchisement only by federal action. The Indiana constitution provides that a majority of all voters is necessary to carry an amendment; thus the courts may decide that registered voters who do not go to the polls at all may be counted in the number a majority of whom it is necessary to secure. The constitution cannot be amended. The courts have declared that the constitution prohibits the Legislature from granting suffrage to women.

What then can the women of Indiana do? They have no other recourse than the Federal Amendment. Several State constitutions stipulate that a definite period of time must elapse before an amendment defeated at the polls can again be submitted. New York had no such provision and the second campaign of 1917 immediately followed the first in 1915; but Pennsylvania and New Jersey, both voting on the question in 1915, cannot vote on it again until 1920. New Hampshire has no provision for the submission of an amendment by the Legislature at all. A Constitutional Convention alone has the right to submit an amendment, and such conventions can not be called oftener than once in seven years. The constitutional complications are numerous, varied and difficult to overcome.

35) All careful students must arrive at the conclusion that the only chance for the enfranchisement of the women of several States is through Federal action. Since this is true we hold it unnecessary to force women of any State to pass through referenda campaigns. The hazards of the State constitutional provisions which women are expected to overcome in order to get the vote, as compared with the easy process by which the vote is fairly thrust upon foreigners who choose to make their residence among us, is so offensive an outrage to one's sense of justice that a woman's rebellion would surely have been fomented long ago had women not known that the discrimination visited upon them was without deliberate intent. The continuation of this condition is, however, the direct responsibility now of every man who occupies a position authorized to right the wrong. You are such men, Honorable State Senators and Representatives. To you we appeal to remove a grievance more insulting than any nation in the wide world has put upon its women.

36) 2. <u>The second reason why there is objection to the State process is far more serious and important than the first</u>. It is because the statutory laws governing elections are so inadequate and defective as to vouchsafe little or no protection to a <u>referendum in most States</u>. The need for such protection seems to have been universally overlooked by the lawmakers. Bi-partisan election boards offer efficient machinery whereby the representatives of one political party may check any irregularities of the other. The interests of all political parties in an election are further protected by partisan watchers. None of these provisions is available to those interested in a referendum. In most States women may not serve as watchers and no[1] political parties assume responsibility for a non-partisan question. In the State of New York women did serve as

[1]Pages 12-13 of the published speech contain a map of the United States showing full suffrage; primary suffrage; presidential suffrage; presidential and municipal suffrage; municipal suffrage in charter cities; no suffrage; municipal suffrage; and school bond or tax areas. These dates were given when certain states granted full suffrage: Wyo., 1869; Utah, 1896; Idaho, 1896; Wash., 1910; Cal., 1911; Oreg., 1912; Ariz., 1912; Kans., 1912; Colo., 1893; Mont., 1914; Nev., 1914; N.Y., 1917; Ky., 1918; S. Dak., 1918; Okla., 1918; Mich., 1918 (Rhode Island, 1917?). Primary suffrage; Ar., 1917; Tex., 1918. Presidential and Municipal suffrage; Ill., 1913; Neb., 1917; N. Dak., 1917. Municipal suffrage; Ver., 1917.

watchers. They did so serve in 1915 and in 1917; nearly every one of the more than 5,000 polling places was covered by efficiently trained women watchers. The women believe that this fact had much to do with the favorable result.

37) In twenty-four States there is no law providing for a recount on a referendum. Voters may be bribed, colonized, repeated and the law provides for no possible redress. In some States corrupt voters may be arrested, tried and punished, but that does not remove their votes from the total vote cast not in any way change the results. When questions which are supported by men's organizations go to referendum, such as prohibition, men interested may secure posts as election officials or party watchers and thus be in position to guard the purity of the election. This privilege is not open to women.

38) That corrupt influences have exerted their full power against woman suffrage, we know well. We have seen blocks of men marched to the polling booth and paid money in plain sight, both men and bribers flaunting the fact boldly that they were "beating the--women." We have seen men who could not speak a word of English, nor write their names in any language, driven to the polls like sheep to vote against woman suffrage and no law at the time could punish them for the misuse of the vote so cheaply extended to them, nor change the result.

39) It is the sincere belief of suffrage workers based upon evidence which has been completely convincing to them that woman suffrage amendments in several States have been won on referendum but that the returns were juggled and the amendment counted out. They have given to such campaigns their money, their time, their strength, their very lives. They have believed the amendment carried and yet have seen their cause announced as lost. They are tired of playing the State campaign game with "the political dice loaded and the cards stacked" against them before they begin. The position of such an amendment is precisely like that of the defendant in a case brought before an inexperienced judge. After having heard the plaintiff, he untactfully remarked that he would listen to the defendant's remarks but he was bound to tell him in advance that he proposed to give the verdict to the plaintiff. From this lower court, often unscrupulous in its unfairness, women appeal to the higher, the Congress and the Legislatures of the United States.

40) 3. <u>The third reason why we object to the State method is even more weighty than either or both of the others. It is because the State method fixes responsibility upon no one</u>. The Legislatures pass the question on to the voters and have no further interest in it. The political parties, not knowing how the election may decide the matter, are both to espouse the cause of woman suffrage, lest if it loses, they will have alienated from their respective parties the support of enemies of woman suffrage.

41) Contributors to campaign funds have at times stipulated the return

service of the party machinery to defeat woman suffrage, and as such contributors are wily enough to make certain of their protection, they often contribute to both dominant parties. Thousands of men in every State have become so accustomed to accept party nominations and platforms as their unquestioned guide that they refuse to act upon a political question without instruction from their leaders. When the leaders pass the word along the line to defeat a woman suffrage amendment it is impossible to carry it. It is not submitted to an electorate of thinking voters whose reason must be convinced, but to such voters, plus political "machines" skillfully organized, serviley obedient, who have their plans laid to defeat the question at the polls even before it leaves the Legislature. From a condition where no one is responsible for the procedure of the amendment through the hazards of an election where every enemy may effectively hide his enmity and the methods employed, behind the barriers of constitutions and election laws, women appeal to a method which will bring their cause into the open where every person or party, friend or foe involved in the campaign, may be held responsible to the public. Women appeal from the method which has kept the women of this country disfranchised a quarter of a century after their enfranchisement was due, to the method by which the vote has been granted to the men and women of other lands. They do so with the certain assurance that every believer in fair play, regardless of party fealties, will approve the decision.

42) These are the three reasons why thoughtful men and women elected the federal method, and the three reasons why they rejected the state method. Certain members of Congress opposed three objections; they may reappear in the Legislatures.

THREE OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

43) Objection No. 1. <u>A vote on this question by Congress and the Legislatures is undemocratic; it should go to the "people" or the States.</u>

When a State Legislature submits a constitutional amendment to male voters it does a legal and constitutional thing but it does not follow that it is democratic or that the "people" decide the matter. When that amendment chiefly concerns one-half the people of a state and the law permits the other half to adopt or reject it, the wildest stretch of the imagination could not describe the process as either just or democratic. It is a mere modified form of Kaiserism. Were the question of woman suffrage to be submitted to a vote of both sexes in a state where women are unenfranchised, the action would be just and democratic but in that case it would not be legal or constitutional since women can not be authorized by a Legislature to exercise such a franchise. In other words when the question of woman suffrage goes to male voters for decision, it is a legal but not a just or democratic way; when it goes to a vote of both sexes it is a just and democratic but it is not a legal way. There is no possible method of granting woman suffrage by amendment of state constitutions which is both legal and democratic.

44) Let it not be forgotten that democracy means "a rule or

determination by the people" and that women, obviously, are people.

45) Male voters have never been named by any constitution or statute as the representatives of voteless women. The nearest approach to representation allowed voteless women are the members of Congress and the Legislatures. These members are apportioned among the several States upon the basis of population and not upon the basis of numbers of voters. Therefore every member of the National Congress and of the State Legislatures theoretically represents the non-voting women as well as the voting men of their respective constituencies. Such representatives are theoretically responsible to men and to women and women may properly go to them for redress of such grievances as fall within their jurisdiction. More, all members of Congress and of the Legislatures are representatives of the entire nation or the entire state, as the case may be, not of the small relative constituencies which elect them, since their function is to assist in the enactment of legislation for the entire country or the entire state. Women, whether voters or non-voters, properly claim members of the Congress and the Legislatures as the only substitution for representation provided by the constitution.

46) Objection No. 2. This is not the proper time to consider the question. This objection has offered excuse for delay and postponement for half a century. When war came it was brought forward with fresh emphasis as though it were its first appearance in the discussion. Yet, two neutral countries, Iceland and Denmark, and two belligerent countries, Canada and Great Britain, enfranchised their women during war time and they had been engaged in war for three and a half years when they took the action. It was in vain that women plead that that which was a proper time for such countries was proper enough for ours. The Congress did not act. Peace came and there were those who declared that the period of reconstruction is not the proper time. In fact, as the ex-Kaiser would never have recognized a proper time to enfranchise men, so there are Americans who will never admit a proper time to enfranchise women.

47) It is not the fault of American women that this question is still unsettled in 1919. If their urgent advice had been taken it would have been disposed of twenty-five years ago and our nation would now be proudly leading the world to democracy instead of following in third place. Had Congress "got the hang of the Declaration of Independence" a generation ago, a world's war "to make the world safe for democracy" would have been better understood at home and abroad.

48) In 1866 an Address to Congress was adopted by a Suffrage Convention held in New York and presented to Congress later by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. They protested against the enfranchisement of Negro men while women remained desfranchised and asked for Congressional action. That was fifty-three years ago. In 1878 the Federal Suffrage Amendment was introduced in Congress at the request of the National Woman Suffrage Association and has been reintroduced in each succeeding Congress.

49) The representatives of this association appeared before the Committees of every Congress since 1878 to urge its passage. The women who made the first appeal, brave, splendid souls, long since passed into the Beyond; and each one died knowing that the country she loved and served classified her as a political pariah. Every Congress saw the Committee Rooms packed with anxious women yearning for the declaration of their nation that they were no longer to be classed with idiots, criminals and paupers, the groups denominated in constitutions as suitable for disfranchisement.

50) Every State sent its quota of women to those Committees. Among them were the daughters of Presidents, Governors, Chief Justices, Speakers of the House, leaders of political parties and leaders of great movements. List the women of the last century, those whose names will pass into history among the historic immortals and scarcely one is there who has not appeared before those committees--Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Lillie Devereux Blake, Julia Ward Howe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frances Willard, Clara Barton and hundreds more. Indeed there are thousands of women in our country, any one of whom has paid out more money in railroad fare to Washington in order to persuade members of Congress that "women are people" and thus entitled to the rights of people, than all the men of the entire country, ever paid to get a vote.

51) Perhaps, there are those who think the pleas of women in those Committee Rooms were poor attempts at logic. Ah, one chairman of the committee long ago said to a fellow member: "There is no man living or dead who could answer the arguments of those women," and then he added, "but I'd rather see my wife dead in her coffin than going to vote." Yet, there are those who have said that women are illogical and sentimental!

52) Since Congress had fifty-three years in which to deal with the question of woman suffrage, before taking final action, women look to the Legislatures to make quick work of ratification and thus remedy at the earliest possible moment the outrageous wrong of the years of delay. No time is an improper one to do an act of justice and when that justice has been long deferred the obviously proper time is <u>now</u>.

53) Objection No. 3. <u>States Rights</u>. It has been pronounced unfair that thirty-six States should determine who may vote in the remaining twelve; that possibly Republican Northern States should decide who may vote in Democratic Southern States and vice versa. Perhaps; but it is no more unfair than that some counties within a state, on state amendment referendum should decide who may vote in the remaining counties; no more unfair than that the Democratic city of New York should have enfranchised the women of the Republican cities of Albany and Rochester, as was done.

54) The method is that provided by the makers of the constitution and has remained unchallenged for a century. It is based upon the principle of majority rule. The constitution itself would have become the

fundamental law of the land according to the plan of its framers, had nine states only adopted it, making the necessary majority somewhat less than the three-fourths required for the adoption of a federal constitutional amendment.

55) Forty-eight States will have the opportunity to ratify the Federal Amendment and every State, therefore, will have its opportunity to enfranchise its own women in this manner. If any State fails to do it, history will record the fact that that state failed to catch the vision and the spirit of Democracy sweeping over the world. This nation cannot, must not, wait for any State, so ignorant, so backward. That State more than all others needs woman suffrage to shake its dry bones, to bring political questions into the home and set discussion going. It needs education, action, stimulation to prevent atrophy. In after years posterity will utter grateful thanks that there was a method which could throw a bit of modernity into it from the outside; a method which would permit the Nation to catch pace in the democratic procession moving rapidly onward toward governments "by people" in all lands.

56) Do you realize that in no other country in the world with democratic tendencies is suffrage so completely denied as in a considerable number of our own States? There are thirteen black States where no suffrage for women exists and fourteen others where suffrage for women is more limited than in many foreign countries.

57) Do you realize that no class of men in our own or in any other land have been compelled to ask their inferiors for the ballot?

58) Do you realize that when you ask women to take their cause to State referendum you compel them to do this; that you drive women of education, refinement, achievement, to beg men who cannot read for their political freedom?

59) Do you realize that such anomalies as a College President asking her janitor to give her a vote is overstraining the patience and driving women to desperation?

60) Do you realize that women in increasing numbers indignantly resent the long delay in their enfranchisement?

61) Many of you have admitted that "States Rights" is less a principle than a tradition—a tradition, however, which we all know is rooted deep in the memory of bitter and, let us say, regrettable incidents of history. But the past is gone. We are living in the present and facing the future. Other men of other lands have thrown aside traditions as tenderly revered as yours in response to the higher call of Justice, Progress and Democracy. Can you, too, not rise to this same call of duty? Is any good to be served by continuing one injustice in order to manifest resentment against another injustice? We are one nation and those of us who live now and make our appeal to you are like yourselves not of the generation whose

differences created the conditions which entrenched the tradition of States Rights. We ask you, our representatives, to right the wrong done us by the law of our land as the men of other lands have done.

62) Adherence to the States Rights doctrine will keep the United States far behind all other democratic nations in action upon this question. A theory which prevents a nation from keeping up with the trend of world progress cannot be justified.

A FEW MISGIVINGS

63) Do you still harbor misgivings? Please remember that woman suffrage is coming; you know it is. It would be a dull person who does not know that when women vote on equal terms with men in fifteen states they will vote in all the forty-eight eventually; that since they vote in Canada from ocean to ocean, they certainly will vote from East to West in the United States.

64) In this connection, have you ever thought that the women of your own families who may tell you now that they do not want the vote are going to realize some day that there is something insincere in your protestations of chivalry, protection and "you are too good to vote, my dear," and are going to discover that the trust, respect, and frank acknowledgment of equality which men of other States have given their women are infinitely higher and nobler than you have ever offered them? Have you thought that you may now bestow upon them a liberty that they may not yet realize they need, but that tomorrow they may storm your castle and demand? Do you suppose that any woman in the land is going to be content with unenfranchisement when she once comprehends that men of other countries have given women the vote? Do you not see that when that time comes to her she is going to ask why you, her husband, her father, who were so placed, that you could observe the progress of world affairs, did not see the coming change of custom and save her from the humiliation of having to beg for that which women in other countries are already enjoying? Have you known that no more potent influence has aroused the sheltered and consequently narrow-visioned woman into a realization that she wanted to be a part of an enfranchised class than the manner in which men treat enfranchised women? There is no patronizing "I am holier than thou" air, but the equality of "fellow citizens." One never sees that relation between men and women except where women vote. Some day that woman who doesn't know the world is moving on and leaving her behind will see and know these things. What will she say and do then? What will you do for her now?

65) We beg you not to think of suffrage for women as a reward. There were many well known men in Great Britain who frankly confessed that their desire to give British women the vote was founded upon their sense of gratitude for the loyal and remarkable war service women had performed. They spoke of suffrage as a reward. For years women had asked the vote as a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that they were responsible,

intelligent citizens of the country and because its denial was an outrageous discrimination against their sex. British women received their enfranchisement with joyous appreciation but the joy was lessened and the appreciation tempered by the perfect understanding that the "vote as a reward" was only an escape from the uncomfortable corner into which the unanswerable logic of the case had driven the government. Mutual respect between those who gave and those who received the vote would have been promoted had the inevitable duty not been deferred. We hope American Legislators will be wiser.

66) Are you perplexed because every woman you know does not frankly confess that she wants the vote? Was there ever a class of unenfranchised men who unanimously demanded the vote? Never. Then why demand of women what has never been true of any other class. As a matter of fact American women have struggled for the vote in larger numbers, for a longer time and at greater cost than either men or women of any other country.

67) The vote is permissive, a liberty extended. Therefore not to permit those who want the vote to have and to use it is a denial of liberty, an oppression, tyranny--and no other words describe the condition. On the other hand, no wrong is done those who do not want the vote, since there is no obligation to exercise the right. Enfranchisement means freedom to vote or not to vote as the individual elects. Disfranchisement means the denial of freedom to vote or not to vote. When, therefore men within a State are so ungenerous or unprogressive or stubborn as to continue the denial of the vote to the women who want it, men on the outside should have no scruples in constituting themselves the liberators of those women.

IN CONCLUSION

68) In conclusion, we know, and you know that we know, that it has been the aim of both dominant parties to postpone woman suffrage as long as possible. A few men in each party have always fought with us fearlessly, conscientiously, continuously, but the party machines have evaded, avoided, tricked and buffeted this question from Congress to Legislatures, from Legislatures to political conventions. Many women have in consequence, a deep and abiding distrust of all existing political parties--they have been tricked so often and in such unscrupulous fashion that their doubts are natural.

69) Now both dominant parties have endorsed woman suffrage in their National platforms as have all the smaller political parties; and the National Democratic and Republican Committees have endorsed the federal suffrage amendment but that does not mean that all the rank and file of these two great parties have followed the lead of the National Committees.

70) Some of you who are Legislators are also leaders of those parties and all are members. We know that your parties have a distrust and suspicion of new women voters. Let us counsel together. Woman suffrage is

inevitable--you know it. The political parties will go on--we know it. Shall we then be enemies or friends? Can party leaders in fifteen States really obtain the loyal support of women voters when those women know that the same party has ordered the defeat of amendments in States where campaigns have been conducted; or has delayed action in Congress on the federal amendment; or is delaying its ratification? Why not meet the inevitable new woman voter half way and give her welcome instead of filling her soul with doubt and distrust? Isn't that the wiser way?

71) Your party platforms have pledged woman suffrage. Then why not be honest, frank friends of our cause, adopt it in reality as your own, make it a party program and "fight with us?" As a party measure--a measure of all parties--why not put the amendment through your Legislature promptly? We shall all be better friends, we shall have a happier nation and we shall all be far prouder of our history.

72) "There is one thing mightier than kings and armies"--aye, than Congresses, Legislatures and political parties--"the power of an idea when its time has come to move." The time for woman suffrage has come. The woman's hour has struck. If State parties postpone action and thus do battle with this idea, they challenge the inevitable. The idea will not perish; the party which opposes it may. Every delay, every trick, every political dishonesty will antagonize the friends of woman suffrage more and more, and when the party or parties which have been responsible for the delay finally let the privilege come, their sincerity will be doubted and their appeal to the new voters will be met with suspicion. This is the psychology of the situation. Can you afford the risk? Think it over.

73) To you who have been friends of woman suffrage let us say that we know you will meet opposition. There are a few "woman haters" left, a few "old males of the tribe," as Vance Thompson calls them, whose duty they believe it to be to keep women in the places they have carefully picked out for them. Treitschke, made world famous by war literature, said some years ago: "Germany, which knows all about Germany and France, knows far better what is good for Alsace-Lorraine than that miserable people can possibly know." A few American Treitschkes we have who know better than women what is good for them. There are women, too, with "slave sould" and "clinging vines" for backbones. There are female dolls and male dandies. But the world does not wait for such as these, nor does Liberty pause to heed the plaint of men and women with a grouch. She does not wait for those who have a special interest to serve, nor a selfish reason for depriving other people of freedom. Holding her torch aloft, Liberty is pointing the way onward and upward and saying to America, "Come."

74) This appeal for prompt action is not meant for you. The suffragists of the nation express their grateful thanks to you for all your past helpfulness and know that you will continue to render service to this cause.

75) To you who have been too indifferent to give more than casual attention to this question, let us remind you that it is worthy of your immediate consideration--a question big enough to engage the attention of our allies in war time, is too big a question for you to neglect.

76) To you who have grown old in party service and yet see no need for haste in dealing with this question, let us ask, are you willing that those who take your places by and by shall blame you for having failed to keep pace with the world and thus having lost for them a party advantage? Is there any real gain for you, for your party, for the nation by delay? Do you want to drive the progressive men and women out of your party?

77) Legislators, you are the constitutionally designated representatives of the women of your State. Those women composing the Auxiliary in your State of the National American Woman Suffrage Association appeal to you now to hasten the passage and the ratification of the federal constitutional suffrage amendment in order that our Nation may at the earliest possible moment show to all the nations of earth that its action is consistent with its principles.

TABLE 3

AN ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURES OF THE UNITED STATES

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning[a]
1)[b]	I. Woman suffrage is inevitable, for	Conclusion of enthymeme
	A. The history of our country and the theory of our government make it so, for	Premise
	1. History of our country and the theory of our government uphold certain democratic principles:	Major premise
	a. "Taxation without representation is tyranny."	[Minor premise. Woman suffrage is democratic in principle.]
	b. "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," for	
2)	1) The American Revolution was fought to uphold these principles.	
3)	2) Lincoln welded those two maxims into a new one: (Quote).	
	3) Woodrow Wilson expressed the American theory of democracy. (Quote).	
4)	4) American leaders and people have upheld the theory of democracy for 141 years.	

[a]Since the overall pattern of the speech is deductive, only the exception, inductive reasoning, is indicated. It should be noted that the speech is almost entirely soritical.

[b]Numbers in parentheses at left margin indicate the corresponding paragraph numbers in the speech manuscript, supra p. 407 ff.

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal[c]
	Gain prestige	. . .Straightforwardness[d]
	Tradition	. . .American tradition
	Esteem	
Specific instance--aphorism	Freedom	. . .democratic principles
Specific instance--aphorism	Independence, justice	
Example	Pride, destruction	
Example, authority, maxim	Pride, freedom, power, independence, security	. . .recognized American leaders
Example, authority, maxim	Pride, freedom, power, authority	
Summary of examples	Security, tradition	

[c]The position of the description under ethical proof merely indicates the ethical appeal that originates there.

[d]The ellipses indicate the omitted expression, "The speaker identifies herself with. . ."

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
5)	2. Our nation is democratic in practice, for	Conclusion of enthymeme
6)	a. Class by class has been admitted to the electorate: protestants, Catholics, Jews, non-land holders, workingmen, Negroes, Indians.	Premise
7)	b. Immigrants, except the Mongolian, may obtain citizenship without educational restrictions.	Premise
8)	Since America has a history of democratic theory and practice;	Conclusion
8)	Since every class except women has already been enfranchised;	Analogy
10)	Since the Declaration of Independence included women whether or not it intended to; (Champ Clark)	Authority
10)	Therefore, woman suffrage is inevitable.	Conclusion
11)	B. The suffrage for women already established in the United States makes woman suffrage for the nation inevitable, for	Minor premise
11)	1. Intuition teaches us that a nation cannot long continue a condition under which government in half its territory rests upon the consent of all the people and the other half does not. (Quote Elihu Root, President of the American Society of International Law, 11th annual meeting in Washington, April 26, 1917.)	Major premise (Indirect analogy)

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
	Reputation	. . .our nation
Specific instances	Altruism	
Specific instance and repetition, dialogue	Altruism	
Summary, rhetorical question	Honor and duty to tradition	. . .audience: "Our history."
Comparison and contrast, imagery	Conformity	. . .justice
Quotation	Security	Expresses confidence in success.
Authority	Stability	. . .listeners and ways of life.

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
12)	C. The leadership of the United States in World democracy compels the enfranchisement of its own women, for	Conclusion of enthymeme
12)	1. American principles stand for political liberty, and	Premise
12)	2. The demand for political liberty is increasing, for	Causal relation
12) 13)	a. Our "Americanisms" became the issue of World War I.	Sign
14)	3. The right to have equal rights in political liberty is increasing, for	Effect: Causal relation
15)	a. Men and women fought the world's battle for democracy together.	
15)	b. They bore the cost of war and bore the sorrows together.	
15)	4. The rewards for women in political liberty are increasing, for	Effect
16)	a. The war brought new times (quote Lloyd George)	Cause
17)	b. Great Britain, her colonial possessions, and Finland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Holland, have woman suffrage; France, Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria promise equal suffrage.	Analogies

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
	Reputation	. . .the understanding of America's leadership.
Maxims--slogans	Freedom and independence	. . .American principles.
	Achievement of greater liberties and higher standards	. . .those who know political liberties.
Negative evidence, specific instances, imagery	Self-preservation	. . .audience - "our" issue.
	Self-realization	. . .those having knowledge of political rights.
Example	Companionship	
Example	Companionship	. . .other's problems.
Quotes authority		. . .authority quoted.
Examples	Achievement, competition	. . .broad familiarity of subject.

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
21)	5. The American pride in "Americanisms" will be humiliated by such competition.	Causal relation
23)	Since American history makes woman suffrage inevitable; Since full suffrage in fifteen states makes its coming in forty-eight states inevitable; Since the spread of democracy over the world, including votes for women of many countries, in each case based upon the principles our Republic gave to the world, compels action by our nation.	Causes
24)	'Therefore, the logic of the situation calls for immediate action on the part of the United States in granting suffrage to women.	Conclusion: effect
25)	II. Not an inch of solid ground is left for the feet of the opponent, for	Refutation
	A. The argument that women do not fight therefore they should not vote is killed, for	Statement of opponent's charge
	1. The part of women in World War I destroyed the argument. (Confirmed by Asquith, anti-suffragist, and act of British Parliament in enfranchising the British woman.)	Attack on opponent's premise--contends circumstances have changed
	B. The argument that women don't want the vote has been proved false, for	Statement of opponent's charge

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
	Fear of dishonor	Rebukes and identifies with audience.
Analogies	Security	Expresses confidence.
	Duty	. . .our nation.
		Expresses confidence by selection of evidence and mode of reasoning.
Quotes opponent, illustration	Achievement	

TABLE 3--Continued

Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
1. The following women signed a declaration that they wanted the vote: New York, 1,015,000; Michigan, 202,000; Oklahoma, 65,000; Maine, 38,000; South Dakota, 50,000.	Refutes with inductive reasoning
C. The argument that women "don't know enough" to vote has been proved false, for	Statement of opponent's charge
1. College graduates have closed the debate.	Attacks accuracy
D. The argument that women are "too bad" to vote was disposed of, for	Statement of opponent's charge
1. Statistics of police courts and prisons proved it false.	Attacks accuracy
E. The argument known as the "Bible argument" has been proved false, for	Statement of opponent's charge
1. The same argument denies men the right to vote.	Turns tables
F. The argument that "Women only double the vote" has been closed, for	Statement of opponent's charge
1. Where women have voted the testimony as to the results has been favorable rather than unfavorable.	Adduces another premise
G. The argument that "women are represented" has been thrown out, for	Statement of opponent's charge

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Statistics		Appears to endeavor to minimize unfavorable impressions of the cause as previously presented by opponents.
Statement of personal opinion	Esteem	
Testimony--experts	Respect officials	
Analogy	Freedom from restraint	
Testimony	Esteem	Expresses confidence.

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
	1. The number of women wage-earners is increasing.	Attacks premise--changed status
	Since there is not an argument left; Therefore, the sixty-year-old case against woman suffrage has been closed.	Summary Conclusion
26)	H. It was closed in New York (the Gettysburg of the woman suffrage movement) in 1917, in Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma in 1918.	Analogy
	Since the woman suffrage case has been closed; Since to continue it after it has been closed means needless expenditures; Since to continue it causes ill-will;	Summary Premise: cause-effect Premise: cause-effect
27)	Therefore, women should be enfranchised, either	Disjunctive enthymeme
	1. By amendment of the national constitution, or	Major premise
	2. By amendment of state constitutions.	
	III. The federal method is better than the state method, for	Effect
28)	A. The federal method is the quicker process, and the place of our nation in the procession of democracy demands immediate action, for	Cause
29)	1. The American principle--"taxation without representation" is being challenged, for	Analogy

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Specific instance		
		Expresses confidence
Examples		
		Expresses confidence
	Thrift	. . .frugality
	Avoidance of ill-will	. . . .desire for goodwill
	Reputation	. . .problems of our nation
Aphorism	Rivalry	Challenges audience

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
	a. England granted their woman suffrage after fifty years of struggle.	a-b. Analogy
	b. America has already permitted fifty years of struggle to elapse.	
30)	B. Every other country dignifies woman suffrage as a national question.	Analogy
	1. (Canada and Australia are compared to the United States.)	Analogy
	2. The national government has violated an American principle, for	Conclusion of enthymeme
31)	a. The national government has placed an income tax upon women who have no representation.	Premise
32)	C. If the entire forty-eight states should severally enfranchise women their political status would still be inferior to that of men, for	Analogy
	1. No provision for national protection in woman's right to vote would exist, for	Conclusion
	a. California and New York, who have state enfranchisement, are not wholly enfranchised.	Examples
	IV. The state method is inferior to the federal method, for	Conclusion of enthymeme

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
a-b. Specific instance		
	Avoidance of procrastination	
Comparison	Esteem	
Examples		
	Loyalty	Offers rebuke
Example or illustration	Freedom	
Hypothetical illustration		
	Security	. . .desire for security

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
33)	A. The constitutions of many states contain such difficult provisions for amending that it is practically impossible to carry an amendment at the polls, for	Premise and/or generalization of inductive reasoning
	1. Several states require a majority of all the votes cast at an election to insure the adoption of an amendment.	
34)	2. New Mexico requires three-fourths of those voting at an election, including two-thirds from each county.	
	3. The Indiana constitution provides that a majority of all voters is necessary to carry an amendment.	
	4. Several state constitutions stipulate that a definite period of time must elapse before an amendment defeated at the polls can again be submitted.	
35)	5. New Hampshire has no provision for the submission of an amendment by the Legislature at all.	
	Since the method of securing the right to vote by the state amendment is extremely difficult, and the process by which foreigners and others received the right to vote has been easy;	Summary of preceding arguments. Cause

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
1-5. Examples or specific instances		
Analogy	Justice	. . .desire for justice

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
	Therefore, women consider the states' amendment method insulting and appeal to you the Legislatures to right this wrong.	Conclusion: effect
36)	B. The statutory laws governing elections are so inadequate as to vouchsafe little or no protection to a referendum in most states, for	Generalization: inductive reasoning
	1. The need for such protection seems to have been universally overlooked by the lawmakers.	1-6. Premises: signs
	2. Bi-partisan election boards offer efficient machinery whereby the representatives of one political party may check any irregularities of the other.	
	3. The interests of all political parties in an election are further protected by partisan watchers.	
	4. In most states women may not serve as watchers.	
37)	5. In twenty-four states there is no law providing for a recount on a referendum.	
38)	6. Corrupt influences have exerted their power against woman suffrage (in state elections), for	
	a. Men have bribed voters openly (testimony of women).	

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
	Indignation, justice	. . .demand for justice
	Security	. . .fairplay
Examples	Security	
Comparison		
Comparison		
Specific instance	Security	
Specific instance	Justice	
Example	Fair play	
Testimony of specific instance		

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
39)	b. Men have counted the amendment out (at least the women believe so).	
	Since women feel that the state elections have been unfair to them;	Summary: cause
	Therefore, women appeal to a higher court, you the Legislatures, for justice.	Conclusion: effect
40)	C. The state method fixes responsibility upon no one, for	Conclusion of enthymeme
	1. The Legislatures are indifferent.	1-3. Premise
	2. The political parties are afraid to assume responsibility.	Premise
41)	3. Voters controlled by political machines cannot be depended upon.	Premise
	Summary: three reasons for electing federal amendment and three reasons for rejecting state amendment.	Restatement of issue
42)	V. Three objections to the federal amendment proposed by certain members of the Congress are unfounded.	Refutation
43)	A. Objection No. 1. A vote on this question by Congress and the Legislatures is undemocratic; it should go to the "people" or the states is unfounded, for	Statement of objection

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Testimony		
	Fair play	Shows faith in the audience.
	Justice, pride	
	Security	
Example		
Example	2-3. Security from injustice	Upholds standards of morality and responsibility.
Example		
		Attempts to minimize or remove unfavorable impressions toward the issue.

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
	1. To submit an amendment to male voters is a legal matter but not a democratic matter, for	Attack upon the use of term
44)	a. Democratic means "by the people," and women are people.	
	b. Men are not representatives of voteless women.	Logical inconsistency
45)	2. Women claim that members of Congress and the Legislatures are the nearest approach to representation allowed voteless women, for	Effect
	a. These men are apportioned upon the basis of population.	a-c. Causes
	b. These men theoretically are responsible to both women and men.	
	c. These men are to assist the legislation of the entire country.	
46)	B. Objection No. 2. The argument that this is not the proper time to consider the question, is unfounded, for	Statement of charge
	1. This objection is only an excuse, for	Attacks opponent for ignoring the question
	a. Other countries have found appropriate times in war and in peace.	Analogy

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Definition	Esteem	
		Shows appreciation of significance of audience's position.
a-c. Explanation	a-c. Justice and responsibility	
		Rebukes with tact.
Comparison and contrast	a-b. Duty and responsibility	a-b, 1-3. Shows knowledge of subject matter.

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
47)	b. Women have pleaded with you long enough for you to have found appropriate time, for	Generalization
48)	1) Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton addressed Congress on the subject in 1866.	1)-3). Signs
	2) Since 1878 the Federal Suffrage Amendment has been introduced in each Congress.	
49)	3) Representatives of this Association appeared before the committees of every Congress since 1878 to urge its passage--women of importance. (Lists women of history) (Quotes chairman of committee as to the kind of logic used).	
52)	Since Congress has had fifty-three years in which to deal with the question of woman suffrage; Since no time is an improper one to do an act of justice; Since justice has been long deferred; Therefore, the obviously proper time for ratification is now.	Summary: induction Conclusion
53)	C. Objection No. 3. It is unfair that thirty-six states should determine who may vote in the remaining twelve. Although the policy may be unfair, yet	Statement of the charge: concedes possible truth in objection. Attacks opponent's argument by adducing previous decisions. (Points 1-4.)

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
1)-3). Specific instances		
		. . .important women of history, famous predecessors
Authority	Duty	Rebukes with tact.
	Justice	

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
	1. The policy is similar when voting on a state amendment referendum.	
54)	2. The method is that provided by the makers of the constitution.	Reasoning from authority
	3. It is based upon the principle of majority rule.	
55)	4. All forty-eight states will have the opportunity to ratify the amendment.	
	5. If one does not ratify, that will be the state that most needs the woman's vote.	Sign
61)	VI. [Although many of you admit that "States rights" is less a principle than a tradition, adherence to the states rights doctrine will keep the United States far behind all other democratic nations in action upon this question,] for	Induction: pointing out inconsistencies
56)	A. Do you realize that in no other country in the world with democratic tendencies is suffrage so completely denied as in a considerable number of our own states?	A-D. Analogy
57)	B. Do you realize that no class of men in our own or in any other land have been compelled to ask their inferiors for the ballot?	

TABLE 3--Continued

Methods of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
2-4. Explanation	Reverence for tradition	. . .tradition
	Tradition, conformity	
	Fairness	
	Altruism	
	Against tradition--rivalry	. . .progress
A-D. Specific instances in the form of rhetorical questions, and comparison and contrast.	Rivalry	A-D. Demands respect and justice
	B-D. Respect and sympathy, aggression, against restraint	

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
58)	C. Do you realize that when you ask women to take their case to state referendum you compel them to do this?	
59)	D. Do you realize that such anomalies as a College President asking her janitor to give her a vote is overstraining the patience and driving women to desperation?	
60)	E. Do you realize that women in increasing numbers indignantly resent the long delay in their enfranchisement?	
61)	Therefore, although many of you admit that "States rights" is less a principle than a tradition, adherence to the states rights doctrine will keep the United States far behind all other democratic nations in action upon this question.	Conclusion of induction
63)	VII. Do you still harbor misgivings?	Entire unit: sorites
	A. Woman suffrage is coming, for	Conclusion
	1. Women already vote in fifteen states.	
64)	2. Some day your families will consider you insincere, for	
	a. You protest chivalry when men of other states are nobler to their women.	

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Testimony	Fear of animosity	Shows indignation
	Self-esteem, rivalry	. . .desirous of . . .progress
Rhetorical question	Satisfaction	Shows awareness of audience's fears
Specific instance		
	Self-esteem	Questioning sincerity of audience
Comparison	Rivalry	

TABLE 3--Continued

	Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
	b. Can't you save woman from future humiliation even though she may not be aware now that she is being left out?	
65)	B. You should be wise enough not to grant suffrage as a reward, for	Conclusion
	1. You may profit by England's mistake in doing this.	Analogy
66)	C. You need not be perplexed because every woman does not confess that she wants the vote, for	Sign
	1. Men were not expected to make that confession before obtaining the right to vote.	1-2. Analogy
	2. The struggle of the American woman for enfranchisement exceeds that of either men or women of any other country.	
	3. Those who want the vote should not be denied the freedom, for	Conclusion: causal relation
	a. No wrong is done those who do not want to vote, for	Premise
	1) The vote is permissive.	
67)	D. You should have no scruples in liberating women, for	Conclusion of enthymeme
	1. Only unfair and unprogressive men would refuse.	Premise

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Rhetorical question	Security	Appeals for respect and justice for group represented.
		. . .objectivity toward cause.
	Desire to excel	
	Security	
1-2. Comparison and contrast	Conformity	
	Respect for achievement	
Description	Liberty and justice	
Description		
	Honesty	Shows awareness of audience's problem
Contrast	Justice and progress	. . .justice and progress

TABLE 3--Continued

Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
Conclusion	
69) I. Since both dominant parties have postponed woman suffrage as long as possible;	I-IX. Summary of conclusions
71) II. Since now both dominant parties have endorsed woman suffrage in their national platforms as have all smaller political parties;	
III. Since even though you have a distrust for the new woman voter (to be), you will gain by welcoming her;	
IV. Since the time for woman suffrage has come;	
72) V. Since to postpone action is to challenge the inevitable;	
73) VI. Since even though there are still those of the opposition to attack the friends of the cause, yet the world does not wait for such as these;	
74) VII. Since the question is worthy of your immediate attention;	
76) VIII. Since you older men must protect your party advantage;	
77) IX. Since you are the constitutionally designated representatives for the women of your state;	

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
	Freedom from restraint	. . .inevitable progress, achievement.
	Security	
	Prestige, power, authority	III-VI. Shows confidence, impatience, authoritativeness.
	Resignation	
	Impatience, scorn	
	Prestige	VII-IX. Shows appreciation of significance of audience's position.
	Personal power	
	Honor and duty	

TABLE 3--Continued

Case Outline	Invention Pattern of Reasoning
Therefore, it is to be concluded that you should now hasten the passage and the ratification of the federal constitutional suffrage amendment in order that our Nation may at the earliest possible moment show to all the nations on earth that its action is consistent with its principles.	Final conclusion

TABLE 3--Continued

Method of Support	Invention Emotional Appeal	Ethical Appeal
Summary statement		
	Reputation, pride, honor	. . .honor of the Nation and democratic principles.

APPENDIX III

AN ABBREVIATED SPECIMEN ANALYSIS OF A SPEECH

For this study, ninety-six speeches were analyzed according to the following form:

Title: Who Can Answer? Delivered at the 44th Congress of American Industry, December 8, 1939 (delivered in later part of her speaking career). New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1939, pp. 1-11.

Issue: Abolition of war

Invention

Premises and Arguments

How can we get rid of war, the gravest question of the human race? Its history extends into the remote past. Wars are still with us today. What is war? Let us take a look at war from the beginning of time. Long narrative with detailed illustrations and descriptions. Climax is an image of man today in a crude dugout evading his own inventions. Has man in his evolution accomplished anything other than war inventions? Yes, "but the point never to be forgotten is that the military machine of a neighbor might blow all the collective creations of MAN into dust and ashes." (p. 9). A list of causes of war. Using public opinion to end

war. When will war cease?

Logical Proof

Pattern of reasoning.--Inductive, developed principally by a hypothetical extended image.

Kinds of arguments.--Example, few. Conclusion is chiefly the residue of one hypothetical case. Cause to effect, with brief development of effect to conclusion. The adequacy of the causes are amplified by the use of rhetorical questions, the explanation of the motivation groups, and by the imagery appeal. Connection of cause to effect is developed by tracing the development of war from its early existence. The relation of the effect to the solution is very briefly developed.

Method of support.--Statement of what war is not. Long hypothetical narrative having much description. Exposition: Synopsis of the origin of war. Illustrations of moral codes of different religions contrasted to that which is practiced by all nations. The latter is called a "Counter Code." Many rhetorical questions throughout the speech. The causes of war are stated in a series of questions. Uses few authorities. Quotes Bible and David Lloyd George. Cites anthropologists.

Refutation.--Points out inconsistencies between the moral code taught in the different religions of man and the counter code practiced. This refutation appears toward the center of the speech. The extended imagery seems to reduce the wisdom of the twentieth century man to that which is absurd.

Emotional Proof

Emotions include hate and disgust for war, fear of complete

annihilation of civilization and of man. Emotional appeals: She calls for the preservation of "man-power, food, material, health, money, life." Self-preservation has highest frequency of appeals. Appeals to the motive of mastery by asking for the aid of public opinion to drive out war. Desires hope and high intellectual and moral standards. These last two appeals have much less stress than the appeal to preservation.

Ethical Proof

Creates her own authority in her hypothetical narration. Her concern for the future of man and the serious tone of the speech suggest sincerity of the speaker. Absence of direct good will appeal other than the many first person pronouns in which she identifies herself with the audience in responsibilities of coping with the war problem.

Arrangement

Problem-solution order: The introduction states the problem in the form of a question. How significant is war? Definition of what war is not. Origin of the problem. An image of the status quo of the problem. Brief statement of a number of causes. Briefly stated, what are the results of war? Use of public opinion in solving the problem. When will a solution be put into effect? Both introduction and conclusion are brief and pointedly stated. The introduction is the statement of the problem in the form of a question. The conclusion is a challenge to all people to "arise and drive out war."

Synthesis of Arrangement with the Elements of Invention

Problem-solution is associated with inductive reasoning. The

conclusion rests principally upon one hypothetical case. The conclusion resulted as the residue of the situation described. Cause-effect relation is stated. Its validity rests upon the significance of the hypothetical case illustrating the cause-effect relation. The emotions and the motive appeals are suggested in the imagery, stressed intermittently throughout the speech in the form of rhetorical question, and stated directly in three or four places, one of which is the conclusion. Ethical appeal is distributed intermittently throughout the speech in the form of the first person pronoun. Arrangement reenforces invention in the emergence of a central theme: hate war and drive it out. In this speech ethical proof is subsidiary. Emotional and logical proofs are distributed, with more emphasis upon the emotional than upon the logical proof.

APPENDIX IV

SAMPLINGS OF PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL

Photostats

Letter from Carrie Chapman Catt to the Writer

A Page from the Diary of Carrie Chapman Catt

Letters

Copies of Letters Selected from Those Written by Carrie Chapman Catt to the Writer

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *President*
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70 EAST 45TH STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.
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Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, Indiana
Mrs. George Gellhorn, Missouri
Mrs. Alfred G. Lewis, New York
Miss Ester G. Ogden, New York
Mrs. George A. Pierrot, Florida
Mrs. F. Louis Slade, New York
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, California

120 Paine Avenue
New Rochelle
New York

July 19, 1940

Mrs. Earl Clevenger,
1026 E. Edwards Street,
Edmond, Oklahoma.

Dear Mrs. Clevenger:

I have never considered myself a speaker worthy of imitation. Once, ~~when~~ I was traveling with Miss Anthony and the plan was that she was to make the first speech and when she got through, I was to begin. Sometimes she spoke an hour and sometimes she spoke only five minutes. Upon this particular occasion, a request was made that she should speak last, because some business men were coming late to the meeting. Neither one of us made a good speech.

When we went to the place at which we were staying, I asked Miss Anthony if she ever felt that she had made so bad a speech that she never wanted to make another for that was the way I felt. She replied: "Why, I always feel that way." In a few moments she came to me and said: "After I thought about it a little, I concluded that poor speeches were better than no speeches at all, so I have gone right on." That was really the philosophy of my speeches. I think I was better than nobody at all, but I never thought there was anything in my experience that could teach a Department in Public Speaking how to do it.

If you come to New York, you must let me know in advance. We will arrange to meet and then you may ask me all the questions you want and I will do the best I can to answer them.

Sincerely,

Carrie Chapman Catt

CCC:HW.

Uitenhage and Benoni. We "did" Bulawayo while passing through and visited Victoria Falls for pleasure. This makes 13 towns visited, including the capitols of the four provinces composing the Union of S. A. and two places in Rhodesia. I conducted the entire correspondence arranging for the trip, engaging hotels, etc. and wrote many letters concerning the convention held in Durban. Several towns invited us to visit them and these invitations I had to decline. I think this part of the work was more arduous than any of the party comprehend. The statistics which follow apply to myself alone, as the program followed was not quite the same for any two of us.

I made 13 public speeches, each exceeding one hour. I made 22 additional speeches, none shorter than 10 minutes and several varying from 40 minutes to one hour -- total 45 speeches.

There were seven receptions; 18 luncheons, 3 being given by Mayoress of Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban, one by Mrs. Botha, wife of the Premier, one by Mrs. Hull, wife of Minister of Finance. I attended 14 afternoon teas; 3 morning teas; 6 dinners; 3 picnics; 12 committee meetings.

Of the 76 days, 11 and a half days full and 11 nights were spent on the train. About two weeks or 14 full days were spent in sightseeing which included four days at Victoria Falls, an excursion to Camp's Bay and a day's drive to Cape Town; a visit to an Ostrich Farm and the Ostrich Market in Pt.Elizabeth; a visit to a farm in Bloemfontein; a visit to the DeBeers Mines in Kimberley; a visit to the Premier mine in Pretoria; a visit to the Dynamite factory in Johannesburg; a visit to a Kaffir Kraal in Maritzburg. Each of the above took the whole of a day, but sometimes tired nature was prodded up to go to something

Letters

Copies of letters from Carrie Chapman Catt to the writer regarding this study are shown. The return address is not repeated as it was the same for each letter.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
120 Paine Avenue
New Rochelle
New York

September 23, 1943

Mrs. Earl Clevenger,
Central State Teachers College,
Edmond, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Clevenger:

Many thanks for your letter just received.

We have been very busy with work demanding immediate attention and, consequently, no copy of the biography, of which I spoke, has been done. I think it is only in the latter pages that something new was added. I will find out what it is and if it is only a few pages, I will get it done soon and attach it to the old biography which would be an easy way to do it. I know you want to take very little out of the whole thing.

Concerning the speeches: I do not know what I have. I am not sure that I will remember the list you have, so I will ask you to make a copy of it and send it to me. Give me a few weeks to go through the papers stored away, which have speeches scattered through them, and if there is anything I can unearth, I will send it to you. I will also make an estimate of the total number of speeches delivered. I am going to deliver one here, in New Rochelle, for the Woman's Club in October. You asked if I still make speeches. I think that may be the last one, but I have thought that before.

Sincerely,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(Signed)

CCC:HW.

October 18th 1943.

My dear Mrs. Clevenger;

My secretary has been ill for some time and is at the moment at a New York hospital awaiting an operation. Consequently I am only writing a brief note to say that I am now, head-over-heels, engaged in a search for anything which might of interest to you. I am going through the papers which have accumulated in fifty-years.

As soon as possible you will hear from me.

Sincerely yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(Signed)

CCC.a.

June 1, 1945

My dear Mrs. Clevenger:

There have been for some time in the attic boxes and barrels and trunks, etc., filled with papers. I did not know exactly what each receptacle contained, but there were some speeches among them, I knew. We began to do something about that accumulation when the government told us that we were likely to be bombed and the house set on fire and especially would it burn briskly, clear down to the cellar, if there were papers in the attic. We did not have time to get rid of the receptacles, but we moved them around from place to place where they would be safer. Now we are going through these papers and making bonfires of many of them. We have separated the speeches and have gotten them all together and are now trying to do something about them. Most of them will be burned. Miss Peck has been helping me and she has collected a big box full of duplicates. That means that the speeches have been typed, although not necessarily the whole speech, nor does it mean that they were corrected. It means that they were an abridgement, oftentimes designed to give to the press, if they asked for it. In my early days, I never had a written speech unless it was an address for a convention, containing facts which must be carefully verified, and sometimes these speeches were afterward printed. The printed speeches or those that were typed are not necessarily good speeches. It just happened that way. I enclose a list of duplicates that could be sent you and never returned.

If I were going to judge of a person's speechmaking qualities, I should be inclined to think the most important thing was what information or impression the speech conveyed to the hearers, but that is not the factor which a real student of oratory would consider. That would be the literary or the oratorical construction of the speech. But, as I never possessed anything worth noticing of literary or oratorical talent, the only

thing you can judge by is the impression my speeches made and their ability to bring the hearers into agreement with the speaker.

I should say that the two most important speeches I ever made were:

(1) The address to Congress, which was the only one ever made by the suffragists and was printed and distributed to every member as the last word to be said before the last vote was taken asking the submission of the Federal Amendment.

(2) The address made after the submission of the Federal Amendment and which was addressed to the members of the legislatures and I think we distributed it to all the members.

I have not seen or read these speeches for twenty-six years and I do not say that they are not the worst speeches ever made by any human being. I am only saying that they ought to have been the best I made at any time because they were the climax of the campaign.

Now, this list of speeches and articles enclosed, let me repeat, are all duplicate copies, but the number of duplicates is only two or three in most cases. So, I will ask you to tell me which of the ones on this list you possess and I will send you the rest or I will send them all, if you want them. I am inclined to think that the best speeches I ever made were war speeches. A few of those have gotten into this package of duplicates. I could send you some typed copies of the others, but, with the understanding that they would have to be returned.

Very sincerely yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(Signed)

CCC:hr
Enclosure

June 25, 1945

My dear Mrs. Clevenger:

Although we have had the speeches ready to send to you, we have been so exceedingly busy that no one has had time to do them up and write this accompanying note.

I think I told you that we were now working on photographs, the accumulation of fifty years and reposing of late in my attic. We are presenting the results of our work to the Museum at Rochester, Miss Anthony's home, in her memory. We have several very large albums in which pictures have been pasted according to dates and periods and places, and a number of pictures to hang on the wall, the latter of prominent people or pioneers

in the Suffrage Movement. I think we have about 120 of those. And such a job as it has been no one can comprehend. We had no place to do it and yet many places to lay things were necessary. Miss Peck has been helping Miss Wilson and me. The job is a long way from being finished, but we have gotten well along with it.

Now, as to speeches: We have been working at them and I report that at present we have not found the complete sets of three courses of lectures which I gave at different times and which you mentioned. I do not think they would be very necessary anyway. While there are more of the same kind that I am sending you, I think these samples will probably suit your purpose.

In looking over some of them myself, I can see that my purpose was to give the audience some information; tell them something they ought to know and I do not find in any speech any little eloquences or tricks that a really good speaker is always interpolating now and then through his speeches. I never thought I made a good speech when I got through. I did think that the more people who were made to think about the cause I was representing the sooner we would accomplish the suffrage and I thought its accomplishment was put off so long because our work was not of the high class we would have liked to have had it.

I have made a list of speeches of which we found only one copy and we have sent this and will ask you to return the speeches on that particular list. The others can go into the waste basket at your pleasure.

You ask for comments on the speeches. I have no doubt there is something of that kind that can be found but we have not gone over clippings. There are a lot of them but whether any of them were kept because of comments on my speaking remains to be seen. If I find anything containing a big compliment, I will send it to you in a hurry! Anything of that sort will have to come to considerably later. We must get the pictures off our hands first.

If it is as hot in Oklahoma as it is here, you will be in no hurry for it!

Very sincerely yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(Signed)

CCC:hr
Enclosure

July 13, 1945

Dear Mrs. Clevenger:

I am returning your dollar because I consider it is my privilege and duty

to pay the postage on all things I send out from my house. To be sure, you may have an oil well and be making a million a year, in which case you may some time make me a present of a dollar, but not by way of postage, and, if you do not have an oil well, the dollar may come in handy! So, I return it to you. Thank you very much.

Cordially yours,

CARRIE C. CATT

(Signed)

August 20, 1946.

My dear Mrs. Clevenger:

It was good to get your little letter. I am sorry you have lost your supervisor, and I hope your new adviser will be all you could wish.

I am now eighty-seven years old plus nearly eight months. I do a fair day's work, eat three meals a day with fair digestion, sleep pretty well at night, and have not been confined to my bed for a year. I think that is a pretty good report, but I have some ailments. I get tired, I do not walk well, I do not hear well nor see well, but I am here. I am hoping that I may have the honor of being allowed to stay on this earth until they either get into a third war or decide they will not have it. If you have any spare time you might give some attention to that question.

I wish you well in your undertaking, but I must say you might have selected a better cause.

Very sincerely yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(Signed

February 10, 1947.

Dear Mrs. Clevenger:

Many thanks for your good wishes, and some day you will send me something to read and I shall be very glad to read it.

I do not see how you could make much of such a poor subject, but I will save the comments until I have read it.

Down in Oklahoma you ought to be comfortable, but up here we are

now covered with snow and the wind blows cold. Many many people the world over are fairly freezing just now because they have no coal, and some of these people are not too far away from us. If the wise men of this world would stop having wars we might save up enough fuel to keep us warm, enough cotton and wool to make clothes for ourselves, and enough food to give ourselves a fair dinner every day.

With good wishes to you, I am

Very cordially,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(Signed)