AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS

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THESIS

This is to certify that the

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES
OF
WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS

By

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A THESIS

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PREFACE

This thesis has been written in the hope that more people might come to know Woodbridge N. Ferris, the type of speaking he did, and why he was an effective speaker.

The author wishes to thank Professor Paul D. Bagwell, Acting Head of the Departments of Speech, Dramatics and Radio and Head of the Department of Written and Spoken English at Michigan State College, for his guidance and suggestions in the writing of this work. The author is deeply indebted to Mrs. Lucia Morgan Nesom, Professor of Speech at Michigan State College for her constant aid. The author also wishes to acknowledge the help of George N. Fuller, past Michigan Historical Commissioner, in locating some of Ferris' speeches, and likewise the help of Mr. Edmund C. Shields, particularly for the use of his personal records and scrapbooks. To those who gave of their time for personal interviews, the author is grateful.

Further acknowledgement is due the staffs of the Michigan State Library, Lansing, the University of Michigan Library at Ann Arbor, the Michigan State College Library at East Lansing, the Grand Rapids (Michigan) Public Library, and the Department of Historical Collections, Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Final acknowledgement is made to Mrs. Clyde Dow, typist, who worked closely with the author to complete this work.

ABSTRACT

Woodbridge Nathan Ferris, an educator, governor, and United States senator, was born near Spencer, Tioga County, New York, January 6, 1853. He attended the academies of Spencer, Candor, and Oswego, in New York state, and the Oswego Normal Training School, and entered the medical department at the University of Michigan. After six months he left the University to become principal of the Free Academy at Spencer, New York. In 1875 he organized the Freeport Business College and Academy at Freeport, Illinois. From 1877 to 1879 he was principal of the Dixon Business College and Academy, which he founded, and from 1879 to 1884, was superintendent of the schools of Pittsfield, Illinois. He founded the Ferris Industrial School (now Ferris Institute) in 1884, and served as president until his death. He was also president of the Big Rapids (Michigan) Savings Bank.

He entered politics in 1892, when the Democrats of the 11th Michigan District nominated him for representative in Congress. He was defeated, as he was in his race for Governor of Michigan in 1904. However, in 1912 he was elected Governor of Michigan and was re-elected in 1914. In 1922, Ferris was elected the first Democratic senator from the state of Michigan in sixty-nine years. He served as a senator until his death in 1928.

The problem involved in this thesis was to collect, in so far as possible, the original speeches of Woodbridge

N. Ferris. These speeches are of various types, such as a campaign speech, a message to the legislature, an occasional speech, and a dedication speech. The speeches have been analyzed for their content and style. In the analysis the speaker, the audience, and the issues of the times have all been taken into consideration.

The author of this thesis does not try to prove that Ferris was a great orator, but rather points out how and why Ferris was an effective speaker.

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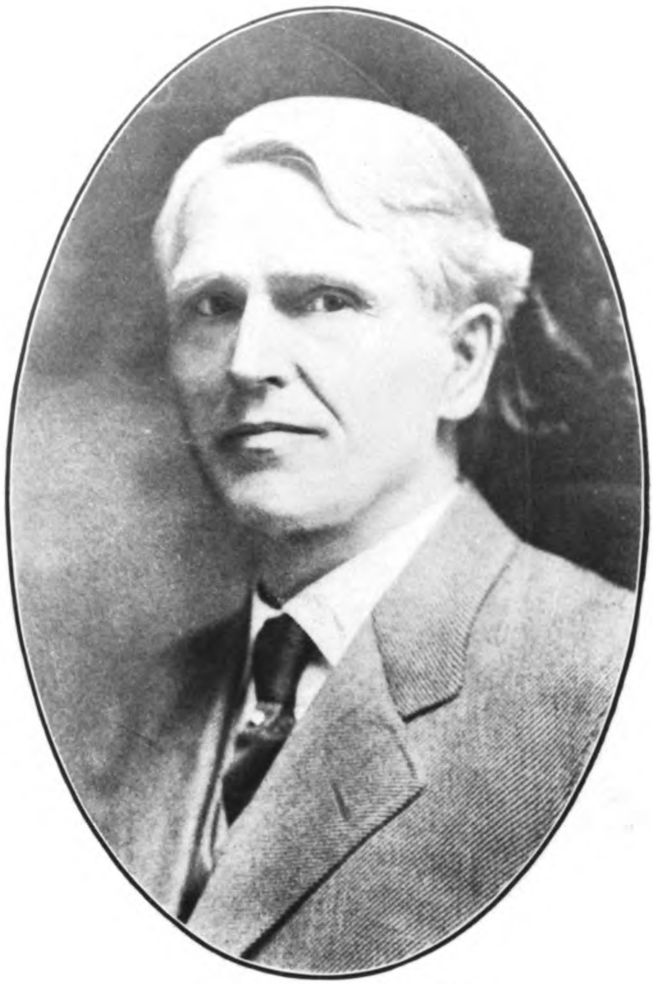

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

INTRODUCTION

Woodbridge N. Ferris was one of Michigan's outstanding citizens from 1885, until his death in 1928. Born in Tioga County, New York, in 1853, Ferris first came to Michigan in 1872. In 1884 he established the Ferris Institute at Big Rapids, Michigan.

Ferris entered politics for the first time in 1892, and in 1904 was chosen Democratic nominee for governor. Although he did not win the election at this time, later, in 1912, he was the first Democratic Governor of Michigan to be elected in 25 years. He served as governor for two terms and in 1922 was elected the first Democratic senator to represent Michigan in sixty-nine years.

Woodbridge Ferris came from a poverty-striken family which had little cultural background. Because he overcame many importunities in life and reached the top in his profession and in politics, my interest in his speaking ability was aroused. I was curious to know if his success could be attributed to his speech making.

The major part of the research of this thesis has been in locating the speeches of Ferris. He was classified as an extemporaneous speaker, and nowhere is there a collection of his speeches. The speeches used for analysis in this thesis were: those which have been stenographically recorded; those which appear in government documents such as the Congressional Record; those which were found in the autobiographical manuscript of Ferris. In some instances

newspaper accounts have been used if they help to exemplify a point. For example, a description of Ferris as he was speaking was taken from the Detroit papers; sometimes the newspaper accounts of people's reaction to Ferris' speeches was the only available source of information.

The thesis includes a background of the life of Ferris, as it is necessary to consider the life of the speaker and the times in which he lived before a complete analysis can be made. The analysis of the speeches has been made according to certain criteria stemming from the concepts of basic communication rather than on the basis of Aristotelian rhetoric.

In addition to some of the major speech principles of Ferris, there will be found in the appendix a cross section of the different types of speeches Ferris gave, such as: a legislative speech, an educational speech, an acceptance speech, and an after dinner speech.

Chapter I

BIOGRAPHY

BIOGRAPHY

Family Background

Woodbridge Nathan Ferris was born January 6, 1853 in a log cabin on a farm in Tioga County, New York. His ancestors came from England to Westchester County, New York, and from there they went to the town of Spencer, New York. The family were farmers by occupation and poverty prevailed for several generations. As a consequence of this poverty, John Ferris, Jr. (Woodbridge's father) received no education.[1]

At a very early age John Ferris, Jr. married Sarah Woodward who died two years later. When he was 28 years old, John Ferris, Jr. married Stella Reed. The couple settled in the midst of a hemlock forest of 60 or 70 acres, four miles southeast of the village of Spencer. It was here that Woodbridge and four other Ferris children, Sarah, Anne, Marjette, and Olive, were born.[2]

John Ferris, Jr. had not acquired even the rudiments of an education and could neither read nor write. However, he "was a man of notable industry and strict integrity, and, although unlearned, of keen mind, and excellent judgment."[3] Stella Reed Ferris had a fair common school education and

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[1] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, found in the Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[2] Grand Rapids Herald, Mar. 24, 1928.

[3] George N. Fuller, Governors of The Territory and State of Michigan, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1928, Bulletin No. 16, p. 171.

was "a faithful wife, devoted to her children, and eager that they should make use of every opportunity for education."[1]

The family was very poor, and barely managed to eke out a living. They all lived in one large room in the log house, and consequently the Ferris children learned to get along well together, and they learned the value of hard work.[2]

Early Schooling

At the age of four, Woodbridge entered school. During the first three years of school his entire school equipment consisted of a reader.[3] For him life in the school room was a burden. "He describes the moral atmosphere of the school in his day as worse than that of the Bowery."[4]

In spite of poor school supplies and monetary disadvantages, Woodbridge was a very capable student. He worked on the farm during the summer and attended the district school during the winter. "The first teacher, Senator Ferris said, who aroused in him the 'desire to do something and be something' was William Holdridge, who came to the school when Ferris was twelve years old."[5]

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript.
[3] Grand Rapids Herald, Mar. 24, 1928.
[4] Current School Topics, Lansing, Michigan, (November 24, 1922) p. 1.
[5] Grand Rapids Herald, Mar. 24, 1928.

Then, "chancing upon a copy of Franklin's autobiography, he was filled with ambition to lift himself out of his uncouth environment. He became a voracious reader."[1] "'The thought dawned on me that if Benjamin Franklin had succeeded in making so much of himself, I might do something for myself, too. I began to read every book I could lay hands on, which wasn't very many. That fall I presented myself to an academy four miles away'"[2]

Ferris was then fourteen, and the school was the Spencer Union Academy. Here he made rapid progress, but did not enjoy school because the village boys and girls ridiculed Ferris' awkward manners and ill-fitting clothes. This incident in Ferris' life probably accounts for the fact that later in life he favored poor pupils in his own institute. At the Union Academy, Ferris' one close friend was George Barker Stevens, who later held the Dwight chair of theology at Yale and was at one time acting president of Yale.[3]

In the spring, following his sixteenth birthday, Ferris entered the Candor Union Academy, eight miles from his home. At this school he still found himself in embarrassing situations, but later "spoke with appreciation of the principal, Charles Evans, as a man under whom the

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Christian Science Monitor, Boston, November 17, 1922.
[3] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.

them for $1.25. Ferris obtained a money order and purchased his book. The book was O. S. Fowler's Memory; the first book Ferris ever had in his library. He then read two companion volumes and became interested in phrenology. "'I am aware that the word phrenology is likely to alarm the reader', wrote Senator Ferris, many years later, 'but it was through these books that I was awakened to an appreciation of the value of the study of human nature. No small part of my success in life is due to this awakening.'"[1]

That fall Ferris attended his second teachers' institute where he heard the president of Cortland Normal School speak on science teaching. "'Then and there', said the senator, 'I decided to attend a normal school as soon as my means would permit. I have often referred to this event in my life. This event has induced me to advise men and women to read, to attend teachers' institutes, educational associations, religious associations, and farmers' meetings in the hope that a 40 minutes' talk or even a 20 minutes' talk might awaken in the attendant new visions.'"[2]

Ferris taught for a second term at Fairfield and then entered Oswego Normal in 1870. His interest in speech was shown when he assisted in organizing a literary and debating society known as the Adelphi society. This activity

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.
[2] Ibid.

increased his desire to develop power as a public speaker. "The training he received in the debates and other exercises, confirmed his belief in the value of extemporaneous speaking as part of a really useful education."[1]

Another great influence in Ferris' life while he was at Oswego was the president, Dr. E. A. Sheldon. "The splendid character of this instructor moulded the boy's life for the good of thousands of aspiring young men and women."[2]

Ferris remained at the Normal School three years. He was lacking one-half year of graduation, but he felt that his academic work was completed and that it would not be wise for him to spend another six months on "practice work" because of the time and money involved.[3]

While at the Normal School, Ferris came across his first copy of the magazine Popular Science, and economized for weeks in order to be able to buy it. In his library, several years later the magazine was found in a complete file up to date. By 1912 that same library contained 3,500 or more volumes.[4]

In October of 1873, Woodbridge Ferris entered the medical department of the University of Michigan with the idea it would help him as a school teacher.[5] The course

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[1] Fuller, Governors of The Territory and State of Michigan, p. 172.
[2] Current School Topics, Op. Cit. p. 1.
[3] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.
[4] Detroit News, October 23, 1912, p. 11.
[5] Current School Topics, Op. Cit. p. 1.

was brief and ill-organized, but a "few fine lectures on general subjects were outstanding events in his Ann Arbor experience."[1]

Education as a Profession

Upon leaving Ann Arbor in 1874, Ferris returned to Spencer where he found that the academy was in need of a principal. He applied for the job and received it, at which time he was just twenty-one years old. The following December he was married to Helen Gillespie. Miss Gillespie had been a class mate of Ferris during his entire attendance at the normal school. After their marriage, the two taught the remainder of the year at Spencer, and the following year went to Freeport, Stephenson County, Illinois.

In Freeport, Mr. and Mrs. Ferris organized the Freeport Business Academy. "The school developed promisingly, but Ferris was induced to discontinue it in 1876 to become principal of the normal department of what was then called the Rock River University."[2] This venture as principal was a failure. Mr. and Mrs. Ferris did not receive the salary that was due them, so the following year they organized another private academy. This was the Dixon Business College. The future for a private school in the town of Dixon was not too promising so the school was closed in 1879. It was while Ferris was at Dixon that he drove to the town of

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.
[2] Ibid.

Sterling, sixteen miles from Dixon to hear the lecture, "The Human Mind" by Theodore Tilton. "It is to this lecture that students who listen to Mr. Ferris owe the insistence with which he urges them to neglect no opportunity of hearing public speeches, especially addresses by great men. The lecture accounts, too, for the wonderful array of talent which has been heard from the platform of Ferris Institute -- a list of noted names of which any institution might be proud."[1]

In the fall of 1879, Mr. Ferris became superintendent of the city schools of Pittsfield, Illinois. "Here he remained for five years. He believed, however, that he could do his best work where he was free to carry out his own ideas, and he now determined to establish somewhere a school of his own."[2]

In May, 1884, the Ferris family arrived in Big Rapids, Michigan. The first Monday in September of that same fall the Ferris Industrial School was opened. He chose this place "because he wanted to give the children of the lumber-jacks and river-rats a chance in this world."[3] The school consisted of two small rooms in the downtown section and fifteen students came the first day. Mr. and

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[1] Fuller, Governors of The Territory and State of Michigan, p. 172.

[2] Ibid., p. 174.

[3] Christian Science Monitor, November 17, 1922, p. 4.

While Mr. and Mrs. Ferris were still in Dixon, their first son, Carleton G. Ferris, was born, 1876.

Mrs. Ferris did all the teaching which was along the commercial and normal lines of study. The school grew so rapidly that more rooms had to be rented and more teachers added.

Political Defeat

In 1892 Ferris entered into politics for the first time. He accepted the Democratic nomination for congress in the old eleventh district. However, he was defeated in the election in which his opponent was Dr. John Avery of Greenville.[1]

Ferris Institute

Ferris returned to his teaching, and in 1893, the main building of Ferris Institute was built. "As a schoolmaster Ferris was a man of great influence and forceful character. Attention never lagged in his classes, and for long it was his pleasure to teach some of the arithmetic classes personally. None of his students ever dreamed through a class period."[2]

Although the school was originally organized as a business school, by 1909 such subjects as orthography and elocution were being taught. The orthography class included the teaching of elementary sounds and their representation; voice and its production; speech and pronunciation; principal and subordinate elements of words. Fur-

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1926.
[2] Ibid.

In 1889, another son, Phelps Fitch Ferris was born.

ther, the elocution class included: emphasis, picturing, tone colors, quality, voice production, resonance, projection, gesture, attitude, bearing, recitation and exercises in criticism. The second year of elocution brought out the elements of modulation, simplicity, energy, poetic and prose forms, dialogue, monologue, oratory, pantomime, recitation for criticism and public recitals. By 1913 public speaking and debating were also a part of the school curriculum.[1] "From one to three debating classes were always held in connection with Ferris Institute and to the benefits of this practice, Senator Ferris declared his students owed a large measure of their public success."[2]

The Ferris Institute continued to grow, and while Ferris was teaching there, he often lectured at teachers' institutes and rural organizations, or gave commencement day addresses.

Influence of Mrs. Ferris

Much of Ferris' success can be attributed to his first wife, the former Helen Gillespie, who was a constant inspiration to her husband.

She was a graduate of Oswego Normal and made teaching her profession. Mr. and Mrs. Ferris spent most of their married life teaching together. She was his only

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[1] Ferris Institute Bulletins for 1909, 1913, Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan.

[2] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.

aid when he opened his institute, and she continued to work with him for several years. "Her work and influence have been a great value to the institution and have made possible whatever success Mr. Ferris has attained."[1]

"Hundreds of students have precious memories of her inspiring instruction and self-sacrifice."[2]

It was not until 1901 that she withdrew from the active teaching staff of the institute. Mrs. Ferris died on March 23, 1917. "To her influence on the student body and her inspiration, her husband paid tribute repeatedly."[3]

Entrance in Politics

In 1904 Ferris was chosen Democratic nominee for governor. Although he lost the election, it is said that he threw a scare into the Republican party by running ahead of his ticket, even in the face of President Roosevelt's popularity and the general unpopularity of the Democratic party in Michigan. Ferris commented on this campaign by saying, "I made a heated campaign, but lost in the election. I found a great deal of satisfaction, however, in the knowledge that Warner ran 169,337 votes behind his ticket."[4]

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[1] Fuller, George N., Michigan Biographies, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1924, Vol. I, p. 289.

[2] Fuller, Governors of The Territory and State of Michigan, p. 175.

[3] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.

[4] Ibid.

Eight years later, on July 18, 1912, Ferris announced that he would again run for governor. This time Ferris made a great deal of his campaign. He believed in "a day's wage for a day's work", the referendum, the recall, and a new primary law. He was greatly opposed to the trusts and did much to fight them. He fully backed the Democratic platform.[1] His views in this campaign can be briefly summed up by quoting from one of his campaign speeches. "'If I am elected governor,' said Ferris, in conclusion, 'I will carry out the democracy I have been teaching for 28 years. I have made no promises except to the people of Michigan. I would not be governor for any clique or political machine, but governor for all the people of Michigan. And I would give you the best government my heart and brain could give you.'"[2]

The Detroit News for November 3, 1912, carried the head lines that a record-breaking vote was indicated throughout the city. Then, on November 6, came the news that Ferris had been elected governor by a plurality of 25,000. In a comment on the returns of the election, the Detroit News then wrote:

> Ferris defeated Musselman in Kent County where Musselman lives and where it was expected the Republican candidate would make a very strong run. He carried such strong Republican counties as Genesee, St. Clair, and Saginaw.

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[1] Detroit News, July 20, 1912.
[2] Ibid.

At this time many people accredited Ferris' success to the split in the Republican party. In July, 1912, part of the Republican party broke away to form the National Progressive Party, more commonly known as the Bull Moose Party.[1] This new party was represented by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency and the old Republican party was supporting Taft. This rift in the Republican party was characteristic of the state also. The previous strength of the party can be realized by this quotation from the Detroit News of July 12, 1912:

> Michigan should give its 15 electoral votes to Taft next November. It has been consistently Republican for many years, although Taft's plurality of 158,694 in 1908 was cut down to 43,033 for Osborn, Republican candidate for governor in 1910. The Legislature has a Republican majority of 100. The senate sends two Republican senators and ten Republican representatives to Congress with two Democrats in the House.

On July 24, 1912, the Detroit News quoted Governor Osborn as saying:

> . . . it is going to require keen competition on the part of the Republican party and the new party to make such a showing as will prevent the country from acknowledging the momentary superiority of the Democratic party.

One can readily see that the division of the Republican party may have gained votes for Ferris.

Still others inferred that Ferris waited until

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[1] Detroit Free Press, July 20, 1912.

Wilson had been nominated on the Democratic ticket for the presidency, before he accepted the nomination for governor. However, Ferris proved his ability as governor, and was re-elected in 1914.

Governor of Michigan

It was during Ferris' first term of office, 1913, that the great copper strike of Michigan took place. The stated grievances of the miners were, eight hours for a day's work, wage increases and the question of the "one man machine." The operators of the mine did not want to recognize the Western Federation of Miners Union. Ferris sent troops to the Upper Peninsula to keep order, then proceeded to settle the strike by arbitration.

"The manner in which that great problem was handled was the manner of Ferris, and the achievement that was made was his under circumstances of great emergency; and what was done reflected great honor to the State of Michigan under the leadership of this man."[1]

One of the arbitrators who was called in to help settle the strike was the great criminal lawyer, Clarence Darrow of Chicago. When the strike was all settled, Darrow paid an outstanding tribute to the fairness of the governor:

> I have in my time met many governors who were trying to help settle industrial wars, but I want

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[1] Congressional Record, 70th Congress, 1st Session, May 6, 1928, Memorial Addresses of Woodbridge N. Ferris, p. 25. Hereafter referred to as Memorial Addresses.

> to say that I never ran across a man in any official position who was fairer and squarer than Governor Ferris. He has treated me and all of the representatives of the miners with the utmost courtesy. He has tried as hard as he knows to settle the copper strike and he has been absolutely fair in all his dealings.
>
> I approve of his action in sending the troops there and in so far as has come to my notice, he hasn't made a move which was not above suspicion. He is above petty things and in this crisis has shown himself to be a man -- a really big and great man. Would that more states in the Union had governors like you have here in Michigan.
>
> Clarence Darrow.[1]

In his 1922 campaign Ferris referred to his "tenure as governor and said that while there was nothing pyrotechnic about his administration, it gave reasonably good service to the people considering that the legislature was overwhelmingly Republican."[2]

In 1914 Ferris was reelected for Governor, having defeated Chase S. Osborn who previously had served two terms as governor. In the 1914 election, Ferris' success was shared alone, for he was the only one on the Democratic ticket to win in the election. He did not run for a third term in 1916, but was on the Democratic ticket for governor again in 1920. In speaking of this election Ferris said, "I was placed on the ballot again for the governorship

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[1] Lansing Evening Press, September 12, 1913.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, October 10, 1922.

On August 14, 1921, Ferris married Miss Ethel McCloud, of Indianapolis, Indiana. She was a graduate of the Department of Music, DePauw University and of the Music Department of Northwestern University. She had supervised music for fifteen years. (Fuller, Governors of The Territory and State of Michigan, p. 175.

against my wishes. I did very little campaigning and was defeated by Albert E. Sleeper."[1]

Campaign for Senator

Ferris was not defeated for long. In 1922 he came back on the Democratic ticket for U. S. Senator. About this campaign Ferris said:

> I decided to enter the campaign with all my strength. I decided to fight to the last ditch. I planned on waging a campaign that the Republicans would not forget in a hurry, even if I was beaten. My campaign for the senatorship was the most intensive, the most strenuous, and unquestionably the best organized of any campaign I ever participated in.[2]

One can readily see the enthusiasm which was displayed for Ferris by reviewing the Grand Rapids Herald, September 28, 1922, which carried an article on the "Democrats of the State on the Eve of Convention." The article states:

> Former Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris of Big Rapids, the party's nominee for the U. S. Senate, was the figure around whom the arriving Democrats rallied for the most part.
>
> So strong was the spirit in behalf of the former governor and the aspirant for the state political honors that the mapping of a platform, selection of probable nominees for lesser offices, and the matters usually disposed of the evening before a political convention were all but forgotten.
>
> The highlight of the meeting, it was agreed by all in authority, will be the appearance on the speakers' platform of the senatorial

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.
[2] Ibid.

nominee.[1]

The great issue in the 1922 campaign was "Newberryism", which centered around the idea that Senator Newberry had violated the corrupt practices law to gain his seat in the senate.

Practically every political speech Ferris made during this campaign involved this Newberry issue. "He waded into Newberryism with both fists and both feet, declaring that it is a fundamental issue, and that he could not face the youth of today and urge them to obey laws when men in such high places so flagrantly violated them and were allowed to go unpunished. 'If I go to the senate', he said, 'I shall aid by every possible means at my command both Republicans and Democrats in reopening the Newberry case, and in putting him out of the senate.'"[2]

The rest of Ferris' political views can be summed up by quoting the Current School Topics for November 24, 1922:

> He likes Henry Ford, believes in the soldier bonus, opposes the abuse of the injunction, is dry, wants to see the excess profits tax come back and war profiteers fined and jailed, favors the Oregon plan of publicity for candidates in the primaries, hopes for a League of Nations in which this country will take a leading part, is down on the ship subsidy, thinks the tariff is monstrous, and glories in the spunk of the independent voter.

On November 9, 1922, the Grand Rapids Herald carried

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, September 28, 1922.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, November 9, 1922.

the head lines: "Ferris Election Gives State First Democrat Senator in 70 Years." The following comment was also made: ". . . one of the most bitterly fought political contests in the state's history." The final result was: Ferris 269,507 votes; Townsend, his opponent, 252,510. So successful was Ferris' campaign that the day after election a notice appeared in the papers to the effect that Newberry would now resign from the senate. "Reports are current in Republican quarters here tonight that Senator Truman H. Newberry will probably resign his seat in the senate as a result of yesterday's election."[1]

Ferris in the Senate

Ferris was 69 years old when he entered the Senate. His opponents expected him to continue his speech making at great length. However, quite to the contrary, Ferris made very few speeches in the Senate. This unexpected reticence can perhaps be explained by the following article found in the Grand Rapids Press of March 23, 1928:

> Senator Ferris was disgusted at filibusters, 'senatorial courtesy', unlimited debate and continual injection of the political element into every public question before the senate. This unfavorable reaction was responsible for his failure to make speeches in the senate. As a matter of fact he frequently accepted invitations to speak on educational subjects in various parts of the country.

In his memorial address to Ferris, Senator Fess of Ohio said, "As a personal friend of his for 30 years,

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, November 9, 1922.

knowing his remarkable ability, often having been stirred by his clarion voice, I have sat here and wished that the opportunity would offer when Ferris of the days when I knew him would be heard in this Chamber. But he chose rather the silent course. He did most of his work in the committee rooms and in his counsel."[1]

Further, Senator Sheppard of Texas said, "He spoke rarely, because speeches rarely affect the action of this body. He delivered in the Senate on one occasion an argument of some length for prohibition which was one of the best presentations that cause has ever had."[2]

Ferris spoke also upon an agricultural bill, and in favor of the World Court. That was the extent of his senatorial speeches. He had prepared a speech in favor of a Federal Department of Education, but died before he was able to deliver it. (See Appendix for the speech.)

On March 7, 1928, Ferris announced he would not be a candidate for election. He said:

> I feel it is time I had a vacation and really took time to live. I want it distinctly understood that I do not decline to run because of any fear of the result. It is only in great emergencies that a Democrat can be elected in Michigan, but even if I felt sure of being defeated, that would not deter me from running if I thought I owed that duty to those who have supported me.[3]

On March 23, 1928, Senator Ferris died.

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[1] Memorial Addresses, p. 25-26.
[2] Ibid., p. 37.
[3] Ibid., p. 37.

Personality and Character of Ferris

In order to adequately analyze the speeches of a man, one must first understand something of the man's personality and character.

Much of Ferris' personality and character are apparent from the foregoing biography. One can see that he was a hard worker, was sincere and earnest; that he believed in equality and always favored the poor. He was fair and honest in his public service. His attributes can best be set forth by quoting from those who actually knew him.

Arnold Mulder, in the Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1937, said, "Mr. Ferris had that mysterious thing that for want of a better term we call personality."

When Ferris was elected senator in 1922, the Christian Science Monitor, November 17, wrote: "He is more than a school teacher, He is a stalwart pioneer, a successful business man, a capable executive -- and he fed the fires of the volcanic moral issue that flamed up at the polls against corrupt elections."

"Woodrow Wilson was Senator Ferris' ideal of Statesmanship, combining the same activities he himself had throughout life -- education and public service. His reading was mostly biography, but he preferred the study of men to books."[1]

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[1] Grand Rapids Press, March 23, 1928.

In the memorial address made by Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, one finds this tribute: "He was simple and kindly. He was stern, yet merciful. He uplifted truth and crushed deception. He exalted the weak and humbled the strong. He lived for his ideals. He died upon an unsullied shield."[1]

"He was a dynamo, a bundle of nerve force, a fighter in the ranks of Democracy more because of his enthusiasm for its principles than for any emolument the party might confer upon him."[2]

In Dr. Wishart's Eulogy to Senator Ferris we read: "The loss of Woodbridge N. Ferris is felt by all the people in this state and by a host of friends beyond it. He was a man of rare qualities and attractive personality, admired and loved by all who knew him. They believed in him. His honesty and courage no one doubted. . . he was genuine and sincere. He hated show and pretense. . . his influence was that of all true men who uphold real values and contend for righteousness and justice. . . he believed in self-discipline, hard work, simple honesty and loyalty to duty."[3]

Speech Training

Having already considered the important facts in Ferris' life, one must also investigate his speech training apart from the rest of his education, to see what important

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, May 7, 1928.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.
[3] Ibid.

factors, if any, developed his speaking ability.

There is no record of any formal speech training. The records at Oswego Normal and the University of Michigan Medical School were very poorly kept, in the 1800's, and there is no accurate account of the classes in which Ferris was enrolled.[1] Among the autobiography manuscripts of Ferris, may be found lectures he attended, but there is no mention of his having been a member of a formal speech class. He said that the subject of psychology was not so much as formally mentioned.[2]

There are, however, incidents in Ferris' life which undoubtedly had a direct bearing upon his speaking ability.

When Ferris was about seven years old, the Civil War broke out. John Ferris (the father) was intensely interested in the events of the times and subscribed to the papers which he was unable to read. It became the duty of Woodbridge to read to his father, and because the father was slightly deaf, the small boy had to use great care in his articulation, as the father would become angered if young Ferris raised his voice. "The clearness of enunciation the boy developed remained a characteristic of his speech all the rest of his life.[3]

At the age of eight, Woodbridge Ferris gave his

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[1] From personal correspondence with Oswego Normal, Oswego, New York, and the University of Michigan Medical School, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
[2] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 121.
[3] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.

first declamation. The story is told by his former teacher, Mrs. Susan Haight, how Ferris tried to introduce a novelty by "motioning off" his declamation. "The grinning schoolboy audience tried to divert the youthful orator, but he kept on successfully to the end of his recitation."[1]

However, in the autobiographical manuscript of Ferris, page 131, we find these words: "As a lad I longed for the day to come when I might be able to speak to great audiences. Through inheritance and early training I had no right to hope for success as a speaker. When I was a pupil in the old country school I was required to 'speak a piece' every two weeks. This task was the horror of my boyhood days. In no instance, during those early years, did I ever succeed in reciting a selection of prose or poetry. Stage fright made it impossible for me to succeed."

Young Ferris was always interested in listening to others speak. He wrote: "Accompanying my father to hear public speakers became a passion of mine. When I attended the Spencer, the Candor, and the Oswego Academies, the Oswego Normal and Training School, and the University of Michigan, I made all kinds of personal sacrifices in order to hear great orators.

"Before I was 21, I had heard James Chaplin Beecher, Thomas K. Beecher, and Henry Ward Beecher preach in their

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[1]Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.

own pulpits. I had also heard Mrs. Harriett Beecher Stowe, read from her own writings. At Oswego, New York, I heard that matchless temperance orator, John B. Gough, and political orators of the highest rank -- Roscoe Conklin, Frederick Douglass, S. S. Cox, and Stewart L. Woodford."[1]

At the Oswego Normal and Training School Ferris was one of the original organizers of the Adelphi Society. "At first only men were admitted. The members of this society held weekly meetings and the program involved little besides a hotly contested debate. My first efforts were humiliating failures. I never whimpered or wavered. At the end of two and a half years I was an ordinary speaker."[2]

In October of 1872 Ferris decided to leave New York state. He went to Pontiac, Michigan, and gave a series of lectures on "Phrenology." In 1873, at the close of school, he lectured in Skaneateles, New York. Prior to 1884, most of Ferris' speeches were of an educational nature, but that fall the Blaine-Cleveland campaign was on. Ferris wrote, "Out of pure sympathy for the few Democrats in Mecosta County I discussed the political issues of the day in the villages and the rural school houses of the county."[3]

In 1890, he began giving a lecture under the title of, "Making the World Better." "This was the real begin-

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[1] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 130.
[2] Ibid., p. 131.
[3] Ibid.

ning of my lecture work," wrote Ferris.[1]

To further aid him in his speaking, Ferris became acquainted with Ingersoll's works and memorized various selections from them. If called upon unexpectedly to speak, he used to quote these selections. Ferris once said, "I sometimes quote Ingersoll because I believe in picking a jewel wherever I find it."[2]

It is apparent that whatever speaking ability Ferris possessed was not due to any formal speech training. He had a native ability for speaking to people. Moreover, he had a desire to be a capable speaker and he worked toward that end.

In the mamuscript of Ferris' autobiography (p. 124) we find this statement: "In childhood, speech is the all important art unless the art of thinking shall be given first consideration." Perhaps it is this feeling of the importance of speech which helped Ferris to develop his speaking ability.

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, March 24, 1928.

Chapter II

SPEECH PRINCIPLES AND PREMISES

SPEECH PRINCIPLES AND PREMISES

Woodbridge N. Ferris devoted his entire life to serving the public. From the age of 17, until his death, he was a public servant, first as an educator, then as a governor and a senator. His career can be divided into the two main categories of (1) educator and (2) politician.

His points of view in both of these categories were always those which benefited the masses, and he usually favored the poorer class of people.

Views on Education

In his autobiographical manuscript Ferris wrote: "I am a democrat in education. I believe in the education of all of the people all of the time." (p. 109).

On March 1, 1926, Ferris spoke to the Detroit Open Forum on "Sanity in Education." Here is part of that speech:

> Standardization is the real calamity in education. The isolation of the individual has destroyed the character building value of the school. There is not enough intimate contact between pupils and teachers, especially in the higher institutions of learning. Dr. Little is to be commended for his attempt to break down the aloofness between students and professors at the University of Michigan.
>
> Rigid, inflexible courses and cast iron curricula have made an educational machine, attuned to the idea of grades and ages. What we need is education for all of the people all of the time. Learning isn't necessarily confined to youth. When you think that your education is finished, don't hang around any longer, take chloroform and make a permanent departure.
>
> Education does not always depend on schools

> and books. Learning to use the brain and the senses is the real purpose of all education. How to make the most of your environment is what you need to know. How thankful America should be that some millionaire didn't discover Lincoln and send him through college and thus deprive him of the contacts and experience that made him great. A great many formal schools need a resurrection to awaken the dead.
>
> The school can't do everything and there are some of the elemental teachings that must come from the home life of the child.
>
> Self-reliance and self-sacrifice, obedience, sobriety, and truths are old fashioned virtues that should be taught at home. It is highly probable that the present open violation of law has some relation to the disintegration of the American home.

The above speech was found in the autobiographical manuscript of Ferris. There undoubtedly was more to the speech, but this much gives us an idea of Ferris' speech principles in regard to education. For a complete speech on education given at the education institute, see Appendix.

Democracy

As for politics, Ferris was a Democrat by party affiliation. He also seemed to uphold the principles upon which a democracy is founded. At the time of Ferris' gubernatorial success in 1912, one read in the Detroit Free Press of November 30, "Professor Ferris was a Wilson man from start to finish. Governor Ferris may be said to represent the liberal Democracy."

As Governor of the state of Michigan, Ferris tried to practice his belief in democracy. This is the type of account which was current during his administration. "When

Governor Ferris sends his appoints to the senate for the confirmation probably this afternoon, he will include in the list twenty-two men appointed by Governor Osborn (former governor). That is the new Democracy for which Woodbridge N. Ferris stands. That is how Woodbridge N. Ferris starts off independently in a non-partisan spirit."[1]

Another report from the Pontiac Press Gazette of December 11, 1912, read: "Fitness rather than political faith of a man is swaying Gov-elect Woodbridge N. Ferris in making his appointment. 'In several instances,' he said, 'I have chosen men whose political faith I do not know. The men that I have selected are qualified for the position.'"

This deep-rooted belief in democracy was often the keynote of a Ferris speech. The speech he made in Grand Rapids, Michigan, after his election to the governorship, helps to exemplify this point.

"When Woodbridge N. Ferris rose he was greeted with wild applause. He went at it in his usual forceful style and drove home in a few minutes' talk a whole lot of things he expects to accomplish and the things he believes in as governor:"

> All I can say for myself is that in the 28 years I have been in Michigan I have tried to be of service to every man, woman and child who has crossed my path. I take no credit for that, for it has made me happier. But that is

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[1]Menominee Herald Leader, January 3, 1913.

a function of government and that is a function that I shall try to exercise as governor of Michigan.

I shall do my level best to further methods of direct election by placing upon the statute books a primary law that will not be a disgrace to the state of Michigan. I want to see the Australian ballot made more perfect and I want it made so that any man can go into the booth and intelligently mark his ballot to vote for the men he desires to vote for without voting for any picture or other insignia.

The buying of offices through the use of money has gone. By that I mean Lorimerism is dead. Spoilation in municipal elections ought to be dead and the time is coming when it will be. Appointments made simply as political rewards should not be tolerated. Competency and efficiency must come first. If Governor Wilson and Governor Ferris and other Democratic executives fail in this there won't be enough left of us in two years to wad an old-fashioned shot gun with.

I believe in the reign of the people. There should be no disfranchisement of anybody or of any class. It should be open to all, regardless of color, religion, race or sex. I believe in the sacredness of office. I am the only Democrat on the state ticket to be elected. . . You Democrats must get it into your heads that just because a man is a Republican he is not a rascal.

It has been intimated to me that after all platforms don't mean much. If they don't, it is high time they did. I hope there will be no Gormans in the United States senate. There is no difference between the Gormans and the Penroses. They all belong to the same breed of hogs. If we don't live up to our platform we ought to go down to everlasting defeat.

I am especially interested in the initiative, referendum and recall, and that is not a third party measure either. It is as old as American history. The land is fundamental I believe and the city and the country must work together. I therefore fully approve that plank in our platform which stands for the creation of a commission of agriculture.

> Bring your Democracy down as closely to the Golden Rule as you can. That must be the cornerstone of the Democracy. We must all be dead sure we serve all the people all the time.[1]

Other examples of Ferris' belief in a democracy are to be found in his Opening Message to the Michigan Legislature, 1913, and his Retiring Message, 1916. These may be found in the Appendix.

Ferris favored all legislation which he thought would be of benefit to the common people. He went on record as having favored the Bills for Common Welfare of Citizens, Increased Compensation for Postal Employees, Increased Pensions to War Veterans, and the Granting of Pensions to Individuals.[2]

In his 1922 campaign one of Ferris' speeches made reference to the soldiers' bonus: "The president's veto of the soldiers' bonus bill was branded as a 'cowardly act' and the long discussion over the bill by congress as a 'poker game in which our fighting sons who risked their lives and suffered untold hardships were used as gambling chips.'"[3]

Whenever possible, Ferris used his speaking ability to promote the fundamentals of a democratic state. He did not make long speeches on all of his beliefs, but one finds references to his principles in various speeches.

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, December 15, 1912.
[2] Congressional Record, Volume 66, Part V, 1925.
[3] Grand Rapids Herald, October 11, 1922.

Tariff

Ferris brought the question of the tariff into his speeches whenever the opportunity arose. In his campaign of 1922, "he flayed the Fordney tariff bill, charging it was made by the interests for the interests."[1] In a later speech he stated "the tariff just enacted was designed to aid big business, rather than citizens as a whole."[2] Further he "declared that if the Payne-Aldrich bill defeated the Republicans in 1912, the Fordney-McCumber measure may do the same thing in 1922. 'This with other influences,' he declared, 'make the sky look blue for democracy.'"[3]

Capitol and Labor

Another principle Ferris liked to bring before the people was the question of capitol and labor. "Discussing industrial unrest Mr. Ferris said a permanent settlement could not be attained until both capitol and labor 'seek justice rather than advantages.'"[4] In the campaign of 1922 he declared "that if the railroads and the mine operators had paid a living wage there would have been no strikes; that there are many employers who employ many men, pay large wages and still prosper."[5]

Since Ferris was an ardent admirer of Henry Ford, he liked to use Ford as an example when expounding on labor

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, September 29, 1922.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, September 23, 1922.
[3] Grand Rapids Herald, October 10, 1922.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Grand Rapids Herald, September 29, 1922.

problems. In one of his speeches he said, "that Henry Ford had solved the problem of capitol and labor in his big industries, and charged that to charge organized labor with responsibility for all the disaster and lawlessness was idiotic."[1] In a speech delivered in Muskegon, Michigan, "He blamed both sides for the coal and labor strikes, but indicated that capitol had the whiphand and therefore should make the first move toward reconciliation in time of trouble."[2]

At the time Ferris was governor, there were no efficient labor mediation laws. It was at this time that Ferris spoke to the people as follows:

> No state in the Union has, up to the present hour enacted an efficient mediation law for the settlement of industrial disputes. That does not mean that hope is to be abandoned. The need of such a law is obvious. Sooner or later the genius of man will formulate a mediation law whereby intelligent public opinion will contribute to the settlement of industrial disputes.
>
> Strikes frequently work irreparable injury to employers; worse than this is an injury to the progressive welfare of the nation. The one everlasting aim to be kept uppermost is justice, not advantage. This is the real meaning of democracy. . . I have worked and prayed for laws that secure equal rights to all and special privileges to none. Capitol and labor cannot make progress as enemies. In a democracy it is absolutely necessary that capitol be loyal to labor and that labor be loyal to capitol. The doctrine of hate and tyranny is the doctrine of destruction.[3]

In summing up the views of capitol and labor as

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, October 11, 1912.
[3] Detroit Free Press, October, 1914.

expressed by Ferris, one could quote him as follows: "I have no objections to money as money, to wealth as wealth, or to corporations as such. I like a dollar as well as anybody does. But I believe the possession of wealth should not be a passport to positions which are barred to the citizens without it."[1]

Woman's Suffrage

In 1913 the question of Woman's Suffrage was very prominent. The issue had been voted upon in the 1912 election, and was defeated. Ferris continued to express his views in favor of the question. At the time Ferris was governor, one read in the Grand Rapids Press, January 2, 1913, "Governor W. N. Ferris heartily endorses the plan of the woman suffrage leaders to push through another resolution and submit it to the state at the April election."

In one of his first speeches as governor Ferris said:

> The opponents of woman suffrage who claim that the ballot would change the nature of women do not know what they are talking about. No mere civic responsibility would bring about a radical change.
>
> Sooner or later they will vote, and if they fail in the next election, have courage and hope of a Democrat who is talking to you. I have an all-abiding faith in civic rights and I am sure that you will eventually triumph. Whatever the consequences may be to me, I will do everything in my power to help you: I would rather have been defeated for governor of Michigan than to have you defeated as they claim you were beaten last fall.[2]

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[1] Allegan Gazette, November 30, 1912.
[2] Detroit Times, January 16, 1913.

Ferris often referred to the rights of women in regard to equal education. So strong was his belief in equal rights for women that he avowed the women of the country were just as much in bondage as the black race.

Newberry Issue

Perhaps the strongest issue Ferris ever fought was the Newberry issue. Senator Newberry had been accused of violating the Corrupt Practices law. He was a very wealthy man from Detroit who was said to have bought votes for his election. He was tried in the Federal Court of Grand Rapids and was found guilty. The case was then taken to a higher court and Newberry was allowed to stay in the Senate. Ferris made this issue the bases for his 1922 campaign. He opened this campaign at a Democratic Convention in Detroit: "He waded into Newberryism with both fists and both feet, declaring that it is a fundamental issue, and that he could not face the youth of today and urge them to obey the laws when men in such high places so flagrantly violated them and were allowed to go unpunished. He declared the Newberry case encourages a disregard for all law, and openly charged that Senator Newberry had 'perjured himself and had proven himself a liar!'"[1]

In another speech made in Holland, Michigan, he said: "I indict the principle, whereby a machine can put a man into the senate to make laws who has cast shame on

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, September 29, 1922.

his state."[1] And in still another speech he declared, "It's the principle of Newberryism to which I decidedly object. . . I have no right to go before the boys and girls in Big Rapids and tell them they can aspire to high public office if Newberryism is to be countenanced."[2]

In speaking of the man, Newberry, Ferris said:

> He was convicted, and a whole lot of foolish people say that because the U. S. Supreme Court set aside the corrupt practices act as unconstitutional, therefore Newberry and his crown have been washed and washed until they are as white as snow.[3]

"So potent had proved the issue of Newberryism -- clean elections, that it made him (Ferris) the first Democratic Senator from Michigan since the Republican Party formed to fight the extension of slavery."[4]

World Court

Although Senator Ferris did not make many speeches in the senate, he did express his views on the World Court:

> Mr. President, the debate in the Senate upon the merits and demerits of the World Court has been illuminating. Able Senators have gone into lengthy discussions on the relation of the World Court to the League of Nations. The functions of the World Court have been clearly and forcefully expounded. I realize that I have not the ability to enlarge upon these discussions. I doubt very much if they can be materially enlarged, except by tedious repetition.
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> The World Court has been under discussion for

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, October 10, 1912.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 347.
[4] Christian Science Monitor, November 17, 1922.

several years, and the greatest statesmen in the world have made their contributions. The discussions on the Senate floor, are broadly speaking, a consensus of these opinions. These discussions are contributed by two groups of Senators -- one group advocating the entrance of the United States into the World Court; the other group maintaining that such entrance is unwise, and that serious dangers are involved in such entrance. No one will question the patriotism and sincerity of the able Senators who have shared in these discussions.

No sane man asserts that the League of Nations, the World Court, or any other international organization is a panacea for perpetual peace. The causes of war exist and always will exist so long as the nations of the earth are not in absolute isolation. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that nations plan for the minimum of destruction, and forever try to avoid a world cataclysm.

Our boys were assured that they were entering the World War to end war, and for no other purpose. To what extent have we fulfilled our promises?

. . .

Important changes have occurred since George Washington issued his warnings to the United States. The industrial world has been revolutionized. In the last 75 years more progess in science and invention has been made than in all the centuries preceding the beginning of this period. This progress was made in the hope that life could and would be conserved. In the World War, through the demands of the cave man's instincts and impulses, science and invention were turned into agencies of destruction. In the world of matter, in the world of things, man has proved himself a giant. In the world of nature he has proved himself a pigmy. The demand of the hour is for human engineering whereby the test of every enterprise shall be the making of men instead of the exploitation of things.

The United States has from time to time caught a glimmer of light and recognized the all-important fact that human relations are subject to laws, and therefore subject to improvement. In this debate there has been an extraordinary degree of skepticism born of fear. Human nature is

fundamentally the same the world over. In the smallest social unit the element of distrust works for disintegration. Lack of faith in the nobler emotions of man opens wide the gate for the ravages of the lower emotions. Distrust works for the destruction of the home, the community, the State, the nation, and the world. Human nature is not static; it is dynamic. It is a long road man has traveled -- from the plane of primitive man to the plane of savagery, from the plane of savagery to the plane of barbarism, and from the plane of barbarism to his present place in civilization. I have faith in his further progress. I admit that just now there seems to be a slump in the human-nature market. The world is not going to the devil, although his present investments are extensive.

The world is one big family. Time and distance have been annihilated. National isolation is a thing of the past. The United States is becoming more and more industrialized, and is therefore increasingly involved in international affairs. The more highly industrialized a nation is the more dependent it is upon other nations of the world for huge quantities of raw materials, such as coal, iron, oil, copper, timber, food, and so forth. The foreign trade is assuming greater and greater importance to the United States.

. . .

Even with huge armies and navies, nations do not feel secure, so they form military alliances. Alliances lead to counteralliances culminating in the balance-of-power system, with continents divided into great armed camps.

Under this régime occasions for war, as in 1914, will continue to arise. It is clearly evident that the nationalist competitive system is a menace to world peace. It is imperative, therefore, that some way should be found to break the vicious circle -- nationalism imperialism militarism alliances, balance of power, crises, war.

This leads to the question, What kind of international organization is needed? At the present hour the need for an international court seems to be imperative. In order to be effective a court must have --

(1) An adequate basis of law upon which to base its decisions;

(2) Permanent judges of high ability, wide experiences, and unquestioned moral integrity;
(3) Compulsory jurisdiction; and
(4) The confidence of the litigant nations.

All of these factors are present in the World Court as it is now organized. I will admit that if militarism, with the other menance of nationalism, is to prevail throughout the world no agency can be established whereby peace can be maintained. Ordinarily preparation for war means war.

To the common man who is unfamiliar with technical distinctions the objections to the World Court seem trifling, or at least not commensurate with the needs of the nations of the earth. The most enthusiastic advocates of the World Court are not foolish enough to anticipate that it is a divine organization, an organization that can adjudicate to the entire satisfaction of the entire world under all circumstances. It has already been stated on the floor of the Senate that the Supreme Court of the United States illustrates in large measure the fundamental method of the World Court. We are not treading on new ground; we are not traveling imaginary roads. In so far as I know, the humblest citizen of the United States recognizes the superb functions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

. . .

From the standpoint of experience we have a right to say that the World Court has been in operation sufficiently long to demonstrate to the world that it can and does successfully perform the functions that the advocates of the World Court proclaim today. Under existing conditions in Europe it looks to me that this is a time for exhibiting our patriotism after the manner we exhibited it during the World War.

. . .

Call entering the World Court an adventure. The question is, Shall the United States make the adventure? I hold that our entering the World Court would be an event that would signalize a turning point in the world's history. I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet, but I have the right, the same as other men, to ex-

> press my hopes and possibly even use my imagination. I believe the conduct of the United States in the World War demonstrates clearly that we are a peace-loving nation, and if we were to enter the World Court, we would not endanger our own welfare nor become a menace to the welfare of other nations. We would become a beacon of light to the world.
>
> I cannot bring myself to believe that even now European nations are plotting the destruction of our great Republic. If secret diplomacy can be forever banished, if the people can have an opportunity to express their wishes, there is not any question in my mind but what the nations of the earth can inter-mingle and can maintain a peaceful family.[1]

One of Ferris' longest speeches made in the Senate was that concerning the Prohibition law. This speech was also declared by some of Ferris' colleagues to have been one of his best speeches. Parts of the speech on prohibition are as follows:

> Mr. President, 60 or more years ago I was a boy on a hill farm of 100 acres in Tioga County, New York. During haying and harvesting father was obliged to employ several helpers. I can recall, without any special effort, hearing those prospective helpers ask my father this question: "Do you furnish good whiskey to your helpers regularly?" By the way, all whiskey in those days was good. There was not the slightest temptation to adulterate it. This question was a prevailing question. Here and there a farmer would not agree to furnish whiskey, and he always found it more or less difficult to secure helpers. My father always answered in the affirmative, and fulfilled his promises.
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> His instructions to me were very specific. He said: "Bring the jug into the hay field at 10 o'clock and give to every man whatever he

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[1] Congressional Record, Volume 67, Part II, 69th Congress, 1st Session (December 19, 1925 - January 18, 1926) pp. 2215-2218.

sees fit to drink. Then hide the jug. At 3 o'-clock bring forth the jug and furnish the men with more whiskey." No drinks were given to the helpers in the morning, or at noon, or at the close of the day.

In order that the picture may be complete, permit me to say that the grass was cut with a hand scythe, spread with an ordinary fork, raked with a hand rake, and drawn to the barn on a long sled.

The whiskey was bought at the grocery store for 25 cents a gallon. This was before the Civil War was well under way, before the government put a tax upon liquors. There were no saloons because there was no opportunity for making a profit on whiskey that could be purchased at the grocery store for 25 cents a gallon. Even the dry goods stores kept a barrel of whiskey for those customers who felt that they needed that kind of refreshment. When the preacher called, father never failed to extend to him the courtesy involved in offering him a drink. Not all of the preachers indulged; not all of the members of the community indulged. At barn raisings and at logging bees whiskey was an essential to the success of the undertaking.

(Here a senator from Missouri interrupted to ask, "What date in history was this golden age.")

Mr. Ferris continued:

I will say that this golden age was about the Civil War time. I am sure the Senator from Missouri is well informed along that line.

No doubt some of the Senators will ask, "Was there a large amount of drunkenness at that time?" This is an exceedingly difficult question to answer with any degree of accuracy. My observations aroused in me -- a boy — a wholesome fear of the consequences of using whiskey as it was then used. I soon learned that amoug the young people at dances and celebrations drunkenness was frequent. My father for 20 or 30 years was an advocate of moderate drinking. He said that any man who could not take a drink of whiskey and then let it alone was a fool. To use the modern term, he was an antiprohibitionist. Notwithstanding his positive declaration, I concluded to let the stuff alone. Even my boyhood observations taught me that there was no particular

benefit to be derived from the use of intoxicating liquors. With me this was not a mere Sunday-school sentiment; my attitude grew out of my actual observations.

Mr. President, I do not need to go into details as to the origin of the American saloon. The story is familiar to every Senator. The saloon yielded large profits, like bootlegging. It was a money-making scheme, and so long as human nature remains what it is, money-making will be indulged in, whether it is in conformity to law or in violation of law. The liquor traffic grew to such magnitude that it commanded not only the attention of the common people but aroused the attention of men engaged in our great industries. So far as I know there is not a man living in the United States today who would deliberately advocate a return to the American saloon.

It is worthwhile to very briefly consider some of the reasons for banishing the American saloon. For half a century the preachers, church workers, and teachers fought the American saloon. I wish to call the attention of the Senate to their chief objective. There was no question as to the hardships that were imposed upon mothers and children. Again and again the picture was painted in vivid colors of how homes were devastated; of how women and children were deprived of the necessaries of life because of the dissolute habits of the head of the family.

In this great battle there was another question raised that was of supreme importance, namely, the effects of alcohol upon the human system. The medical profession made valuable contributions. It was maintained by some advocates of the moderate use of alcohol that alcohol had a food value. Today many physicians do not recommend alcohol as a factor in the daily food consumption. I am also quite safe in asserting that alcohol is classed with the poisons.

Out of this controversy grew the educational movement for the nonuse of alcohol in any form, except possibly as a medicine. It is true that physicians use poisons as constituting one group of their remedies. This educational program was inaugurated in all the States of the Union. The

laws of the different States required that textbooks on physiology and hygiene should contain a certain amount of information concerning the effects on the human body of the use of alcohol and other narcotics. Year in and year out, in connection with the antisaloon movement and other movements against John Barleycorn the educational movement was tremendously important.

Mr. President, there is not any question about the wonderful influence that this educational movement had upon the minds of American citizens. It is safe to say that the majority of them were convinced that there could be no valid argument for the use of alcohol in any form, except for medical use, and I maintain that at this particular time the question of the effects of alcohol upon the human system should be revived. I have yet to find any change in the attitude of scientists and conservers of health on the effects of alcohol on the human system.

I do not maintain that this educational crusade was the only factor in eliminating the American saloon. Heads of industry were not slow to discover that the American saloon was the arch enemy to their enterprises, and thousands of employers who used alcoholic liquor, either moderately or immoderately, voted dry in the antisaloon movement because they believed that the prosperity of their enterprises would be conserved by banishing the saloon. They preferred to have employees who were sober five or six days in the week; in fact, they insisted upon it. There is not a Senator present who has not made observations along this line and been forced to recognize the power of industrial influence. Even the railroad managers of this country and of Canada were obliged during the reign of the saloon to make certain rules and regulations with reference to their employees. They recognized the fact that if the protection of life and property was to be maintained they must have sober engineers, sober conductors, and sober brakemen. The industrial world recognized the vital importance of employing men who could exercise sufficient self-control as practically to let liquor alone. Mr. President, these are not idle speculations; they all come within the experience of the majority of our citizenry.

. . .

(The speech here includes a section on the Effect of Alcohol on the Longevity and What it Costs to Insure Free Drinkers.)

. . .

Millions are spent annually in the attempt to improve sanitary conditions. We boast of having conquered the ravages of smallpox; we boast of having increased the longevity of the American people. It is conceded, however, that the mortality rate for disease in middle life has not been lessened to any large extent, but millions of babies have been saved, and thus the general average has been radically changed. Just because the prohibition laws are violated, as loyal American citizens we cannot afford to disregard the future welfare of American youth.

Mr. President, why do the wets invariably deplore the former existence of the American saloon? No doubt they are willing to recognize that the destruction of the physical man was one of the dire consequences of the American saloon. The nationwide educational movement for temperance had to do primarily with the welfare of youth.

One serious delusion that the wets cling to is the delusion that we are in dire straits in the matter of law enforcement and that we are justified in tearing down the walls that have been erected for the protection of American youth. Their claims are wide of the mark: they have attributed the tremendous increase in crime, if there is such an increase, to the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. Any careful study of crime will reveal the fact that the attempt to enforce the Volstead Act is only one of the crime producing factors. I could listen with some patience to the advocates of light wines and beer if their policy were not involved with the making of better citizens and, in my judgment, with the question of whether alcohol in any form is beneficial to the human system, or even harmless, and when I say this I am not condemning the use of alcohol by physicians in the treatment of disease.

. . .

Mr. President, I will be recognized as a schoolmaster, and consequently the plea I make

for education will not command the attention it should command. During the last 50 years and prior to the enactment of the eighteenth amendment the American people had carried on a campaign of education that produced results. The drys are to be censured severely for having lain down on the job. When the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act were passed, it was thought by many of the drys that their job was done. They trusted too much to law, which without enforcement is of little or no value. If there was occasion for a campaign of education in 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, there is even greater occasion for it now, because in our crime problem we have the cry that light wines and beer is one factor involved in the solution of it. If anything will save the American Republic or any other nation on the globe, it is education, and I refer to the kind of education which begins in the American home and then is wedded to the public school.

. . .

(The speech here has a section on the Attitude of Medical Profession Toward Alcohol. This section contains many quotations from the medical profession.)

. . .

Mr. President, the several wet bills now pending are an attempt to repudiate the Constitution of the United States. I do not maintain that this is the intention of the framers of these bills. I do maintain however, that the passing of these bills would be in effect a repudiation. In my judgment, nothing more dangerous could be undertaken by the United States Congress. The framers of these bills have a perfect right to ask that the eighteenth amendment be nullified, and it can only be nullified in the way in which it was enacted. Why not be frank about the matter and meet the real demand squarely?

. . .

The antiprohibitionists have gone crazy over what is called personal liberty, personal freedom. None of these antiprohibitions want to see the return of the American saloon. Why not? If the light wines and beer had the virtues that

> they so strenuously advocate, why not give the utmost freedom to their use? The truth of the matter is the very fact that they oppose the saloon is the conclusive argument that they recognize the dangers of this particular narcotic called alcohol.
>
> . . .
>
> No country, no State has found a method of distributing light wines and beer so that the dangers of the old-time saloon would not face us constantly. Furthermore, I wonder that the wets do not occasionally give a little more attention to the great organizations of women, the great organizations of American youth, the great organizations of the churches in handling this matter. These different organizations are exerting themselves heroically to help American youth, and why should the so-called patriotic wets hesitate to practice a little self-denial and join the drys in the battle for the enforcement of law?
>
> I believe that with an enlightened public sentiment the Volstead Act can be enforced. America is potentially and practically the greatest country in the world. America occupies a unique position in the affairs of the whole world. Her position is one of conceded leadership. Will she at this critical hour surrender her power and obligation to make America safe for American youth?[1]

Summary

When Ferris wrote about his speech principles in his autobiographical manuscript he mentioned some preaching he did in a number of country churches. He wrote:

> In the light of my religious reformation while a student at Michigan University, my friends will ask about the effect of my theology on my hearers. Then and later I became thoroughly convinced that the average congregation takes few exceptions

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[1] Congressional Record, Volume 67, Part VIII, 69th Congress, 1st Session (April 24 - May 12, 1926) pp. 8655-8659.

> when preaching is positive and not negative with reference to the issues of life. Dissension arises when dogmatic doctrines and negations are discussed.

A quotation from the Hillsdale Daily News of March 27, 1928, may summarize Ferris' speaking: "He was never inclined to scold the world for its failures and always preserved an abiding faith in young men and women."

Chapter III

PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

Speech Preparation

Senator Ferris was classified as an extemporaneous speaker. E. C. Shields, who was Ferris' campaign manager, said that Ferris never wrote out a speech. If Shields had certain important points he wanted stressed, he wrote them down for Ferris' speeches.[1]

In Ferris' autobiographical manuscript he wrote:

> I never write a lecture. I do my reading and thinking with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Then I make a brief outline of what I plan to say. These outlines after experimenting undergo important changes.[2]

In another place in the manuscript Ferris relates an incident in his series of lectures to show how he became an extemporaneous speaker. This incident took place in 1873, at Skaneateles, New York:

> At the appointed hour I appeared at the academy where a goodly number of people had assembled. I was in command of one written lecture on human nature, the one I had given at the Oswego Normal School in the autumn of 1872. I had resolved to pursue a new plan which was to use the written subject matter of one lecture for two extemporaneous lectures. I retained the first sentence of every paragraph. My self-confidence was colossal. I was sure that I could read the introduction. I was confident that the first sentence would call to mind the substance of the paragraph.
>
> The actual test proved a humiliating failure. After reading the first sentence I paused. . . I quickly drew my remnants of a real manuscript from the speaker's stand and crumpled it in my hands, never to make any reference to it again.

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[1]Personal interview with Mr. Shields, Lansing, Michigan, May, 1946.

[2]Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 133.

> I talked in a rambling way for twenty minutes or less and then announced that my second lecture would be delivered the next evening.
>
> Let the reader bear in mind that I am not relating this experience for the purpose of putting a high value upon the lectures. I am telling the true story of how I became an extemporaneous speaker.[1]

Ferris later gave a series of lectures at Halsey Valley, New York. Of these lectures he wrote:

> I discovered that I had in my mind sufficient material for a dozen lectures. I adopted a conversational, story-telling form of delivery. More or less curiosity was aroused every night.
>
> Just before dismissing the audience a collection was taken. At the close of the sixth and last lecture I had collected a total of fifty or sixty dollars above all expenses.
>
> The big thing for me was my mastery of a problem. At Skaneateles, New York, I had utterly failed. The method I pursued there was wrong. The method I pursued at Halsey Valley was right. This little story of a bit of my experience is written for the sole purpose of encouraging some reader in the mastery of the fine art of public speaking.[2]

Further, in writing of his speeches made in 1874, Ferris said:

> I was not hypocritical, but frank and earnest in my pulpit teachings. My audiences were relatively large and attentive. These discourses were not read from manuscript. I then used a brief outline as I do now. Since my sad experience at Skaneateles, New York, I have always been an extemporaneous speaker.[3]

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[1] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 63.
[2] Ibid., p. 64-65.
[3] Ibid., p. 71.

Delivery

As has been intimated previously in this work, Ferris' personality was an integral part of his speech-making. He believed so firmly in the principles which he expounded, that sincerity was an outstanding trait of his delivery. E. C. Shields, State Democratic Chairman and campaign manager for Ferris, said that Ferris' delivery was "very magnetic, very interesting, and very emphatic."[1]

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan said of Ferris,

> You, senators, knew him largely in this political capacity, although these contacts inevitably disclosed the sterling character which this day's ceremony so heartfully reveres. But our Michigan knew him in other estimates and other loves. . . We knew him as the neighbor who was welcomed at unnumbered hearth stones up and down the countryside. We knew him as an oracle with the gift of tongues, an oracle whose homely yet terribly earnest words have inspired uncounted auditors not only in our own great state but also throughout America.[2]

Further, Gerrit Masselink said of Ferris,

> I have known Ferris for more than 32 years. He had boundless enthusiasm and was able to give this, in a large measure, to others. Work was his gospel. Reading and study were his diversions. Working with young people was his delight. On the public platform he had few equals. He was dynamic in his delivery. He had a wonderful persuasive power. He could gain and hold the attention of an audience and mould them to suit his own will. Not only was he powerful mentally, but he was a man with a large heart.[3]

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[1] Personal interview with Edmond C. Shields, Lansing, Michigan, May, 1946.

[2] Memorial Addresses, p. 41.

[3] Memorial to Ferris, found among the manuscripts of Ferris.

Ferris' speaking was also commended in the Allegan Gazette, Allegan, Michigan, November 30, 1912. "Personally he (Ferris) is of agreeable manner and speech, and his public addresses have always commanded attention and respect."

The Detroit News of November 9, 1912, made this comment: "He is blunt and direct."

From speaking with people who have heard the late Senator speak, it is assumed that Ferris did not have a great deal of poise, but he possessed the qualities of sincerity and directness.

Ferris himself wrote: "All of my addresses are delivered with tremendous enthusiasm and force."[1]

General Appearance

After one of Ferris' speeches the Detroit News gave this description of him:

> A thin body, long arms, a look of gray hair that persists in dropping over the well-formed forehead, a chin in such a direct line with the brow that his features look as though a plummet were used in laying them out, and a slight stoop in the shoulders. That is a flash of W. N. Ferris as he stands and speaks on the issues of his campaign.[2]

The Grand Rapids Herald for November 9, 1922, wrote:

> In many respects the "good gray governor" resembles his predecessor (Stuart). Stuart presented a commanding appearance on the platform,

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[1] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 133.
[2] Detroit News, October 23, 1912, p. 11.

> possessed a charming delivery, and a fine command of language, and was a good thinker on his feet.

At the time of Ferris' inauguration this description was also found. "The governor was easily the striking figure of the coterie gathered on the porch. Dressed in black, tall, quiet in manner, with his gray hair marking him even in the crowd -- there was no question as to his being the governor."[1]

The Adrian Daily Telegram for January 1, 1913, wrote: "Governor Ferris is dignified, unostentatious and wisely conservative."

Concerning his platform movement, the Detroit News commented:

> When he gets on the subject of trusts he is especially militant. The left arm is extended as far as possible, palm open. The right fist is clinched and at appropriate times the fist smites the palm with a smack that seemingly fastens the argument with a spike. The deep-set brown eyes gleam.[2]

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[1] Detroit Courier, January 4, 1913.
[2] Detroit News, October 23, 1912, p. 11.

Chapter IV

ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES

ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES

Before one can begin an analysis of any speech, a standard or certain criteria for analysis must be established.

Many speeches have been analyzed heretofore on the basis of Aristotelean rhetoric in regard to logical, ethical, and pathetic proof. However, the author of this thesis feels that this analysis should include more than the patterns of proof; it should include the speaker as well as the content of the speech, and should consider the audience who heard the speech. Therefore, this analysis of Ferris' speeches will follow certain criteria which stem from the concepts of basic communication. Essentially the analysis will be concerned with "who said what to whom with what effect."[1]

First let us consider the term communication. I. A. Richards says:

> Communication takes place when one mind so acts upon its environment that another mind is influenced, and in that other mind an experience occurs which is like the experience in the first mind, and is caused in part by that experience.[2]

Some people call this similarity of experience the "frame of reference." It is with this notion in mind of

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[1]Memorandum from V. C. Arnspiger, Office of the Vice President, Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., New York, 1946.

[2]I. A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928, p. 177.

similar experiences that the author believes the whole speaking situation should be considered when analyzing a speech. Further, Richards points out:

> In general, long and varied acquaintanceship, close familiarity, lives whose circumstances have often corresponded, in short an exceptional fund of common experience is needed, if people, in the absence of special communicative gifts, active and receptive, are to communicate, and even with these gifts the success of the communication in difficult cases depends upon the extent to which past similarities in experience can be made use of.[1]

Wilbur S. Howell in his book Problems and Styles of Communication defines communication as follows: "Communication is a term used to designate intercourse by words, letters, and messages."[2] He elaborates on this definition with the following explanation:

> Before the process of communication can begin, there must be a human being with something to say and a language to say it in. Before the process can get beyond its initial phases, that human being, whether a speaker or writer, must select and arrange words from that language, this selection and arrangement being controlled and dictated by the conventions of the language and by the meaning of the things to which the words refer. Before the process can reach its completion, there must be at least one other human being who receives the arrangement of words and comes thereby to understand the meaning seen by the author in the things designated by his words.[3]

With these foregoing concepts of communication, taking into account the listener as well as the speaker,

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[1] Ibid., p. 178.

[2] Wilbur S. Howell, Problems and Style of Communication, New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1945, p. 2.

[3] Ibid..

the form for analysis will be as follows:

I. Who is speaking
   A. Personal characteristics
   B. Class characteristics
   C. Skill characteristics
   D. Attitude characteristics

II. What is said
   A. Content
   B. Style

III. With what effect
   A. Personal reactions or feelings
   B. Overt actions

Perhaps there are some terms in this outline which need further clarification before we proceed with the analysis.

Personal characteristics include such things as the age of the person, whether it is a man or woman speaking, what the person's interests are, what type of voice he has, as well as his general appearance.

Class characteristics refer to the position that the individual occupies with respect to each of the significant values in the community. For example, one value is power, another is position, and another is respect.

Some examples of skill characteristics would be: a practiced orator, or a skilled coal miner. One can describe skills in terms of characteristic operations people can handle.

By attitude characteristics is meant a person's feelings toward certain subjects. For example, some people may have imperialistic attitudes, while others may have a non-imperialistic attitude. Most speakers have some kind

of biases.

Content deals with the purport of the speech, or what is said, whereas style deals with the arrangement of the parts of the speech or how it is said.

In the final analysis, we judge the speaker's effectiveness by the individual's reactions or response toward the speaker, and if he actually carried out the suggestions of the speaker. An example of an overt action would be that of the listener actually voting for the speaker, if the speaker were giving a campaign speech.[1]

Who is Speaking

Ferris' character and personality have previously been discussed in Chapter I. At the time he was governor, it was not uncommon to find statements in the papers such as this one taken from the Alpena Argus-Pioneer, January 1, 1913, "Ferris has a wonderful personality."

The author of this thesis has had several interviews with persons who have heard Ferris speak. Those interviewed all agreed that Ferris' character and personality were very definitely a part of his speaking. Sincerity seems to have been his outstanding asset.

Mr. Lucas of East Lansing, Michigan, said of Ferris:

> He never tried to sell himself. He tried

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[1]These ideas have been taken from a brochure published by the Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., New York, 1946. (A memorandum from V. C. Arnspiger, Office of the Vice President.)

> to encourage his audience to make themselves better. Although Ferris was quite blunt in his speaking, he never found fault with people in general. Ferris was an inspirational talker.[1]

Woodbridge Ferris' life reflected the principles of which he spoke. For example, he spoke in favor of prohibition, and he was a "dry." In his institute he practiced the educational philosophy he advocated. Therefore, people who heard Ferris had faith in what he said.

In considering class characteristics, we find that Ferris came from a poor family financially, and remained in the working, or middle class. It is said that when Ferris became Governor of Michigan he owned his first dress suit. Even as governor of his state, Ferris still appealed to the working class of people. When he was running for senator in 1922, the Grand Rapids Herald for October 31, 1922, carried an article stating that the "Farmer-Labor organization endorsed the candidacy of Woodbridge N. Ferris."

Arnold Mulder, in an article about Ferris in the Grand Rapids Press, May 24, 1937, said: "He had an unusual talent for entering into the lives of many kinds of people." This statement was exemplified in another way in the Grand Rapids Herald, March 28, 1928. In regard to Ferris' funeral, the paper stated:

> John Taner, a farmer who came to Mecosta County 40 years ago. . . walked 14 miles through the frozen drifts, to mourn at the

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[1]Personal interview with Mr. H. S. Lucas, East Lansing, Michigan, November, 1946.

> bier of his neighbor. . . Governor Green, state officials and senators from Washington all came to the funeral.

We might conclude that Ferris was essentially of the middle class, but having been successful in politics, in education, and in business, he established prestige in all classes. Because of his work at Ferris Institute and the speeches he made in favor of education, he was esteemed by the professional class, but he never lost favor with the rural folk and the worker.

Ferris' outstanding attribute in skill characteristics lay in the field of education. Because of his long association with education as a profession, and because of his success in establishing and developing Ferris Institute, people respected his views on education. Senator Vandenberg said of Ferris: "Here was one in whom life and education were inseparable synonyms."[1]

A quotation from the Adrian Daily Telegram of December 31, 1912, illustrates his skill characteristics:

> Somehow or other -- by your professional and business record, by your writing and speaking, by your habits and manner — you have convinced a very large number of people that you are a man of great ability, sound sense, fairness, and honesty.

The above quotation was addressed to Ferris when he was about to take office as Governor of Michigan.

After Ferris gave his first inaugural address as

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, May 7, 1928.

governor, the Grand Rapids Press of January 3, 1913, said of him:

> The wide scope of the inaugural message, the clarity of the arguments offered, the simplicity and plain common sense of the recommendations fulfill Michigan's expectations of its new governor's mental equipment for his task.

In a personal interview Mr. Seymour H. Person, an attorney in Lansing, Michigan, said Ferris' strong feature was his knowledge of humans and the problems they faced as well as his solutions to these problems. In another interview, Mr. H. S. Lucas of East Lansing, Michigan, said, "Ferris had a remarkable memory."

Along with his ability to understand educational problems, it seems that Ferris had a very keen mind and had the ability to understand people.

Ferris' attitude characteristics have been implied in Chapter II, under Speech Principles and Premises. It is apparent that Ferris' attitude usually favored the common man. The late Senator was very blunt in his speaking, and said exactly what he thought concerning the issues of the day. He, himself, said, "I have opinions and I will express them. I shall speak according to my convictions."[1] Another attitude which Ferris developed was one which he first conceived when he heard Theodore Tilton lecture on "The Human Mind"; this attitude being "that the way to the

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[1] Allegan Gazette, November 30, 1912.

mind is through the heart, that Man's desire and aspirations, not his intellect, are the springs of action.[1]

What Is Being Said

It has been pointed out previously that Ferris usually spoke on an issue about which he had a firm belief. If he thought deeply about a subject, he did not hesitate to speak about it, no matter how trivial it might have seemed to others. In his speeches on education he often made reference to the home and to the duties of parents in the home. Even in his message to the legislature he did not hesitate to speak about common improvements needed in the schools. On January 4, 1913, The Evening Copper Journal wrote:

> Among the many practical and helpful recommendations made by Governor Ferris in his message to the legislature was one bearing upon the subject of better ventilation and sanitation for school buildings. This is a subject upon which Governor Ferris speaks with authority. He recommends a law providing that plans for school houses shall be submitted for approval to the state superintendent of education, and the state board of health.

When he spoke before the Michigan Historical Society he mentioned the necessity of being out of doors, and of men working in their own gardens rather than hiring gardeners. In speaking before the Executives' Club, Ferris spoke to business men about saving and about teaching youth to save. To Ferris the common, every day affairs of life were

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[1]Fuller, Governors of The Territory and State of Michigan, p. 174.

important and he was not reticent in expressing his views.

His views were quite liberal for the times in which he lived. The Grand Rapids Press for March 23, 1928, wrote: "He (Ferris) was independent and liberal in a period when Michigan Republicans swung strongly to progressive organization." It has already been shown in the thesis that Ferris was in favor of such measures as Woman's Suffrage, The World Court, and Labor Mediation. His views on education were also quite progressive. For example, here is a part of a speech given in Detroit:

> Rigid, inflexible courses and cast iron curricula have made an educational machine attuned to the idea of grades and ages. What we need is education for all of the people all of the time. Learning isn't necessarily confined to youth. When you think that your education is finished, don't hang around any longer, take chloroform and make a permanent departure.[1]

In addition to speaking on the common things of life with a liberal attitude, the late Senator had a faculty for using many metaphors and similes in his speech content. Mr. Seymour H. Person said of Ferris' speeches: "His similes and metaphors dealt with the common things which the common people could understand."[2] Here are some examples: When Ferris was running against Musselmen for senator, the former said in his campaign speech, "Mr. Musselmen is a wholesale grocer. He has been making money.

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[1] Found in Ferris' autobiographical manuscript.
[2] Personal interview.

For the past 28 years I have been making men and women. Take your choice as to which would give the state of Michigan the best things."[1]

In speaking of the defeat of the tariff bill, Ferris said, "This with other influences, makes the sky look blue for democracy," and when he spoke concerning the soldiers' bonus he said, "The president's veto of the soldiers' bonus bill was a cowardly act."[2] The long discussion over the bill was likened to "A poker game in which fighting sons who risked their lives and suffered untold hardships were used as gambling chips!"[3] When he spoke in favor of the World Court, Ferris said, "The world is a big family."[4] One of the most outstanding metaphors Ferris used was during his campaign for senator when he fought Senator Newberry. Ferris said:

> He was convicted, and a whole lot of foolish people say that because the U. S. Supreme Court set aside the corrupt practices act as unconstitutional, therefore Newberry and his crown have been washed and washed until they are as white as snow.[5]

In 1916 Ferris spoke to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society on the "Spirit of the Times." In that speech he spoke of religion, and his conclusion was as follows:

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[1] Detroit News, October 23, 1912.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, October 11, 1922.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Grand Rapids Press, January 16, 1926.
[5] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 347.

> I beg of you, let a fresh breeze into that musty chamber of your soul, where you have so long kept your religion, and air it out, in the name of suffering humanity, and the crying need for vital living in this day of the coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth as it is in Heaven.[1]

A further example of the use of the metaphor in Ferris' speech may be found in the speech he gave before the Executives' Club in Chicago. (This speech, "Give American Youth a Chance" may be found in the Appendix.) Ferris was speaking of education, and he said:

> Millions of dollars for stadiums, millions of dollars for athletics. Do I fight athletics? No. Not athletics for the student body. We are paying far too extravagantly for educational substitutes, winning football games without winning games legitimately in the field of intelligence.

In addition to the use of the metaphor, Ferris sometimes made use of the hyperbole, such as in this speech given in Congress. The speech was called "Thought Food for the Farmer." Ferris was presenting figures in regard to how poorly the farmer was paid. He said:

> If the situation depicted by these facts and figures were the reverse of what it is, this city would be so filled with representatives and lobbyists from the steel, textile, and a few other industries that one would have to go across the river into Virginia to sneeze.[2]

Let us now consider Ferris' patterns of proof in the content of his speeches. He did not seem to use only

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[1] See speech in Appendix, "Spirit of the Times."

[2] Congressional Record, Volume 66, Part III, 68th Congress, 2nd Session, January 20-February 7, 1925, p. 2122.

one type of proof, but makes use of all three; ethical, logical, and pathetic proof. Here is an example of his ethical proof used in his campaign speech of 1922:

> It's honor versus dishonor. You might better have a man at Washington who stands for free institutions and for continuation of free government, than a man who is powerful. It might be that the more powerful a man is the more dangerous he may be. I am an idealist. I hate to see the Abraham Lincoln type smothered.[1]

Here is another example of Ferris' ethical proof in a campaign speech:

> He declared that the Democratic Congress from 1913-1918 were the greatest in the history of the nation. He avowed that he was and still is a Wilson Democrat and history will place the name of Woodrow Wilson alongside those of Washington and Lincoln and urged his hearers not to shrink from an argument in defense of the last Democratic administration.[2]

We can cite another example from a different type of speech. When Ferris spoke before the Executives' Club about American youth, he used Lindberg as his example. The conclusion of that speech was as follows:

> And then thank God they could not auction off Lindberg. The Literary Digest recently said if he accepted all overtures he would have six million dollars. Thank God, we have one American that can't be bought.
>
> All honor to Lindberg. Who are we here not to be glad to find in your son the elements that characterize Lindberg? I say, "Amen and amen." May it be your good fortune to give your boys and girls a chance.

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, October 12, 1922.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, September 29, 1922.

(This speech may be found in the Appendix of the thesis.)

To show how Ferris mixed the different types of proof, we need only to look at his speech on Prohibition made in Congress. He began this speech with a personal incident in his life, then he proceeded to use pathetic proof:

> It is worthwhile to very briefly consider some of the reasons for banishing the American saloon. For half a century the preachers, church workers, and teachers fought the American saloon. I wish to call the attention of the Senate to their chief objective. There was no question as to the hardships that were imposed upon mothers and children. Again and again the picture was painted in vivid colors of how homes were devastated; of women and children who were deprived of the necessaries of life because of the dissolute habits of the head of the family.[1]

In the conclusion of this speech he used the same type of proof:

> I believe that with an enlightened public sentiment the Volstead Act can be enforced. America is potentially and practically the greatest country in the world. America occupies a unique position in the affairs of the whole world. Her position is one of conceded leadership. Will she at this critical hour surrender her power and obligation to make America safe for American youth?[2]

However, he also used logical proof in this speech:

> Heads of industry were not slow to discover that the American saloon was the arch enemy to their enterprises, and thousands of employers who used alcoholic liquor, either

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[1] Congressional Record, Volume 67, Part VIII, 69th Congress, 1st Session (April 24 - May 12, 1926) pp. 8655-8659.

[2] Ibid.

> moderately or immoderately, voted dry in the antisaloon movement because they believed that the prosperity of their enterprise would be conserved by banishing the saloons. They preferred to have employees who were sober five or six days in the week; in fact, they insisted upon it. There is not a Senator present who has not made observations along this line and been forced to recognize the power of industrial influence. Even the railroad managers of this country and Canada were obliged during the reign of the saloon to make certain rules and regulations with reference to their employees. They recognized the fact that if the protection of life and property was to be maintained they must have sober engineers, sober conductors, and sober brakemen. The industrial world recognized the vital importance of employing men who could exercise sufficient self-control as practically to let liquor alone.[1]

In this same speech Ferris quoted data from the medical profession and from insurance companies on the longevity of life in regard to the use of alcohol.

In other speeches Ferris used pathetic proof, such as the speech he made concerning capital and labor:

> I have worked and prayed for laws that secure equal rights to all and special privileges to none. Capital and labor cannot make progress as enemies. In a democracy it is absolutely necessary that capital be loyal to labor and that labor be loyal to capital. The doctrine of hate and tyranny is the doctrine of destruction.[2]

In speaking of the World Court Ferris used pathetic proof when he said:

> Our boys were assured that they were entering the World War to end war, and for no other purpose. To what extent have we fulfilled our promises?

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Detroit Free Press, October, 1914.

In the same speech he used logical proof by saying:

> No sane man asserts that the League of Nations, the World Court, or any other international organization is a panacea for perpetual peace. The causes of war exist and always will exist so long as the nations of earth are not in absolute isolation. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that nations plan for the minimum of destruction, and forever try to avoid a world cataclysm.[1]

After reading the different types of speeches made by Ferris, it becomes apparent that he used different methods of proof. One statement may conclude the discussion on the content of Ferris' speeches. In regard to his first message as governor, the Jackson (Michigan) Patriot for January 4, 1913, said: "The tone of the document is high in thought."

Let us now consider the style of these speeches. The first aspect that is apparent in any type of speech is the introduction. It was characteristic of Ferris to begin a speech with some personal reference. For example, in his Congressional speech on prohibition, he began with a story of his early childhood. (See Chapter II, page 41.) In his speech called "Spirit of the Times," Ferris began much the same way when he said:

> After listening to this magnificent address by Father Barth, I find it exceedingly embarrassing to think of attempting anything like an adequate discussion of the theme that has been chosen for me. I shall always be inspired by the address that I have listened to. It has

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[1] Congressional Record, Volume 67, Part II, 69th Congress, 1st Session, (December 19, 1925 - January 18, 1926) p. 2215.

> carried me back into the days of my childhood's experience with learning history, and made keener the edge of one of my greatest regrets, that I had to pick up my early knowledge of history without guidance of the kind of which Father Barth has spoken.[1]

In a political speech given at Orchestra Hall in Detroit, Ferris began with this personal reference:

> In 1904, I faced an audience very much like the one I have here tonight. That was the first time that I ran for Governor of the State of Michigan. That was in the Armory, the Old Armory on the twenty-third of August. I never shall forget that night. I am not going to tell you anything about it, except that it was rather surprising that a candidate should be offered for a Governor of the great State of Michigan, who had not even been mentioned in his home newspaper, let alone in other newspapers in the State.
>
> I came into that nomination in an emergency. That is all. We Democrats have altogether too many emergencies.
>
> I had no political aspirations. I have not had any since. It does not do a Democrat very much good in Michigan to have any political ambitions.[2]

In his speech to Congress on the Gooding Bill, Ferris began in this way:

> Mr. President, I shall take only a very few moments of the time of the Senate and will not attempt any detailed discussion of the bill, for it has already been presented rather thoroughly.
>
> I am a member of the committee and attended the hearings held on this question. I think I heard all that was contributed at

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[1] Given before the Michigan Historical Society, Lansing, Michigan, May 25, 1916.

[2] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 331.

> that time on the Gooding bill and on the bill offered by the Senator from Massachusetts. My training leads me to have a great deal of regard for those who are in a position to give information to the people of this country. The agricultural colleges have occupied my attention and consideration for many years, and, so far as I can learn, they have uniformly supported and advocated the provisions of this bill.[1]

From these examples it is apparent that Ferris used personal references in his introductions in various types of speeches.

Another consideration in regard to style is sentence structure. However, since Ferris was an extemporaneous speaker, and did not write out his speeches, it is difficult to analyze his sentences from the written form only. George Fuller, Michigan Historical Commissioner, who edited some of Ferris' speeches said that the punction was his, but the prose rhythm of the sentences was Ferris'.[2] Mr. Person said that Ferris often did not use complete sentences in his speeches. He started a sentence, and if he saw that the audience got the meaning, or significance of the sentence, he did not always finish what he started to say.[3] When we read Ferris' speeches we are aware of the short sentences intermingled with longer ones.

Let us now consider the type of language that was

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[1] Congressional Record, Volume 67, Part VI, 69th Congress, 1st Session, (March 17 - April 5, 1926) p. 6855.

[2] Personal Interview, Lansing, Michigan, November, 1945.

[3] Personal Interview.

used by the late Senator. Ferris had a faculty for using the language of the people to whom he was speaking. He did not hesitate to use idioms of the language. For example, when Ferris was giving a campaign speech he said to his audience:

> If Governor Wilson and Governor Ferris and other Democratic executives fail in this there won't be enough left of us in two years to wad an old-fashioned shot gun with.[1]

When Ferris was condemning Newberry for buying his way into the senate, he said:

> I have no right to go before the boys and girls in Big Rapids and tell them they can aspire to high public office if Newberryism is to be countenanced. I can only say to them, if you haven't a barrel, it's no use. (Meaning a barrel of money.)[2]

Notice how Ferris used the common language here to appeal to the people:

> In speaking of Henry Ford, Ferris said, 'Some have said that he is a nut, but I wish to goodness that we had a basketful of the same kind. We need more Fords and Borahs in this good old land of ours'.[3]

A quotation from the Calumet News of January 2, 1913, may sum up Ferris' use of the language:

> The message is couched in simple, direct language, right to the point. It gives one the impression that Governor Ferris is intent on accomplishing great things.

As a last consideration of Ferris' style of speaking,

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[1] Grand Rapids Herald, December 15, 1912.
[2] Grand Rapids Herald, October 10, 1922.
[3] Ibid.

the author would like to point out the type of humor that was used. Ferris said of his humor in speeches:

> I make very little use of funny stories. I do make large use of incidents growing out of my personal experience and reading. I am accused of indulging freely in humor. If this accusation is true, my humor is spontaneous and never studied.[1]

Here is an example of Ferris' humor recorded by him in his autobiographical manuscript (p. 334):

> I challenge any Republican in Michigan to point to any adequate parallel, to the 4 years of constructive legislation, that Woodrow Wilson and his Administration gave us in 1913, '14, '15, and '16. I challenge comparison. I mention that because we Democrats from time to time have been slandered by our Republican friends, when they have said we were not to be trusted, that we were not competent. Now, they only say one of those things -- they do not say that we are not to be trusted, they simply say that we are not always competent. (laughter).

Another example of Ferris' type of humor was cited in the Grand Rapids Herald of October 10, 1922, when he was giving a campaign speech:

> Mr. Ferris provoked much laughter when he compared his primary campaign expenses with those of Senator Townsend. 'His were more than $30,000, while mine weren't a cent. I was drafted, you know', he explained.

Mr. Person said of Ferris, "He had a keen wit. His sense of humor was subtle."

Mr. E. D. Wade, a former student of Ferris Institute, said that Ferris' humor lay in his blunt way of speaking. He spoke directly and said just what he

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[1] Ferris' autobiographical manuscript, p. 133.

thought.[1]

Mr. E. C. Shields said that Ferris sometimes criticized a man or an idea very bluntly, but because of his humor and manner of presentation, the people were with him when he finished.[2]

The humor Ferris used seemed to be a part of the speaker and was used often in his speeches.

With What Effect

In order to judge fairly the effectiveness of Ferris' speeches, we should first review the type of audience to whom he spoke. Ferris' audience was usually composed of a rural group. Ferris spoke in a day when radios and automobiles were new and not very common among the ordinary class of people. The rural folk enjoyed gathering for lectures. According to Mr. Person, who was a member of the state legislature at the time Ferris was Governor in 1915, the rural people liked Ferris' stories referring to personal incidents in his life. Religion and moral issues were more prominently discussed in the early 1900's than they are in our scientific world of today. Because Ferris had been a farmer, he had experiences in common with the rural people, and because he had been an educator and a business man he had similar experiences with different classes. It was this common "frame of reference", or these similarities of experiences, which undoubtedly helped

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[1]Personal Interview, Holland, Michigan, June, 1946.
[2]Personal Interview.

Ferris to be an effective speaker.

Mr. Person said that Ferris was not an orator, but he was very effective with the common people.[1]

Mr. E. C. Shields said, "Ferris was the most effective speaker I ever heard."[2]

Mr. H. S. Lucas said that Ferris was always an effective speaker. He emphasized the <u>always</u>.[3]

Miss Pearl Codling of Kalamazoo, Michigan, heard Ferris speak at a Teachers' Institute in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and said that Ferris had a good voice, was a clear speaker, and held the attention of his audience very well.[4]

Mr. Gerrit Masselink said of Ferris:

> On the platform he had few equals. He was dynamic in his delivery. He had a wonderful persuasive power. He could gain and hold the attention of an audience and mould them to suit his own will.[5]

We may find also recorded statement of Ferris' effectiveness. In the <u>Lansing Journal</u>, January 7, 1913, we read:

> Governor Ferris delivered his first speech outside of Lansing, since the inauguration and his words seemed charged with a sincerity to do the best for the people of Michigan irrespective of party lines.
>
> The ovation tendered him at the close of his speech was tremendous.

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[1]Personal Interview.
[2]Personal Interview.
[3]Personal Interview.
[4]Personal Interview.
[5]Tribute to Ferris by G. Masselink, found in autobiographical manuscript.

In the Grand Rapids Herald for October 12, 1922, we read:

> The 'Gray Eagle' of Michigan Democracy was accorded a decidedly impressive ovation, not only during his talk but after he had finished, when hundreds insisted on shaking his hand.

When Ferris gave a campaign speech for the governorship, the Detroit News of October 23, 1912, wrote:

> Although there was a cold, raw wind, Mr. Ferris' audience instead of growing less during the half-hour he spoke, became larger.

This is the type of evaluation that was to be found after Ferris gave his first inaugural address as Governor of Michigan:

> In stating his opinions on the various questions that are of vital importance to the citizens of the commonwealth, he does not conceal his meaning in useless verbiage, but comes out and calls things by their real names and gives his opinions in a clear and terse manner that cannot be mistaken by the reader. He is decisive in stating his ideas and this is a point that has not always been incorporated in the messages of former governors.[1]

Here is the type of reception Ferris often received:

> Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris, who comes to the copper country tomorrow to address the Upper Peninsula Educational Association convention at Hancock will be guest in the afternoon of the Ferris non-partisan political club at Calumet. All business and mine work will be suspended in the Calumet district and Keewenaw county at noon, in his honor and an immense parade in honor of the governor, in which will appear all workers of the district, is planned. Local military companies will act as a guard of honor to the governor, who will speak fol-

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[1] Record Eagle (Traverse City, Michigan) January 3, 1913.

lowing the parade.[1]

Although a man's success in politics does not necessarily mean he has been an effective speaker, from the reports concerning Ferris it seems logical to assume his speaking was an aid to his success. In 1912, Ferris may have been elected because of the split in the Republican party, but in 1914, Ferris was the only one elected on the Democratic ticket in the state of Michigan. Mr. H. S. Lucas said that when Ferris decided to run for the senatorship in 1922, many people laughed at the idea, but because of his excellent campaign, Ferris was successful.[2] The author of this thesis believes that Ferris was an effective speaker because of the response he drew from his audience.

Conclusion

In conclusion it may be said that Ferris was not a great orator in the sense that he wrote and delivered speeches with a great power of persuasion. He was a lecturer and an extemporaneous speaker. He spoke to a class of people of whom he was a part; people with whom he shared similar experiences. For the most part, the majority of people who listened to Ferris liked him, and he was effective because his listeners responded to his speaking.

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[1] Detroit Tribune, October 8, 1914.
[2] Personal Interview.

APPENDIX

"THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES"[1]

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society: After listening to this magnificent address by Father Barth, I find it exceedingly embarrassing to think of attempting anything like an adequate discussion of the theme that has been chosen for me. I shall always be inspired by the address that I have listened to. It has carried me back into the days of my own childhood's experience with learning history, and made keener the edge of one of my greatest regrets, that I had to pick up my early knowledge of history without guidance of the kind of which Father Barth has spoken. I suppose there are few men in Michigan, or in the United States, who as boys learned so little general history as your present speaker. But I was a lover of local history, and in an untaught way tried to find out all I could about things and people about me. I instinctively read biographies. The lives of great men had a charm for me. What history I know has come largely through biography, and if Emerson is right in what he says about history, then I have indirectly become exceedingly interested in this subject. I am hoping for great things in Michigan, both for the Upper Peninsula and for the Lower Peninsula, along these exceedingly important lines which you

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[1] An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, May 25, 1916. Fuller, George N., (ed.) Michigan History Magazine, Vol. I, (1917). (Stenographically reported)

have heard so ably discussed by Father Barth.

Now I am to talk to you, informally, a very little while, on the subject that has been chosen for me, "The Spirit of the Times." I am very glad that the makers of this program did not presume that the present Governor of Michigan is a historian, or that he even knows any history; if they had made that mistake, it would have been fatal to me. I admit in the beginning that the historian, or some other observer, would probably follow a trend of thought different from that which I shall follow; but I am obliged to follow my own trend, with what little information I may have, right or wrong. Fortunately for me, "The Spirit of the Times" does not compel me to go deeply into history; at least I shall not attempt to discuss the subject from what may be the historian's point of view.

The first thing I wish to call your attention to in relation to the spirit of the times is, the change that has come over us politically. Today, the spirit of the times asks you, and asks me, to keep everlastingly in mind, not so much a political organization, as men and policies; these two must ever go together -- we can not get along with policies alone; we must have men and policies. This is true of the Nation, of the State, and of the City. I am glad to witness, in this political spirit of the times, the recognition of a truth which it is not necessary for me to dwell upon tonight; we have come to realize the importance, not only of men and policies; we have come to recognize the

fact, that these men who have policies, have also sufficient independence today to speak frankly their minds as to the needs of our Nation.

Along with this independence, and as a necessary corollary of it, there has come the recognition of women. I was glad to hear Father Barth speak of the economic factor in history. Woman today is an important factor in our industrial and economic life. It does not matter now whether it is because of our neglect, or whether she has been forced there by our industrial system -- she is there, and is an important factor, and she is now asking for the rights and privileges which we men enjoy. Why should she not have them? If she is to compete for her place in the industrial world, why should she longer be handicapped by the outworn restrictions of days that belong to a past condition, that are gone -- forever gone. I wish to say to any doubters here tonight, that the hand-writing is on the wall -- that there is not the slightest question as to what the spirit of the times has written there; woman is going to be given, in this great democracy of ours, every privilege, and every right, that man enjoys. There is absolutely no escape from it, even if we would escape. And let me say to the men present tonight, to quiet any needless fear, that the women are not going to enjoy all, or even the larger part, of the fruits of the change. Men are going to profit, in certain ways possibly more than the women can hope to profit. I say to the women here tonight, and to the women everywhere

in this broad State of Michigan, I welcome you, and welcome the splendid achievements you have made, in spite of our withholding our encouragement and our help. I wish to congratulate you upon that progress, and upon the no less certain fact that you are destined to have, in the near future, the glorious heritage of equal privileges for which you have struggled.

In the business world, the spirit of the times tells us that "efficiency" is the watchword; and I wish to say just a word on that subject. I am inclined to think that undue emphasis has been put upon the progress that "efficiency" makes, in determining how a greater and better output can be produced. If efficiency keeps its eye only along that line, it will eventually fall down. It is highly significant, that up to the present hour we have quite failed to enlist the hearty enthusiasm of the employee in our efficiency plans. Any efficiency plan that does not approach employee and employer precisely alike, on the human basis, is a failure, and must ever be a failure. The spirit of the times now points to a kind of efficiency which shall ultimately bring to employer and employee alike, the wholesome fruits of human effort, to be in turn resolved into larger profits, for both.

I said to a man from the Northern Peninsula tonight: "Now that your portion of the State is prospering splendidly, and copper is thirty-nine cents a pound, is it not high time you were recognizing the fact that the man who toils under

the earth should be a sharer in that splendid gain and prosperity; because, without the man under the ground, in your mines, you could not get your copper, your mines would be valueless, and your prosperity would disappear." He thought it was time. The lessons of history, and the spirit of the Present, must guide us in recognizing the importance of profit-sharing up in that important arm of the commonwealth. And along with profit-sharing, the spirit of the times points to cooperation. The lack of efficient cooperation between labor and capital is one of the serious weaknesses in the present much eulogized system of "efficiency". But I have not the time to dwell upon those things.

I come naturally to the spirit of the times in education, in relation to world history; for there is going on today a great revolution in ideals and methods of education. The unprecedented development of science, during the last century, is responsible in large measure for the modification of our courses of study. It has caused new emphasis to be put on vocational study. It has forced the cry in education today, that first of all, every boy and every girl shall be trained to earn a living. This qualification is important. And so we are putting a tremendous emphasis upon the vocational feature; but we must not forget that "earning a living" is but a means to an end. The chief end is "living". In emphasizing how to earn a living, it will be a fatal error if we forget to train our boys and girls in the greatest of arts, the "art of living". The

spirit of the times in education is putting a tremendous emphasis upon the training of man as an instrumentality. I deplore that one-sided educational trend. It is not the philosophy that we have heard expounded here tonight. It must not be lost out of sight that man as an instrumentality is a poor thing without personality. Personality is the man. And so some of the things that have been pushed into the back-ground in our educational scheme, must soon come into their own again -- history, and drama, and poetry, and music, and art, the great cultural subjects, training in which prepares us in the higher sense truly to "live".

But the thing which I care most about in the education of the future is education for all the people, all the time. It is too bad that the intelligence of this country should longer accept the old traditional view of education, as a thing for children only -- a thing to be got through with in our teens, and then put away on the shelf, to be pulled out on emergencies. Why so much talk about a "school age", when the only real school age is a life-time. Father Barth has aptly given us the illustration of training the right hand and the right arm in efficiency and neglecting the left; is not that exactly what we do in our present educational system? Today we have outside of the traditional "school age", as many people who are worthy of the benefits of our educational system as we have in the traditional classes; and we have about twenty millions of

boys and girls of school age in this country of ours who receive only in part, and in small part, the benefits of our schools.

My plea in Michigan -- and it will be my plea to the last breath I draw, and the last word I speak -- is education for all children, all men, and all women, of Michigan, all the people in all our States, all the time. Our great educational system, our splendid equipment, is applied to only one-third of our citizens. Why should not a state educational system have in it a place for fathers and mothers, for girls in stores and shops, for boys and men in factories, where they may go and feed their hungry souls. The spirit of the times clearly points out that we have not yet touched the A.B.C.'s of this subject, of the possibilities for real efficiency involved in an educational system of this scope, which shall educate for personality, as well as for instrumentality, to satisfy in the highest sense the hungry lives of all the people.

I believe in the gospel of work. The spirit of the times is pointing with new force and new enthusiasm to the invigorating power of work. We are coming to recognize that no man, even if he inherits his millions, can free himself, as a patriotic American citizen, from the responsibility of actually doing useful and serviceable work. I go so far as to say, that if we disregard the philosophy of work, and accept the theory of education which tens of thousands of fathers and mothers today practically embrace when they send

their sons and daughters to our colleges and universities, in order that some how, some way, they may not have to pass through the hardships which are involved in work, -- then we have reached the beginning of the end. Fathers and mothers forget, that it is the work, the down-right hardships, which they have gone through, that have made them the successful, useful, and happy fathers and mothers they are -- real fathers, real mothers, real American citizens, worth while.

I hear fathers and mothers say, "We will allow our boys and girls to travel the rocky road we traveled." All right; I will tell you something; that is the reason why there are so many of those boys in our prisons in Michigan -- not the girls; we have no place to put girls in our prisons; we take care of them in another way. Now you may think I am wrong in what I state about the boys. Let me say to you that a very careful study of hundreds of personal interviews convinces me that these boys in our prisons, somehow, somewhere, have lost their view in regard to the importance of work. "The devil finds work for idle hands to do," is as true as you live. It is as true today as when he drove Adam and Eve from the Garden of Paradise. If you want a true view of the meaning of life without work, read Milton's Paradise Lost. There is no quicker way to lose a paradise, if you have one, than to try to live without work; and there is no surer way of gaining one than by work. And I mean by work, manual work -- at least some

manual work. I have said, a thousand times or more, that bank officials, schoolmasters, doctors, lawyers, and preachers, would be better men by doing manual labor -- some manual labor, daily. Show me a man with flabby muscles, and I will show you a man with a flabby Will -- and Will is the motor power of life. But not for this alone should they do manual labor. The touch with the tool, with the sod, is a touch with the millions who toil, by whose sweat the earth produces -- a humanizing touch with the great brotherhood of humanity. You could not take from me my garden in Big Rapids. I would let you have almost every other commercial possession I have, but I could not let you have that. And I would not disgrace myself by hiring somebody else to work in it. The privilege of digging in that soil belongs to me. I have a right to what is to be found there -- better health, better spirits, better thoughts, a better man and a better citizen. I want to say to you that since being Governor of Michigan I have been in contact with the work in our prisons, in Jackson Prison, and I find that the thing most regenerating in the lives of those men there, is work -- good hard work; that eight or ten years of honest useful work, is the only thing that will actually let those men out of the hell of their own lives, and point them towards Heaven.

A woman came into my office one day to appeal for her young son, twenty years of age, not quite twenty-one, who had held up the clerk in the Metropole Hotel, in Detroit.

He was sentenced for five years. I could not conscientiously parole him at the end of two years, because he needed four or five years; he had been a parasite in his home, and a parasite in his community, and I felt that for real achievement it would take at least five years to put into his muscle and brain and constitution a reasonable regard for the righteous and regenerating power of work. At the end of five years it is barely possible that this mother will owe the State a debt of gratitude for bringing her boy out of darkness into light. And in a measure we all need that kind of training. I do not mean in prisons -- not by any means -- but the opportunity for work. Mind, I am speaking of work, not drudgery. There is a difference between work and drudgery. Drudgery is work beyond one's strength; work is re-creation, new creation.

I want to say a word right here about work and play. What is play? Did you ever help make a snow fort? Did you ever when you were a boy walk two miles on a hot day with your chum and wade to your knees in mud and water to gather a mess of cow-slips for greens? Did you ever play a game of foot-ball? Did you ever work harder? Work! It probably would not take a tithe of the same energy to split a pile of wood. You were doing it with somebody; it was a change from the routine; and you had your mind unconsciously on the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. Now the spirit of the times points a step further. It has written in large letters SYSTEMATIZED, ORGANIZED RECREATION FOR MEN AND WOMEN. Some

of you men sitting here may say, "O yes, it is all right for boys and girls to play, but men and women -- it is beneath them." Why yes, if you want to die, if you are in a hurry to get to the cemetery, it is all right for you to entertain that notion. You are on your way, and you will arrive. If at sixty, or seventy, or eighty, you are ready to quit living -- just quit playing. But if you want to be hale and hearty at eighty, play! Get in with the boys and girls, and get acquainted with them. If you are not used to it, it may be a little awkward at first, but they will enjoy that, and you will enjoy them. Learn to play, if you have forgotten how. It is about time in America that we should get out of our heads the notion that boys and girls are to be corralled, and labelled, "boys and girls". No wonder there is a slow disintegration in the American home. Somehow, someway, I am pessimistic enough to feel that loyality in the American home is a lost art. I hope I am wrong.

These are very commonplace things I am saying, but they are very fundamental. I hope some of you good people will find your way to Grand Rapids this year when the National Association for Play and Recreation is held. I think the organization has been in existence eight or nine years. The farmers of course laugh at what I say; they think it is sentiment; and probably they think I am a suitable subject for some of the minor asylums. But I tell them that if they would get together once a week, say on Wednesday, and play base-ball -- have a real fine game,

taking the boys with the old fellows, and get acquainted -- they would raise better crops, and have fun doing it. I leave you to figure out who are the candidates for the asylum.

Another word written large by the spirit of the times is HEALTH. We are coming, in Michigan particularly, to realize the supreme value of health. I have been wondering how far the members of this Society have been interested in a certain movement that is going on in the State of Michigan. It is of supreme importance that you and I should do a little something to recognize the laws of God as written in our bodies. I wish I could make men and women understand that the laws of health are just as sacred as the Decalogue. We go along, from day to day, year in and year out, most marvelous as it may seem for intelligent people, apparently in the blissful superstition that God Almighty takes care of children and fools.

If we need to look after the health of our bodies, so do we need to protect the health of our body politic. I will only touch upon the subject of patriotism for it has been discussed here this evening most eloquently. I do feel a little sensitive, however, on one point. Some of my friends -- they consider themselves my enemies -- are not quite sure that I have the kind of patriotism that the spirit of the times seems to have emblazoned on the sky in crimson. I rather think there is some reasonable doubt about the truth of their conclusions. The kind of patriotism I have been trying to teach for the last thirty years in Michigan, is

the kind of patriotism that begins in the home, and works out from the home into the Nation. When I shall presently have occasion to speak to the boys in blue, at Grand Rapids on Decoration Day, I shall recall to them that when they went out to the great Civil War from '61 to '65, they were boys -- not men of thirty, or forty, or fifty years; the great armies of the North were made up of boys, hundreds of thousands of boys, under the age of twenty-one; and yet, did ever an army in the world go forth and achieve, in larger degree, what was seemingly impossible, than did our boys in blue? The patriotism that comes from the heart, and soul, and loyalty of youth, is the patriotism we care for. If I understand the spirit of the times aright, the boys of today, 1916, have in them the same love of country, the same high patriotism, as had their grandfathers who fought in the Civil War. If they have not, then what apology have you to make for yourself? That is the question.

I am in favor of preparedness. I have always been in favor of an adequate navy, and an adequate standing army. But I am not in favor of commercializing militarism. Unaccountably, people seem to have lost hope, like the case of the man who sent a letter I received yesterday, saying a certain clergyman, in Monroe, preached on the subject, "Are we in the grip of Evil?" The whole tone of the letter carried the idea that the world is rapidly approaching dissolution; that the devil had taken full control, and was

now driving the world head-on to perdition. I wrote back to him a consoling letter. I said to him, that although I was neither a prophet nor a historian, yet I knew enough about human nature to realize, that the whole world cannot be insane, except at moments at a time, and that out of this awful conflagration in Europe there will come a return to good sense and intelligence, and to an appreciation of what has been worked out in this country. The secret of our power, as a Nation, lies in three watchwords of the Declaration of Independence: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. We had to come to our senses, with an awful cost of treasure and lives, in the great Civil War. The trouble with Europe today is, as with us then, their lack of democracy. It is fast driving them to destruction. I shall not shed very many tears over the brave men who have fallen in the Great War, because that would be useless. Millions upon millions of splendid men of the great civilizations of Europe lie sleeping the final sleep tonight; my heart aches not for them, but for the mothers, the wives, the children, whose hearts are bleeding for the sons, the husbands, the fathers -- these women and children, who are not only to suffer to the last breath they draw, but whose children are to carry in the future, if militarism must grow, the endless burden which crushes out all that is noblest in life, indeed which makes it a serious question whether life under those conditions is even desirable. Therefore, my hope is in another kind of patriotism, the

patriotism of the heart, of the soul, of the character, which dares to put its trust in law and order. I believe in the kind of patriotism which has made possible on this continent a great fortless boundary line, three thousand miles in extent, on which not a single material fortification stands today. Not a single gun is mounted, anywhere, on the entire boundary today between the United States and Canada, from ocean to ocean. Why? Because these nations are fortified in the hearts of the people. Spiritual forces, cooperative forces have made for mutual understanding, and the peaceful adjustment of differences, and this notwithstanding the fact that these two peoples are made up of the most heterogeneous racial and national populations that could be gathered from the ends of the earth. I believe in the patriotism of the home, of the city, of the county, of the State, and of the United States, and I believe there is still room for a higher and larger patriotism, a patriotism which shall recognize that all humanity, everywhere, is entitled to enjoy the fruits of cooperative democracy, and of peace.

As I watch the finger moved upon the scroll of the future by the Spirit of the Times, I observe that words are written there concerning religion. That this is a vital issue, one in which there is really a profound interest today, is evident from the fact that lay speakers find it a delicate subject to discuss; but it is not so delicate as it was twenty-five years ago, when people were inclined to

keep it in air-tight compartments, quite away from every other interest, which they called secular. Some people are worrying because they think religion is getting mixed up these days too much with things of this world. I get letters every month from a certain man who is evidently collecting a certain kind of data that he thinks will answer all sorts of conundrums. Now if he would only take the time and trouble to look around his own home town, he would find right there his answer to most of his questions -- Why men do not attend church? Is religion dying a slow but sure death? Is the end of the church in sight? -- Too bad the vision of even the humblest man is not able to see that the world was never so religious as it is at this hour -- O, yes, in spite of the European war, where strange as it may seem, each nation thinks it is fighting the great battle for civilization, and that the salvation of the world depends upon its success. When their religion shall get to be a little bit broader; when in an ordinary fist-fight we do not appeal to God Almighty to give us his personal help in punching the other fellow; when in our prayers we cease to pray that the rain may fall in our garden even if there is not enough to go round for the other fellow's yard -- we will then be able to get a little closer to God. If God does not include in the essence of his Being the highest that we can conceive, then I think it would be well to revise our ideas about God. What is the "spirit of the times" but God, moving in the affairs of men? And if God moves in

the affairs of men, how will you keep religion out of business, out of international relations, out of any relations that men and women have with one another on the face of the earth? "The kingdom of God is within you" -- among you -- the very essence of right relationships one with another. And not only does God work in the human, the animate, but in the so-called "inanimate" -- there is no real "inanimate." The very clod is animate. Your crops would not grow on your farms if it were not. You cannot walk across the yard of the Capitol, or across your fields, and not get a vision of the universal power that is working in the blades of grass, working in the flowers, working in the leaves of the trees, the same power that works in the souls of men.

We need today to practice the religion that Abraham Lincoln practiced. He was not so much concerned about whether God was on his side as about whether he was on God's side. I welcome the coming of that day. And it is coming. The living God -- the God of otherselfishness -- is working and getting into the hearts of men; are beginning to see ourselves in others, our otherselves. That is the essence of democracy, the essence of Christainity, the essence of true living. Real religion has not changed any more than the principle of life has changed. We adapt it in different ways, through different religious organizations, meeting different needs, but they all serve the same end, to make these three words of the Lord's Prayer more emphatic and

more real than ever in the history of the world: "Thy Kingdom Come." We are anxious to have Heaven here, at least have it begin here -- and I venture to say that no one wants Hell here, although people sometimes talk and act in a manner that would certainly bring it, if they could have their way. I am sure I cannot be hurting the feelings of anyone here. I cannot imagine that anyone sufficiently intelligent to take interest in the deep things which concern the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and not be wholeheartedly with me in these views. If there are any such, I beg of you, let a fresh breeze into that musty chamber of your soul, where you have so long kept your religion, and air it out, in the name of suffering humanity, and the crying need for vital living in this day of the coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth as it is in Heaven.

I did not mean to preach you a sermon. But I feel better to get some of these things said. I could tell you some more things I have in mind, if I had the time. I have said enough for tonight. These things are worthy of thought. You know them as well as I do, and perhaps you do not live them any better than I do. I thank you for this privilege of thinking over with you some of these fundamental things of life.

"GIVE AMERICAN YOUTH A CHANCE"[1]

Every man has a philosophy of life, of which he is conscious or unconscious -- he ought to be conscious, as a rule, and beyond a shadow of a doubt in my address today noon, I shall say many things that I have said heretofore. I do not apologize for that. I shall be delighted to know that you can recall anything that I have said heretofore.

I insist on discussing the theme that has been announced. I discussed it last night before the Southeastern State Association of Minnesota. I shall do the same thing in South Bend, Indiana, next week, and a little later in Charleston, West Virginia. All through my Chautauqua work I discussed this subject.

You may not feel, as I do, its importance. It will be an exceedingly simple and plain talk. There will be no difficulty whatever in your understanding everything I have to say, and that you would expect to hear from a Democrat. I know there are not many Democrats here. I never lose an opportunity to offer a word of consolation to the few. They may yet leaven the loaf, you can't tell. God knows it needs to be leavened.

At the very beginning I want this splendid body of men to understand that I am not particularly alarmed over

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[1]Delivered before the Executives' Club of Chicago at the regular weekly meeting of Oct. 7, 1927. From: Executive Speeches, Executives' Club of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., (Sept. 1924-June 1928) p. 459.

American youth today. They are not going to the devil -- not all of them. There are more fathers and mothers on that road than there are children. Possibly some of you belong to that group, I don't know -- I hope not.

I am not disturbed because girls bob their hair, calcimine their cheeks and shorten their skirts. It is exceedingly interesting, however.

I am disturbed a little when a grandmother will bob her hair, shorten her skirts, and fool herself into thinking she is a little girl again. She has returned to infantalism and she seems to get great joy out of it.

Now, I might go back to the age of my boyhood and call attention to the ways in which my sisters and their associates dressed -- quite as novel and quite as strange as modern dress, but I am not going to take the time for that. And I am not going to take the time to describe the vanity of men which, beyond the shadow of a doubt, parallels that of a woman.

I realize that conditions today are entirely different -- no, not entirely, but widely different from the conditions of half a century ago. Now, do not forget that remark, please.

I realize that the movie has come into our life; the automobile; the radio, and a thousand and one inventions, so that life today is much more difficult than was the problem of fifty years ago. Now, if you can keep that preface in mind, it will help me out a lot.

I read two statements as a sort of preface to my real address. First, from Nicholas Butler, President, Columbia University.

"The reason why Christianity no longer makes an appeal to men is that they are too prosperous."

Did it ever occur to you that there is such a thing as over-prosperity, so far as a nation's progress is concerned?

"They have discovered a new god, Comfort, and they are so concerned with worshipping him that they have no time for the God of their fathers. The modern American ideal of life seems to be to put a comfortable baby into a comfortable crib to be watched over by a comfortable nurse until it is able to go to a comfortable school. Then to send it to a comfortable college where comfortable teachers see that it does not work too much or too hard. Then to find its way into a comfortable profession; to marry a wife with a comfortable fortune; to spend twenty or thirty comfortable years; and finally to pass through a comfortable opiate to a comfortable grave."

Now, if that is the situation today, there is occasion for my address.

One other sentence, and my reading is finished. This is from Hubert Work. It was published in the September number of the Tariff Review. That is a Republican sheet. That does not improve this quotation, by the way. I want you to notice the condition described by President Butler,

and then I want you to note how we are giving American youth a chance. There are many of you who are convinced that what I am going to read is a sure indication:

Our country is spending 2-1/2 billion dollars annually on education. It is not easy to think in numerical terms of the United States, but while our population in 33 years increased 95%, enrollment in colleges advanced 450%.

There is a very wide difference between education and schooling. Of course, schooling ought to be a valuable aid to education, but schooling does not furnish the fundamentals of the education that American youth are entitled to.

Now, I go back to the pioneer home. You won't like that, some of you. I was born in a pioneer home, born in a log house. I am not to be commended for that, because I did not chose my place of birth. I had to be born somewhere. I was in that log house for ten years. I was the eldest of the family. Four sisters came along in close succession, and together we worked out our childhood salvation. Just as soon as my oldest sister could wash dishes, she washed dishes, not because she wanted to -- she was not a moron. She washed dishes because she had to, and so on, and so on in her acquaintance with mother in that old home.

She did not wash dishes for recreation. I have never found but one woman who said she did, and I am positive that she was on the verge of insanity.

What are you trying to do today, gentlemen? You are

trying to take the "have to" out of the home, out of the school, out of life, and it can't be done successfully without great injury to American youth.

Just as soon as I could work, I worked. Father said, "Come", and I came. He said "Go", and I went, solely because of my intimate acquaintance with dad, that is all.

I would like to have you men that are fathers check up as I proceed. Make this a personal matter today, please, check up.

There are two factors that I have already mentioned. I am going on to extend the last one a little.

Together we cut the hay; together we spread the hay; together we planted the corn; together we hoed the corn; together we cut the corn; together we husked the corn; TOGETHER was another factor in that home.

Don't I know that that factor is the most difficult factor to put into practice today in order to give American youth a chance? In those days we did not have to have a Father and Son's Annual Banquet in order that Father might meet his son. Do not make a mistake. I am in favor of Father and Sons' Banquets. I would have them oftener. In fact, I am enthusiastically in favor of Father and Sons' Banquets. I would have them once a month. I would have them oftener. In fact, I am enthusiastically in favor of permitting father to get acquainted with his son, and the son get acquainted with his father. I am enthusiastic over that. In my home that banquet was held 365 days in the

year, three times a day.

I have struck now two fundamentals: one of obedience, and the other of work; fundamentals of the old pioneer home. Now, do not try to use your imaginations and bring in a lot of immaterial objections which have no place in your thought today noon. I am not advocating the same devices, I am not advocating that we use the same crude methods on the farm, nothing of the kind. I am after a fundamental life, that of obedience, and that of work.

I am not going to talk politics today. I am not going to say anything for or against the problem of the "wet" and the "dry", but if we ever do have the Constitution obeyed, if we do ever have a general and all-around observance of law, it will have to find a place first in the American home. You can't make any short-cuts. You have got to begin at the beginning. You have got to begin where observance of law is supposed to originate.

Now, I am perfectly well aware that there are some great writers and great lecturers who are willing to stand before you and tell you that the American home is gone, but I am not disturbed by that announcement. I know if it is gone that our civilization is doomed. That much I do know as a consequence of that statement if it should ever become a truth.

Now, then, from that second point we have worked a radical change in our ways of living in the last 50 years, particularly the last 25. Several of the other fundamentals

that I am going to mention have been thrown on to the public schools. For instance, you have taken so-called domestic science and home economics out of the home and put it into the schools. They are going to stay there. There are advocates of that scheme sitting here, plenty of them, I realize that.

After all, I was delighted the other day when I read a statement from Mrs. Lowden, the wife of your ex-Governor of Illinois, to find that she took particular pride in stating that she had reared her three daughters and taught them the fine art of home-making. Thank God even for an exception.

Everybody knows that the mother is the ideal teacher. Everybody knows that a woman should think many times before she enters the marriage relation to become a mother if she is incapable of directing her daughter, incapable of teaching her the fine art of housekeeping.

But it is going to stay in the public school, and we predict that for fifty per cent of the girls who receive training in the United States in domestic science and home economics, that fifty per cent of their homes are without a sewing machine; that fifty per cent of their homes are without any adequate provisions for carrying out what they are taught in domestic science in the public schools, because in the public schools you have the best of appliances and apparatus, whereas in the home it is quite different, and frequently her school training alienates the daughter from

the mother. This can be remedied and should be remedied.

Why not open your schools to the mothers? Why should not they know a little something about what you have to offer in your improved methods of cooking, and so forth. Do not tell me they won't come, because for 43 years fathers and mothers and sons and daughters have paid their car fare, paid their board bills, and paid for their tuition and books at the Ferris Institute in order that they might get a little higher vision, get some little knowledge to support the fundamentals that they had already acquired.

Oh, the skeptics that exist nowadays who seem to entertain that fool superstition that education is only for boys and girls, that after one reaches the age of 25 or 30, education is no longer any concern to them. Education is life and begins with the first breath and closes with the last breath of a normal creature. By and by we may wake up and have a real democracy, and give some consideration to the adults.

We are doing it, I realize that, but who is doing it? The industries are doing it. They are really telling us school masters what we should do, and they are doing it splendidly, too. There are, no doubt, representatives here today who can confirm what I have said along that line.

Well, I might say to you that in many cases school training has worked no special good. Where will you find the ordinary mother on Saturday? Down on her knees on the floor using the Sapolio and the brush. Where is sis who

takes domestic science? She is on the front porch sitting in the hammock holding hands with her pussy willow.

Oh, we have shirked the work in the home. We have not given the American youth a chance. We have turned our work over to the public schools. But isn't it strange that in putting it in the public schools we have entertained an educational superstition based on sex. What have we got against the boys? If this school work is really educational, why under Heaven don't you give the boys precisely the same training?

Some of you will sit here and think I am jesting. What would a Boy Scout Master think of his boys if they were not capable of doing much that belongs to economics and home life?

I might add, incidentally, for the benefit of some of you old bachelors that are sitting here, that if you do not in some way get a knowledge of domestic science, and you should marry, you will starve to death.

There isn't anything finer in all my experience than this illustration I am about to give. I was in Oceana County, Michigan, doing educational work throughout the county and it was Sunday night when my host, a rural school teacher, Fisher by name, took me to his home, said to me, "You will have to get up early tomorrow morning. Breakfast will be ready at half past three." I was up and breakfast was ready. We had a breakfast that was a delight to me then, and I think it would be now if I needed a breakfast. And

after we had gotten in the sleigh ready to start for the train I turned about to see a clothes line heavily laden with a beautiful wash. I said, "Fisher, explain that line of clothes. It was not there last night when we came in." "Well," he said, "You noticed that Mother was not at breakfast. Mother was sleeping. I did the washing this morning, and I shall get back in time before I go to my school to remove the clothes from the line if they are dry, and they probably will be, and if necessary I shall do the ironing. My brothers and sisters and I owe everything that we are to Mother, and Mr. Ferris, it is the delight of my life now to render her some substantial service."

Do you see anything very startling about that? Isn't there something beautiful about it? Why is it in our attempts to educate American youth, why is it that we should draw the line of sex?

Then again we have turned over manual training to the public schools in giving American youth a chance. I would say, men and women, if that meant that John hurried home after he had manual training, and fixed up the broken cupboard in the kitchen, or repaired the steps on the back porch, or rendered some little help to mother or father, I would say "Amen" and "Amen", but it is done for quite a different purpose. The real spirit of the thing is wanting. It is for exhibition purposes largely. Use up good lumber, employ costly teachers and have a costly equipment.

But there is a great idea in manual training, one of

the greatest in the whole educational system, because scientists have come to this conclusion: man owes his superiority over lower animals by virtue of his brain and his hands. All of the inventions of the last 75 years, and they are greater than all those of all time before the last 75 years, are the product of the brain and his hands.

I drove the nail on the farm because it needed to be driven. A lot of nails are driven nowadays that do not need to be driven. I learned to use the ordinary tools because I had to, and because it was help on the farm. We worked together.

I do not recognize the value of manual training. But what have we got against the girls? They have brains, no question at all about it. That has been satisfactorily demonstrated, and you have a speaker now for your Club that will prove to you that she is the revised edition.

I am serious about these matters. I recognize manual training for its educational value, not for its value in securing a job. But I suppose that I will have been dead a long time before school boards and before school men will dare to give American youth a chance, all of American youth instead of half of them.

But the most serious criticism that I have to make in regard to shirking your work in the home, is the matter of teaching thrift. Before I went on the platform last week I chanced to pick up the Winona Republican Herald of Winona, Minnesota. I think that was the name of it. I know it was

Republican, all right, and I noticed that in that city of 17 or 18 thousand that this year the children had put into the banking department of the school $24,000, and, of course, everybody is delighted, everybody in Winona is giving American youth a chance.

No doubt in Chicago you have the same thing prevailing. I know you have. In my little city of 5,000, when the superintendent of schools came and said, "I like you, you are an educator, you are the President of the Big Rapids Savings Bank. Will you take this work in charge and turn the teachers in paying and receiving tellers and have them collect the penny and the nickel and the dime, and thus every pupil will have a bank account?" I said, "No. I still have sufficient self-respect to decline your offer."

Fine advertisement for my competitor. There is nothing finer for a bank to contemplate for the boys and girls -- a lazy, make-shift method on the part of fathers and mothers who did not learn thrift in any such way, and no boy or girl, unless you make an exception, ever can learn thrift in that way. And we are carrying it to the point where we penalize a child who can't bring his penny. That is American democracy, is it?

Well, I suppose there are bankers here, I hope there are. I like to give them a little advice and a few suggestions. It is one of the most serious things in American life, and it is one place where we are absolutely responsible as fathers and mothers for the consequences of the lack of

thrift. But I know that when you estimate thrift by savings bank deposits, you have some little evidence of what is called thrift, but that is not the kind of thrift I am talking about. There are a whole lot of people in this world today that have not a dollar in the savings bank who are practicing thrift, so your savings bank deposits do not necessarily prove thrift for the boys and girls that I want to train in thrift.

Thrift involves earning the nickel or dime or half dollar. Will you please get that? That is the way you begin. What have you got against your boy? Second, spending a portion of the nickel, dime or dollar. Third, saving a portion of it. If you know of any man in this country who was not a millionaire's son to start with -- and few of them remain millionaires, and I say that kindly and courteously -- if you know of any man or group of men who have not followed the speaker's definition of thrift, tell me today. I will stay over an extra day to get the information.

I repeat: Earn the nickel, the dime, the dollar; spend a portion of the nickel, the dime, or the dollar! save a portion of the nickel, dime, or dollar.

And yet if I could turn the X-Ray on you, the majority of you men in the last month, have given away for the asking of the quarter, the half dollar, the dollar, and the five dollars, and you actually are laboring under the misapprehension that you are giving your part of American youth a chance. Not on your life. Not on your life.

Dad never gave me a nickel in his life. At his death nothing came to me because the seven children were gracious enough to go a step beyond him, a big step beyond him, and say, "Mother is entitled to every nickel and dime that he leaves."

I know what you say: I wouldn't want such a father as that. Neither did I. I did not pick out my father, and you did not pick out your father. You did just exactly as I did. You took anything that came along, and they do have a way of coming along, even in the twentieth century. I am mighty glad he came along. Don't you for one moment think he was unkind. He tried the experiment, if I may be personal, of being a little more generous towards Boy Number Two, 15 years my junior. Father did not live long enough, and I am glad of that, to witness the tragedy of Boy Number Two, for which he was indirectly responsible. He did not give Seymour, my brother, a chance.

I will tell you what he gave me. It was a thousand times more valuable than nickels and dimes and half dollars and five dollar bills. He gave me an opportunity to earn nickels and dimes. Get that, men. Get it men. God pity you who have sons and daughters who never earn a nickel or a dime or a quarter. You are helping to breed paramonial from that son or daughter later in life. You are going to get something else.

I shall never forget the Baptist Deacon who lived on the next farm. He came up one evening and said, "John,"

-- that is my father -- "Can you come and hoe corn tomorrow?" Of course, you men do not know anything about hoeing corn in Chicago, and you can call my tale a fairy story if you like. You wouldn't call it a fairy story if you lived in Tioga County, New York, and tried to raise corn. Father said, "I will be there." "Will you bring your boy?" "He can come if he wants to." Oh, he was not unkind. If I did not want the money I needn't go, and I knew that there was no other way to get the money except to go.

I was there and hoed corn all day, hoed just as much corn as father and the Deacon, so they said; and just as well, so they said. At the end of the day the Deacon paid father a dollar and gave me a half dollar. For sixty years I have thought about that transaction. I have wondered whether he over-paid dad or under-paid me.

But you Chicagoans can find parallels to that. I hope it is not in your own experience. The Baptist Deacon is dead. I think I know where he is.

When I spent any money and made a mistake and came around with tears flowing down my face, father did not say, "I will make it up to you."

Are you checking up as I go along?

He said, "You will learn by and by. You will learn by and by. You will learn by and by." I did not make any reply. I did not care to go to the hospital.

He was the best kind of a father a boy could have, and particularly when you recognize the blood that runs

through the veins of the Ferris tribe. I am not going to say too much about that because an astrologer has recently prophesied that I have 22½ years to live. Think of what the Republicans of Michigan must think they have coming to them. I can stir them up for a long time to come, and God knows they need it. I hope there is somebody over here in Illinois who can administer some form of antiseptic. Probably it could be used to advantage in the City of Chicago where you are busy trying to throw a school superindendent out of office. In Chicago you should give American youth a chance.

Pay tribute to the symbol if you do not do anything else. That is one thing that is the matter with America; symbols, symbols, symbols like the professional man of Big Rapids that I told you about. Twenty years ago I said to him one day jokingly: "Doc, why don't you tell the truth?" "Tell the truth? Why," he said, "I lie like the devil to tell the truth". One of the most wonderful philosophical statements I have ever heard in all my life. That is what we are busy about, lying like the devil to tell the truth, lying like the devil to make things look like the truth. It won't wash.

. . . . . .

Oh, a great many of you have made sacrifices beyond reason in order to get the boy through college. You have made sacrifices beyond reason in order to get the boy through college. You have an idea that is the way to give

American youth a chance. Not at all without a foundation. There are too many today in our colleges, too many in our universities, too many in our high schools, and in Chicago and Detroit and elsewhere you have men that feel that they are philanthropists because they are making provision for young men and young women to go through college.

Any able bodied American boy, any able bodied American girl, that can't go through college without borrowing a dollar of dad, or of uncle, ought not to go to college, as a rule. The physically handicapped are in a different class. If I had my way about it every class of graduates hereafter in America from the high school would go out for one year and earn their food and clothing and shelter, and they should be able to do so with 12 years of public school training that was really educating them along the lines I have designated.

A good many people say, "I wouldn't dare try that test." No. You would not have to send John to college if you tried it, and you would save money, and best of all, you would save John.

But my friends, Nicholas Butler knew what he was talking about. He knows that many of our colleges and universities are continuous summer resorts. Millions of dollars for stadiums, millions of dollars for athletics. Do I fight athletics? No. Not athletics for the student body. We are paying far too extravagantly for educational substitutes, winning football games without winning games

legitimately in the field of intelligence.

I put a higher value on intelligence than I do on football expertness. I was not very greatly disturbed by the fight that you had in Chicago recently. I did not pay any attention to it. I was not interested in that sort of thing. What little interest I had, occurred when I was a young man and when I employed my own means of defense. I believed in that. I am an advocate of that. 150,000 in the audience, I am told. Two and a half million dollars for admission. That doesn't worry me at all. I don't know for whose benefit it was given. I can't imagine wherein Chicago will be a better city to live in. Possibly it will. God knows it ought to be.

Do you know what that fight meant to me? A symptom, that is all, of American ideals. I make no further comment; I do not have to. A symptom. We are like what we like, as a rule. A pretty good psychological law. I know I have many friends here who were there, and they will go again, I suppose. What did you get out of it? Are you better today than you were two weeks ago? Wherein has anybody been benefited? Think it over.

Let us get back to our fundamentals. I had a class of 300 graduating from Ferris Institute last July and August. I was curious to know something about their education. I knew they had gotten their marks. I knew they had "got by". Isn't that a beautiful term? That is a college term. Do you business men appreciate it: "got by"? And

then five years from that time there is not a trace of that staying in the mind of that splendid boy of yours, not a trace. And you are responsible. You have heaped on the universities and the colleges your work, and you are going to pay an awful price for it.

You do not suppose, do you, that men enjoy participating in stickups? You do not mean to say that they enjoy shooting down their fellow men? It is the money they want, and what the money will give them in the way of pleasure. Well, it is perfectly obvious that the more American boys and girls we give a chance under the line of the old fundamentals of life, the less crime we will have. That is what a young boy from Bay City said to me when he presented his credentials from Leavenworth prison. Do you get it?

Ferris Institute has no academic requirement. It is the only institution that I know of in America, a great secondary school recognized by higher schools that demands no examination academically, and I stand here in Chicago where your great university is and I say that every state institution ought to admit every man and woman who can do the work he or she elects in that institution satisfactorily. That is democratic, and anything less is undemocratic and unfair. These men that represent these institutions know it, and you men know it, and why don't you say so.

When the Ferris Institute puts up the bars, I am out, and if I am in Heaven I will come back to haunt them if they do. Some of you say: How do I know I am going to Heaven?

Because I am a Democrat, that is why I know it. In Michigan we get no rewards in this life and the good God has promised us rewards according to our deeds, and therefore we know where we are going. Where the Republicans are going, I will not say. They may change.

The home is the only institution that can give the boys and girls of America, those fundamentals of obedience, of regular work, of thrift, of self-reliance, self-denial, self-sacrifice, integrity, sobriety, virtue and loyalty. Oh, there are other qualities, but these are enough for you to think about.

Give American youth a chance. The home must do. Stop making yourself believe and fooling yourself in believing that the high school can do it. You are simply adding to the difficulties of the high school. Or that it lies with the college. You encumber the college. Or that it lies with the university. You embarrass the university.

There are thousands of American youths in the universities who should come home and be directed toward some useful walks in life, and you know it now. Now, do not misunderstand. There is a time to help a boy in college and in the university, but I can't discuss that. I discourage these institutions that loan money. I know something about that too.

I really should stop right this minute, but I have to present you with an illustration of an American young man who was given a chance. You are all acquainted with

him. The people of the United States are better acquainted with this young man than with any other one young man in the United States. And do you know my heart beat just a little faster when I found the recognition he received. But I do not commend Col. Lindbergh for the reason that some other men will stand up and commend him. I do not care anything about his exploit. I do not care about his crossing the Atlantic, so far as the crossing is concerned. I do not care anything in particular about the functioning of the airplane. I do not care anything in particular about the Twentieth Century train. I do not care anything in particular about carrying the mail by airplane. The letters I write might just as well get there in five days as one, and most of your letters in the same way. I do not have a bit of enthusiasm over getting a letter from here to San Francisco many hours sooner than I could by the ordinary train.

We are just crazy over superficialities. Is it not a beautiful illustration of the functions of the twentieth century when a man will pay several dollars more to get into New York a few hours earlier than he otherwise would, and then he walks down through the train looking for two or three men to play cards with him so he can kill three or four hours of the precious time before he gets into New York? Isn't it beautiful? Isn't it sublime? He has the brain of a Shakespeare.

I tell you what concerns me with the Twentieth

Century; what it carries. What I am concerned with about the airplane is the kind of letters it carries. This mania for eliminating time and then actually throwing away many times the time in our diversions, and so on. Think of it! Isn't it beautiful?

Of course, I did not like the old method when father said, "Did you wash your face, boy," "No." "Well you wash your face before you sit down to the table." I did not think he was unkind. You would not think that if you could have looked at my face. I had to go out the back way, grab a handful of soap, and break a little hole through the ice of the creek, and wash my face, and I said some prayers and wondered if I would always have to do that, but, confidentially, I got along very nicely. Take struggle out of life; and what will you have left. Nothing in the way of gain.

Struggle. Why don't you give your boy a chance? What have you got against him? What do you want to do with all that foolishness? You say, "When I was a boy I had a hard row to hoe, and if I ever become a father I will soften the road." That is it. In other words, you say, "I will not give the boy the chance I have had."

A man from Grand Rapids came to me one summer and brought his boy and said, "Here is my boy." He was eighteen years of age, handsomely dressed, and had very pleasing manners. He said, "Mother and I have failed, and we brought him up here." I said, "Been in the high school in Grand

Rapids?" "Yes". "Fell down?" "Yes". "What have you done?" "Given him all the money he wants?" "Yes". "Given him all the automobile rides he wanted?" "Yes, and the automobile thrown in." "Given him everything?" "Yes." "Up until two o'clock in the morning, went home, and mother would get up in the morning and take him a poached egg on toast, and then write a lie at noon-time that the boy was ill and could not be there in the forenoon?" "Yes."

I said, "Take him back. You ask me to reverse his home training." I can't do it. Well, he said, "I am going to leave him anyhow". He was home in six weeks. The father met me some weeks afterwards and he said, "Ride with me for a little way." He said, "My boy is coming out all right. I sent him to Howe Military School. He has become converted in religion, and he is doing his work, and he is coming out all right." I said, "I congratulate you. The Ferris Institute could not do it."

Six months later I ran across him again. He did not see me so quickly then as he did before, but I saw him and I insisted on riding with him for a little way. I said, "Where is the son?" "I don't know where in hell he is."

You will have to excuse this language. I do not suppose you ever hear anything of the kind in Chicago. I am just quoting a Republican. "He can't live in my home any longer." There was a father that had ruined his own son, had not given him a chance.

Well let's get back to Lindbergh. I sat there at

the banquet in Grand Rapids. I was privileged to be at the speaker's table. I do not know how they happened to think of me, but I was there. Maybe they were looking into the far future, I don't know. I was there.

My faith in the possibilities of American youth under my philosophy rose a hundred per cent. There stood a young man. He did not make a long speech, nothing like what I have done here. Six feet tall, more or less, clean, modest, self-controlled. Will some man in this audience name one of the fundamentals I have named here that Lindbergh did not possess? Did you ever hear of his having a liaison with some woman to get on the front page of the paper? That is the short way. Never. Did you ever hear about his life at college? Did you ever hear of his indulging in some of the college pranks whereby two or three thousand dollars worth of state property is destroyed on behalf of education of American youth? Well I hope that there will be more schools established for the feeble minded. We need them for such fathers who advocate destructive college pranks.

He did not graduate from college. Very likely he is sorry he did not. He was a thinker. He was the embodiment the incarnation of every fundamental I have named here that American youth is entitled to.

Where was the mother when Colonel Lindbergh was in the skies? Oh, I love an American mother of a son like Lindbergh. I have a notion that when I have a splendid boy

in my school -- I have lots of them, and splendid girls -- I never fail to think and to say: "May I have the pleasure some day of seeing your mother?" Some one says, "Why don't you ask for the father?" Because it is a biological fact that you can get along with almost anything for a father. You have got to have a good mother.

There was Mrs. Lindbergh at the same table. Decked in diamonds? In pearls? No, she did not need them. They are not fundamental. And yet I can't walk down Michigan Avenue without seeing those things that are supposed to be fundamentals that even the lower animals would discard if they could be conscious of how they looked.

A costly hat? No. Substantial, plain. Costly gown, showy gown? No, modest.

And then I looked at the two, mother and son. What is Mrs. Lindbergh going to do next year? Teach in the public schools of Detroit. Going to be useful; going to help carry out my philosophy in giving American youth a chance. She knows by experience that what I have said is true. She has lived it, and so have you, the majority of you. That is the pathetic part of it, that you won't give your own sons a chance; that you won't give your own daughters a chance.

If I had the time I would tell you the story of a millionaire's boy that is now in my school, the first one in 43 years that has spontaneously tried to earn a dollar for himself. But that can be explained if you knew his

grandfather: the "Corn Flake Man." No, W. K. Kellogg has traveled the road. I, the bookkeeper, one summer checked up when he was drawing eight dollars a week, and I suppose you will say, "What a fool." Not on your life. One day he said, "I, want to buy that one food product you are making." Dr. John Kellogg, his employer, said, "All right." You know W. K. of today, I presume. I do not need to make any comment.

That training, that self-denial, self-sacrifice, the constant watch, has made him a millionaire -- not that that is necessarily worth while.

And then thank God they could not auction off Lindbergh. The Literary Digest recently said if he accepted all overtures he would have six million dollars. Thank God, we have one American that can't be bought. He will never get to the United States Senate.

All honor to Lindbergh. Who are we here not to be glad to find in your son the elements that characterize Lindbergh? I say, "Amen and amen." May it be your good fortune to give your boys and girls a chance.

SPEECH GIVEN ON LEWIS CASS DAY,
AUGUST 28, 1915, MACKINAC ISLAND.[1]

Mr. Chairman, and fellow-citizens: I can add nothing to the magnificent oration you have heard; it must needs cover my subject, "Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory."

Human greatness, which has always commanded the admiration of the world, is in origin more or less shrouded in mystery. Washington in his youth gave no special promise of greatness; but his achievements in mature manhood, under gigantic difficulties, placed him in the front rank of the world's greatest statesmen. Lincoln's closest boyhood friends never so much as dreamed of his possible future; his mature life was fraught with responsibilities which would have crushed any but the greatest of men, and his life continues to be the study of all lovers of humanity. The more I study the life of Lewis Cass, the more I am reminded of Washington and Lincoln. During his service for eighteen years as Governor of Michigan Territory, he was confronted with problems of government that would have taxed the diplomacy and statesmanship of a Washington or a Lincoln.

In 1813, Lewis Cass found Michigan Territory devastated, proverty stricken and honeycombed with anarchy.

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[1]Fuller, George N., (ed.) Michigan Historical Commission, Bulletins 1-11, (1913-16), p. 38.

The total number of white inhabitants was approximately six thousand. The estimated number of Indians was forty thousand. The whites lived in constant terror of the Indians, who were aided and abetted by the British.

In the fall of 1814, General Cass organized "a little company," and led a successful attack on the Indians. This encouraged the white people to assert their rights, and compelled the savages to exercise a wholesome fear in relation to the Governor. His unremitting vigilance and energetic conduct saved our people from many of the horrors of war. General Cass possessed the courage that conquers. He had an accurate knowledge of Indian traits and of Indian character. During his governorship he made many important treaties with the Indians; he was scrupulously honest in all of his dealings with them. Furthermore, he attempted to advise and encourage them in all matters relating to their own highest welfare. The injustice and perversity of England not only made the solution of the Indian problem very difficult, but hindered him in his efforts to Americanize Michigan Territory.

By an act of congress passed at the beginning of the war, two million acres of land were to be selected in Michigan to be given as bounty lands to volunteers. Cass desired that these surveys should be quickly made, in order that at least a few settlers might make their homes in the Territory and introduce a larger American element on which, and with which, to work. This resulted disastrously. The

President, assured by the commissioner of the land office that scarcely one acre in a thousand was fit for cultivation, advised congress in February, 1816, that the quota of bounty lands might better be located in other parts of the Northwest; in other words, the lands of Michigan in the southern peninsula were declared to be a barren waste. This adverse report was a serious handicap to the development of Michigan for several years.

General Cass was an undaunted pioneer and explorer. He traveled thousands of miles in a birch bark canoe and on horseback visiting Indian tribes, and at the same time discovered for himself the vast riches of this great undeveloped Territory. Before 1830 the alleged barren waste, Michigan, was actually exporting flour to the East, and there was an air of comfort on her borders and an appearance of thrift along her inland roads which spoke of Governor Cass's efforts to attract eastern knowledge and energy. By the third census of the century, Michigan was shown to have over thirty thousand people, and to have just claims for speedy admittance as a state.

General Cass was thoroughly democratic, both in theory and practice. He was a Jeffersonian. He did not arrogate to himself the functions of an autocrat, nor of a monarch. As rapidly as possible, he organized the Territory for self-government; like Lincoln, he wished the people to govern. He was an enthusiastic advocate of good roads. He encouraged education through the agency of

schools and the newspaper. On November 6, 1826, Lewis Cass said in a speech at Detroit: "Whenever education is diffused among the people generally, they will appreciate the value of free institutions, and as they have the power, so must they have the will to maintain them. It appears to me that a plan may be devised that will not press too heavily upon the means of the country and which will ensure a competent portion of education to all the youth in the Territory; and I recommend the subject to your serious consideration."

Lewis Cass had extraordinary opportunites for studying the conduct of the civilized and the uncivilized. He was a lawyer and sociologist, and with his practical knowledge of human nature, exhibited what bordered on a prophetic vision of how coming civilization would treat crime. The following statement made by him in his message to the territorial council January 5, 1831, is profoundly significant:

"In fact, the opinion gains ground through the civilized world, that human life has been too often sacrificed to unjust laws, which seek the death of the offender rather than his reformation. Governments have found it easy to put an end to their lives; while the difficult problem, whose solution is equally required by policy and humanity, of uniting reformation, example and security, has been neglected as unimportant or unattainable. The period is probably not far distant when it will

be universally acknowledged that all the just objects of human laws may be fully answered without the infliction of capital punishment."

Lewis Cass was a natural born leader of men. He never asked any man to do what he was afraid or unwilling to do himself. He co-operated with the federal government in all movements for progress and self-defense. He was a profound statesman and diplomat. In this age of steam, electricity and iron we find it difficult to appreciate the heroic and constructive work of Lewis Cass.

The life of Lewis Cass is worthy of careful study. We gain inspiration and enthusiasm from knowing what great Americans have accomplished under the most adverse circumstances. Public men and citizens will find in the experience of this sturdy pioneer many of the concrete examples of the regenerating power of democracy. This so-called progressive age has not overshadowed Lewis Cass. I commend to economists, lawyers, teachers and political students the careful examination of this remarkable man's achievements. I feel so deeply the importance of this suggestion that my highest aspiration is to be guided by the ideals of this great man.

(Lifting his eyes to the audience and to the tablet, Governor Ferris said:) In behalf of this great commonwealth, I, Woodbridge N. Ferris, Governor of Michigan, accept this memorial tablet as a historical mark of love and esteem for one of our greatest constructive government builders. It is

fitting that this tablet be placed upon Mackinac Island, one of Nature's choicest creations, an island visited annually by people from every state in the union and by tourists from all parts of the world. May those who in the years to come pause to read the inscription on this tablet, be inspired with the patriotism that has lead America to recognize and maintain the inalienable rights of all men "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

At intervals during the reading, Governor Ferris commented informally on thoughts suggested by the paper. Speaking of Cass' democracy, he said:

"The trouble in Europe is, they have not a sufficient amount of democracy; and the trouble in this country, so far as we have trouble, is along the same line. There is no getting around it.

I believe that America should be for Americans; that we should have the kind of courage that Cass had; and also, the kind of charity that Lincoln had. I so abhor and hate war, that I cannot feel like doing anything that might possibly encourage a disaster of such magnitude as we now have in Europe. When I think of the awful devastation of Europe, and of the awful slaughter of human lives, I shed no tears for the two millions of brave men who lie in eternal sleep; but my heart aches, as I pray for that charity and for that democracy, which can extend sympathy and love to the mothers of Europe whose hearts are crushed and bleeding.

I want to say to you that I love every Finlander I have ever taught, every Russian I have ever taught, every German I have ever taught. We are such a mixture of all these nations, that we have no right to be either pro-German or pro-Ally. I love enthusiasm; but, with General Sherman, I hate war, whereby unborn generations, for thousands and thousands of years, must carry a needless burden. Better to chloroform the monarchs of Europe, and save the lives of these millions of men, and the heart-breakings of these millions of innocent women and children. The Stars and Stripes stand for something more than partisanship. God hasten the day when the influence of the Stars and Stripes shall be recognized throughout the world as the flag of humanity and brotherly love."

SPEECH GIVEN BEFORE TEACHERS' INSTITUTE IN NEW YORK.[1]

I want to have it distinctly understood that I appear before you as an educational exhorter. I haven't a new thing to say to you; I haven't anything to tear down. I just want to present two or three very old notions and exhort you to their observance.

If I were to organize an educational system, I would make for its center health -- h-e-a-l-t-h, health. I ask teachers to care as much about health as the great industrial institutions of this country care about health. If you will do that much there will be important changes in the United States in a comparatively short time. Our great factories are today houses of glass. What for? Light, light, and more light. They are so built that they can have air. The industrial world has found out that it pays in dollars and cents to have light and air, and of course any industrial institution that has light and air has all other sanitary provisions.

Many of our school buildings, viewed in the light of what has already been said, are unfit for the use of our boys and girls. You say, "What can we do about it?" You can do everything. It is about time school masters and schoolma'ams came to realize the power they possess.

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[1] National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings, New York, vol. LIV, (1916), p. 976.

You can do almost any wise thing if you have a mind to, or rather, if you want to.

Tonight I make the appeal for air and sunlight. In Michigan we have a state sanatorium for tuberculosis patients. This sanatorium is full of patients, every single case a well-defined case of tuberculosis. They are sleeping out of doors, living out of doors, playing out of doors, working a little out of doors -- everything out of doors except dressing and undressing; on account of the peculiar usages here in America, particularly in sanatoriums, they are obliged to dress indoors. The same restrictions are not placed on people who are well as on people who are ill. We know that the only means by which we can help these people is to have them live out of doors. Well, what under heaven has Michigan and other states in the Union against people who haven't tuberculoses? I want you to answer that question. My state is going to stamp out tuberculosis, that is, kill tuberculosis, get rid of it somehow. I ask our officials to take hold of the educational machinery of my state and see if they cannot do something to get well men and women to live as they ought to live with reference to air and sunshine. Now, you yourselves don't do it. You don't believe in fresh air, you don't want fresh air, you won't have fresh air; you won't live out of doors, you don't want to get out of doors, and consequently what hope is there?

Microbes do not thrive out of doors; they don't sit

up in the trees nor on brick or stone walls. They are indoors. Every cold, every case of pneumonia, is an indoor disease. Let us come a little closer to our subject. What can you people do with the present school-houses? You cannot have them condemned and torn down; you cannot build new buildings in order to have air and sunshine. You can take out the lower or the upper sash, and put in a cotton-cloth screen for the entire year. You will use more fuel possibly, but you will have fresh air and better air, less sickness, and teach a few boys and girls how to live and have health instead of tuberculosis or any other disease. Will you do it? No, the majority of you won't.

And what else can you teachers do? On every sunshiny day, on every fair day, in the rural and village school, you can take your boys and girls out of doors and conduct out of doors every class that can be conducted successfully out of doors. I dare you to do it. There has never been a schoolroom built to equal God's schoolroom. I would much rather have the boys and girls out of doors, now and then glancing at a bird in a tree or a squirrel scampering around, than observing a curtain when it falls down inside.

I go further, I plead in behalf of medical inspection. I hold that every American child, when he enters the schoolroom, has the right, if the state is going to demand what it does, to have just as good teeth as modern science can give him; he has a right to have a pair of

eyes just as good and efficient as modern science can give him; he has right to have just as sound ears as modern science can give him; just as good a throat and nasal cavities as modern science can give him; just as good a body as modern science can give him. You agree with me, don't you? Is there any possibility of disagreement? You see then what I mean by health in the schoolroom. In five years, you can perceptibly improve conditions through your own efforts along the lines I have suggested, without state aid. It is up to you. By the way, the people will respond. They will listen to you.

We have in this country a tremendous school equipment, costing millions and millions of dollars, and for whom? Your traditional answer is, for the boys and girls of a certain age. Talk about superstition -- I haven't any language whereby I can describe my contempt for this answer. And what has it done? It has paralyzed the majority of people, so that, when a man whose hair is like mine speaks about getting an education, he is told that he is too old. When a man or woman is too old to learn, there is only one thing I can suggest. He should take a shovel and pick, go to the family cemetery, where I hope he has bought a lot, dig a grave, get into it and stay there.

In our democracy, public schools should be for all of the people all of the time. We now use them less than 50 per cent of the time. The remainder of the time they are idle. City schools should be open six nights in a

week and six days in the week. There are many schoolmasters who think that the people would not take advantage of these privileges.

I love the flag. I like to hear folks talk about it; but I have always had a profound admiration for the people who carry the flag. I want to say that one of the highest forms of patriotism in this country consists in carrying out the idea I have suggested, of giving all of the people in this country an opportunity to acquire the fundamentals of an education, and especially an opportunity to learn to speak and write English. Oh, what a gigantic influence it would have on the solution of industrial problems, on the solution of national preparedness!

One other thing; Don't forget the few fundamentals we have taught in the public schools ever since they were organized. Above all, teach a few things so that they will stick. Isn't it humiliating to hear the graduate of a college or university say: "Oh yes, I have been out of college five years; I cannot read my Virgil, I cannot read my Cicero, it is all gone." Or, "I once knew a little something of geometry, but it has vanished; I knew something of chemistry, but it is gone." Don't mention it again as long as you live. What is the use of advertising your foolishness? Don't take particular pains to mention it. I am not afraid of any of those fellows. I am afraid of the fellow who has learned something that has stayed with him. There is E. A. Strong, professor of physical sciences, State

Normal College, Ypsilanti, Michigan, who is now nearing his eightieth year. He has taught science all his life. If an Ypsilanti girl tomorrow should say: "Doctor, I am puzzled a little with that passage in Virgil," he would read it as though he had only learned it yesterday. He mastered the classics at Union College. I am not arguing as to whether you should teach the classics or not, but whatever you do teach, teach it so that it will stick. The greatest teacher I ever had was Herman Krüse. He covered plane geometry in just forty weeks, but in some of the high schools in Michigan the period is sixteen weeks. Every theorem was presented in the form of a problem. No text-book was used. Every student presented his own solution. I would like to find a Krüsi student in the United States who today does not know his geometry. I know plane geometry and I have not taught the subject in twenty years. Somebody says: "Do you teach geometry that way now in your own school?" No, because I am compelled to cover a certain amount of ground in a certain number of units of time. Why so? Many of my students enter colleges and universities, and I must meet the requirements of these institutions.

Please don't think lightly of my appeal for health, my appeal for all the people, my appeal for thoroughness.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR FERRIS, JANUARY 2, 1913.[1]

GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATURE:

We are entering upon a new era in statecraft. A general awakening is in process of evolution. The people are coming to feel with force the time-honored quotation, "A Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." They are not over-zealous as to the particular political party that an official represents; in fact, the three great political parties in Michigan agree on essentials and it ought, therefore, to be easy for the legislators representing these three great parties to work together harmoniously and efficiently in securing these common ends. We are, indeed, colleagues in our effort to join in common service for the highest welfare of our great State. In other words, we are citizens and public servants first and our party differences are secondary. I can assure the present Legislature that I shall take great pleasure in encouraging hearty co-operation from start to finish. Most of the measures that I shall recommend have commanded the attention of the people for at least a decade.

PRIMARY LAW

The secrecy of our ballot is the foundation of our liberty and the law wisely provides that this should remain

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[1]From the Journal of the House of Representatives, pp. 26-35, Reported by G. N. Fuller, (ed.), Messages of the Governors of Michigan, vol. 4, (1897-1927), Lansing, Mich., p. 645.

inviolate. Our present primary law violates these fundamental principles by providing that every voter shall tell the town board to which party he belongs, be publicly recorded as such a partisan, and his name sent to Lansing as such a partisan. He can only change his label on certain days of the years as provided by law. This provision should be repealed. I suggest that registration day and primary day be one and the same. This would insure full attendance at the primary. All party tickets should be printed on one ballot, the voter marking one ticket only in the booth. In order to prevent minority nominations, provisions should be made for a second choice column.

The abolition of party enrollment would do away with the absurd 15 per cent proposition. By having registration day and primary day the same, thousands of dollars could be saved. By giving the people the initiative and referendum to amend the constitution and make laws; by giving them a single and secret ballot and a primary law to nominate and elect their public servants; by giving them the recall to discharge unworthy and misrepresentative public officials, you place in their hands the necessary tools whereby they can easily get such reform legislation as they desire. The above are the fundamental things that should take precedence over all other legislation if we are to have in this State a government truly of, for and by the people.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

In order that the people may rule it is essential

that they be given the proper tools to work with so that they may attain their own salvation. The most important of these measures is the initiative and referendum. This system has been adopted by nearly one-third of the states in the union, but in one-half of these the system is ineffective because of some "joker" inserted in the amendment. A constitutional amendment should be submitted providing for the initiative and referendum. Of all the states, Oregon has had the initiative and referendum the longest. It has been in operation there for over ten years and during that time the people have initiated or referred over one hundred measures by popular vote. The percentage of petition signers is reasonable and the amendment is self-operating. I suggest that it should be adopted without any substantial change. Its operation after a series of years has been so satisfactory, that after ten years the people voted down the attempt to repeal it by an overwhelming majority.

RECALL

A constitutional provision should also be submitted providing for the recall of all executive, legislative and administrative officials. The petition for the recall should not require more than 25 per cent of the voters of the district. This percentage has the approval of all of the authorities on this subject.

BALLOT REFORM

If the people are to rule through the agency of the

ballot at the election primary, they must simplify our election primary laws. Possibly we are under the delusion that we have had the Australian ballot system for many years, but as a matter of fact, such is not the case. It is claimed that the present party column ballot is easy for the ignorant voter to vote the straight party ticket, but it is difficult for the independent voter to split the party ticket. The double system of marking the ballot with a circle on the top and squares at the side gives rise to endless confusion. Many voters mark the squares to the side of the first name on the ticket believing that this mark votes the whole ticket. Election inspectors say that one voter in ten fails to mark his ballot properly, indicating that 50,000 Michigan voters are annually disfranchised, in whole or in part, by the present complicated ballot. Our ballot should be changed to the genuine Australian ballot similar to that provided by the Massachusetts law. The advantage in this ballot is that there is but one way to mark it. No complicated instructions are necessary. In voting, each candidate's name comes under the eyes of the voter and he places a cross in front of the name of every man he wishes to vote for.

Furthermore, I recommend a corrupt practices act, providing for the limitation of expenditures and the publication of these expenditures both before and after primary and regular elections.

SHORT BALLOT

Many citizens think that the people are called on to elect too many officials. An examination of our election returns for many years will disclose the fact that the people exercise much independence in voting for Governor, some in selecting a Lieutenant-Governor, but below that office the candidates for the state offices receive practically the same vote regardless of their individual merits. If, for example, anything goes wrong in the State Treasurer's office the blame is promptly lain on the Governor, although he has no control over that office.

In the interest of better government and a shorter ballot, why would it not be a good idea to submit a constitutional amendment providing for the election of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor and that the remainder of the elective state officials be appointed by the Governor and to act as his cabinet and advisors in state affairs? The ballot could also be shortened by abolishing the offices of circuit court commissioners and coroners and providing that Justices of the Peace may perform the duties of these officials.

PUBLICITY FOR CANDIDATES

It is necessary that each candidate should get his name and ideas on public questions before the public. Newspaper advertising is very expensive. In this form of publicity the rich man has an advantage over his poorer brother. Small fortunes are frequently spent to gain a

single office that doesn't pay one-half of the amount in return salary. I suggest that the Oregon system of publicity be carefully considered. In that state an election pamphlet is published by the state. Each candidate of every party paying a nominal sum can have a certain amount of space, give his biography and views of public questions and if some proposition or enactment is submitted, it is printed in full in this pamphlet and an argument for or against by its most active advocate or enemy is also printed. This pamphlet is mailed at the state's expense to every registered voter ninety days before election. As a result of this publicity pamphlet, Oregon has become a great school for the study of political questions.

ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS

Congress has submitted to the various state legislatures for their approval an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of senators by popular vote. Would it not be an honor to Michigan to be the first to ratify this amendment?

HOME RULE

The present home rule law should be amended so as to give to all cities home rule to the fullest extent permissible under the constitution. Particularly should the law be amended so as to provide for the recall of all municipal officials and direct legislation by initiative petitions signed by not less than 10 per cent of the electors; also

for the separation of municipal elections from the general November elections.

The people at the last election amended the constitution to provide for piecemeal charter legislation. Before this amendment can become effective, the Legislature must by law provide the necessary machinery. I would urge this be passed and made effective at the earliest possible moment so that our municipalities may have the advantage of the amendment.

TAXATION

The more one surveys the "hit and miss" taxation system in Michigan, the more one is convinced that radical changes are needed in the system itself.

The one thing that would greatly simplify our taxation methods would be a separation of state and local taxes. Scarcely any one will deny that this change is needed, but the question is how to bring it about. How to raise the specific taxes necessary to run the State is the most serious problem.

I would suggest three sources of revenue. Our present inheritance tax brings us in a comparatively small amount. I would suggest that this tax should be largely increased, especially on extremely large fortunes, and the proceeds be placed in the general fund for State purposes. A second source of revenue might come from a graduated income tax like our sister state of Wisconsin is now trying. The corporate-excess tax plan of Massachusetts, as recom-

mended by the committee of inquiry into taxation at the last session of the Legislature is still another method of raising the necessary state revenue.

While I do not recommend any of these plans specifically, I do recommend the separation of state and local taxes and ask your honorable body to carefully examine all the methods above suggested, and such others as may occur to you, and I hope that by some of these methods, or a combination of them, the Legislature can find some way of raising the necessary revenue so that a separation of state and local taxes may be brought about.

PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION

We now have a railroad commission which is given the power to fix rates and regulate the practices of railroads, telephones and power companies. I would recommend the enlargement of the powers of this commission to cover all public utility corporations of the State. Furthermore, as there can be no intelligent fixing of charges without a knowledge of the real value of the properties, I would recommend that the commission be authorized to make physical valuation of all such properties that they may deem advisable, that the rates fixed may return reasonable dividends on actual cash investment.

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CONCLUSION

My attention has been called to many other matters, but possibly I have already offered too many suggestions.

I realize that on account of your limited time some of them cannot be considered. In conclusion I repeat that the Australian ballot, an efficient primary law, the initiative and referendum and the recall should receive thorough and careful consideration at the hands of this Legislature. We are in duty bound to fulfill these pledges. I feel sure that along the line of a majority of my recommendations we are a unit.

I am aware that there is always danger of putting on the statute books too many laws. We sometimes forget that law enactment is not so important as law enforcement. I unhesitatingly place the interests of the people of Michigan above political partisanship. This is an age in which honest men are glad to co-operate in order that they may render their fellowmen the largest and best possible service.

Woodbridge N. Ferris.

SPEECH GIVEN AT A CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR IN THE SENATE CHAMBER, LANSING, MICHIGAN, DECEMBER 31, 1913.

(A CONFERENCE TO SETTLE THE COPPER STRIKE.)[1]

The Governor:

Now gentlemen, as Governor of the State of Michigan I want to say to you gentlemen who are assembled here that I heartily welcome your coming. I am ready to receive information and help from any source and every source. It is not necessary for me to discuss what you are already familiar with and we have a definite program to follow here and I shall welcome anything that this meeting may have to offer, and if there should be any man in the audience who has anything farther to offer after the three speakers are done I shall be glad to hear from him.

Up to the present time I have done my best as Governor of the State of Michigan to bring about an amicable settlement of this great industrial dispute and if there is anybody who can offer any further help I shall welcome it. I am in hopes however that one thing may characterize the work this afternoon -- what can be done under the laws of Michigan rather than what should be done -- what can be done, and comply with the laws of this State. That is what we want light on and I hope we may get something of that

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[1]Taken from a personal record of E. C. Shields, Lansing Attorney, Lansing, Michigan. (Stenographically recorded).

kind this afternoon.

I now present to you Mr. William Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Street Railway Employees, who will make a statement to me as Governor of Michigan, and to those here assembled this afternoon.

(After hearing others speak, the Governor continued:)

Now gentlemen, I wish to ask you a few questions before I make any definite statement and I really wish that I might be understood. I have come to the conclusion after living 60 years that the larger number of controversies and the larger number of difficulties in this world arise from infirmities of temper. Now there is one man here who understands what I mean when I say that and that is my friend Darrow. And gentlemen it is exceedingly difficult for you and for me to overcome the infirmities of temper. If you ever solve any great problems that affect men and women you have got to struggle as far as you can -- and it has been done in the main this afternoon -- to get rid of the idea that the other fellow is necessarily a devil. Don't misunderstand me, I am talking about all men. I mean the Governor as well as the men who dig coal or copper. Now when this problem is settled in Michigan and finally settled it will have to be settled right. There is no doubt about that, and it will have to be settled with that idea in mind of give and take. Now get that thoroughly in mind. Don't let it get away from us. I am not enunciating anything new but I would to God, men, that we could even credit the

ugliest man with good intent, to do his best, to do his best, and I would like to always be at my best. I want to ask a few questions. Please do not put me on one side or the other. Please never talk to me from a political standpoint. I don't care a continental for my political prospects, gentlemen, I am not looking to them, I never have and I am not now. I am simply earnest and emphatic in what I say. I do not think any man has intentionally thrown a thing of that kind at me. I am not a political aspirant for anything except for the privilege of rendering to every man some service, to the humblest man as well as to the man highest up. I am not standing here to defend 29 years of my life in Michigan. There are men sitting here whose fathers, whose sons have been under my tuition and I will take their answer. I will take their answer. I will take the answer of two generations and I should be unkind to you and would not regard my ownself if I were to stand up and make such a defense. I am not going to do it. I want to ask a few questions. I want to ask them as a friend to all of the people. Let us leave out the dog question. I don't like that. I am not criticising, I often use the phrase myself. But I don't like the use of the word very well. Men and women are something more than dogs under all circumstances. What I want to know of Mr. Darrow is -- he ought to understand this situation by this time and I think he does. I want to ask him to tell you men and tell the Governor of the State of Michigan what is the one leading point of contention

as he understands it at this hour.

RETIRING MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS TO THE FORTY-NINTH LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN. IN REGULAR SESSION JANUARY, 1917.[1]

December 31, 1916.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN AND THEIR FORTY-NINTH LEGISLATURE:

In accordance with Section V, of Article VI of the Constitution of the State of Michigan, relating to the duties of the Governor, I offer the following:

BI-PARTISANSHIP:

Every state in the Union needs more business efficiency and less partisan politics. The State of Michigan is not owned by any political party. All of the people of Michigan are entitled to just consideration. Political parties have an important function to perform. This function relates to the welfare of all of the people all of the time. Michigan Legislatures have already made many of our State Boards bi-partisan. Why not make our Educational Boards bi-partisan? Why not make all of our State Boards bi-partisan? Why not make our Supreme Court bi-partisan? Why not make all of our State Boards bi-partisan?

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES:

One of the most important problems that can confront any State legislature is the problem of conservation

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[1] Bulletin printed by Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, Lansing, Mich. (1917)

of natural resources. The inexcusable waste that has gone on for years needs only to be mentioned in order that the present generation may have a full realization of its duty. I am, therefore, in full sympathy with the work that is being done by the Public Domain Commission. Reforesting the non-agricultural lands and protecting growing timber from fire, constitutes a part of the great work of this Commission. The plan of this Commission for encouraging the settlement of the good agricultural lands by actual home seekers and the prevention, so far as possible, of the settlement of these lands which are not suitable for agricultural purposes, is imperative. I recommend that a continuous appropriation be made so that the splendid work of this Commission may be protected, and carried to a successful conclusion.

A SOIL SURVEY:

The State Geologist says that fully 40 per cent of the land area of this State is agriculturally unoccupied. Of this amount, approximately 9,000,000 acres of good agricultural land is now, or soon will be available for settlement. Much has been done and is being done by co-operative effort in the development and settlement of these lands. I refer to the work of the development bureaus, the Public Domain Commission, the Geological Survey, many corporations and individuals. There are some corporations and individuals, however, who are interested in the sale of Michigan lands solely for profit and who choose to con-

duct their operations with utter disregard of business ethics and ordinary decency. These operators, deal almost entirely in very poor and worthless land which is sold to intelligent as well as to more credulous persons through persistent misrepresentations. These operators, as well as their victims, are mainly residents of other states. Few of us realize the extent of these operations in Michigan or the irreparable damage which is done by them to the peopling and settling of the good unoccupied agricultural lands. How can we prevent the sale of agriculturally worthless lands for agricultural purposes? If in the future the State is going to exert any important directive influence in the settlement and development of its unoccupied lands it goes without saying that it should acquire adequate and accurate information concerning them. It should know how much unoccupied land there is, where it is, how much is good, how much is fair, how much is poor, and how much is agriculturally worthless. It should know how much is now available for settlement, and how much of the timbered area will eventually make farms. Of the swamp areas it should know how much can be drained, and how much would be fit for farming were drainage accomplished. This information is not only needed by the State but by everybody in any way concerned with these lands. It is needed for the guidance of prospective settlers, land dealers, county boards, banks, loan associations, development bureaus, commercial organizations, experiment stations, the Agricultural College,

county agricultural agents, and railroads. It should be the basis of all cooperative effort in directing development into the most feasible channels. This information can be obtained only through an actual examination and soil survey of those parts of the State which contain the unoccupied lands. A scientific soil survey means a greater and better Michigan. I recommend to your favorable consideration immediate action along this line.

GOOD ROADS:

All the citizens of Michigan are enthusiastic over good roads. In the past ten years a little less than a revolution has taken place in the attitude of our tax-payers. While they sometimes find fault with the total amount of taxes they have to pay, they rarely complain of taxes that contribute to the building of good roads. Now, that the Federal Aid Road Law, which was passed by the last Congress, will bring to Michigan during the next five years, $2,186,755, which must be matched dollar for dollar by the State, this movement must inevitably go forward. No one thing is more important for the further progress of our cities and especially for the further progress of our farming communities than good roads. Even our schools and churches depend for their success, in no small degree, upon good roads. I bespeak for this important feature liberal provisions and the kind of legislation that will promote rather than retard this great movement.

PUBLIC HEALTH:

The Legislature of 1915 made an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of ultimately stamping out tuberculosis in the State. The expenditure of this money has been under the direction of the State Board of Health. As a result of this expenditure there has been a general awakening in the State to the possibility of practically eliminating the White Plague. The bi-products of this campaign are not second in value to its primary object. When people are awakened to an appreciation of the methods that are necessary to stamp out tuberculosis, they are of necessity compelled to recognize the general laws of health. Consequently, the people have been enlightened in relation to the importance of adequate protection from the terrors of all other communicable diseases. Beyond this, they have come to recognize that there are laws of health quite as worthy of observance as are the laws of the State or as are the Ten Commandments.

MEDICAL INSPECTION:

The children of Michigan will never have adequate protection until a system of medical inspection is provided. Every child has the civil right, if not the divine right, to enter our public schools with as good eyes, as good ears, as good teeth, as clean a throat, as good a body, as modern science can give him. In order to secure this, adequate legislation and adequate appropriations must be made. The initial expenditure may seem costly but industrially and

socially, the end more than justifies the expenditure.

HOUSING BILL:

The last Legislature attempted to enact a Housing Bill. No such bill was passed but a Housing Commission was appointed to make such investigation and offer such suggestions as their best judgment dictated. The men on this commission have worked diligently and without compensation to bring to this Legislature valuable information. Such a bill is in perfect harmony with an effort to improve the general health of the people of Michigan. It is absolutely impossible in the larger cities to successfully combat tuberculosis and many other diseases under present housing conditions. It is absolutely impossible to over-estimate the importance of enacting a wholesome, workable conservative Housing Bill.

THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS:

During my first administration I did not become thoroughly familiar with the needs of the Industrial School for Boys and the Industrial School for Girls. During my second administration I made a more careful study of these two institutions. No two institutions in the State of Michigan are in greater need of reorganization and regeneration. It is not necessary in this report to go into details. The Industrial School for Boys has a regular attendance of about eight hundred. These boys are the wards of the State and are entitled to the best possible care and training that the State can offer. It is possible,

under proper management, to make this Institution semi-self-supporting. It cannot be done, however, without the necessary initial expenditure of considerable money. Michigan is under solemn obligation to train these eight hundred boys for loyal citizenship. During the past year this Institution has undergone a tremendous change for the better, but it is impossible to give these boys the training they deserve without a further expenditure of considerable money. The educational features of this School have been until recently, twenty-five years behind the times. On actual examination we have found that fifty boys belonged to the mentally defective class and should be sent to the Michigan Home and Training School at Lapeer. According to a statement made by Dr. Haynes, Superintendent of the Michigan Home and Training School, the number of mental defectives that should be sent to Lapeer annually is two hundred. On that basis, we would have two thousand more commitments in ten years. This ought to awaken the Legislature to a realization of the problem that confronts the State. We now have the machinery for doing something in the way of preventing this increase of mental defectives. These fifty mental defective boys at the Industrial School should not be allowed to go out in the State to propagate their kind. It is hoped that provision is being made for transferring all of these seriously mentally defective boys from the Industrial School to Lapeer. The State of Michigan should make every possible effort to place the Industrial

School for Boys on a sound basis, on such a basis as the School for the Blind and the School for the Deaf now occupy.

THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS:

The Industrial School for Girls contains three unfortunate classes -- a few that are criminal in their habits and tendencies, a considerable number that are mental defectives, fifty-four by actual count, and the larger number who are delinquents proper. What I have already said about the defectives in the Industrial School for Boys applies to the mental defectives in the Industrial School for Girls, who, when they reach a certain age, go out of the Institution automatically, only to propagate their kind. Months ago I recommended that the fifty-four mentally defective girls of the Industrial School be sent to the Michigan Home and Training School. If Michigan, or any other State, hopes to accomplish anything along the line of overcoming this social menace, it must rigidly carry out the provisions we now have, and such other Legislation should be provided, especially for the Industrial School for Girls, whereby the criminal element can be eliminated or segregated and the delinquents receive the training and attention they deserve. These two Institutions are deserving of careful study and investigation. Michigan cannot afford under any circumstances, to be careless in dealing with this social problem.

MICHIGAN PRISONS:

The prisons are worthy of careful study and consideration at the hands of this Legislature. It has been demonstrated in the past five or six years that the prisons can approximate a self-supporting basis and at the same time regenerate the largest possible number of their inmates. Work is the great reforming and regenerating agency. Furthermore, through work, the inmates of our prisons have an opportunity to demonstrate their eligibility to parole. I have had over five hundred personal interviews with the inmates of our prisons during the past four years. The majority of my paroles have been made on the basis of personal interviews together with the information gathered from the carefully compiled records of the executive office. I feel safe in saying that no state in the Union surpasses the State of Michigan in the number of paroled prisoners who have "made good."

ADULT FOREIGNERS:

Michigan has tens of thousands of adult foreigners who do not speak the English language. They know little or nothing of the real meaning of American citizenship. In our larger cities night schools are being conducted from four to six months of the year, whereas these classes for adult foreigners should be conducted every night in the week throughout the entire year. Our cities need to make larger appropriations in order that these men may be prepared for citizenship in the shortest possible time. Michigan should

awaken to a realization of the importance and necessity of this work.

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION:

The Michigan Historical Commission, organized in 1913, has been very successful in collecting and preserving important historical data. It cooperates with all of our educational agencies in fostering a deeper interest in Michigan history and Michigan government. The members of this Commission are men of broad vision -- men who give freely of their time without monetary compensation, because they love this important work and because they desire to see Michigan occupy her true place in the history of the making of a great nation. This history furnishes a foundation for enduring patriotism and better government. The State of Michigan should make an ample appropriation for carrying on the splendid work of this Commission.

CONCLUSION:

The different departments of the State during my administrations have been conducted with a marked degree of harmony and efficiency.

In this report I am not inclined to trespass upon the field of my successor. I have made a vigorous effort to emphasize the human side of State Government. Michigan will continue to try to practice economy in all of her affairs, but never at the sacrifice of efficiency and progress. The citizens of Michigan are loyal to good government. By virtue of her great accomplishments,

Michigan is in the front rank with the other great states in the Union. That doesn't mean that we are satisfied. It means that our obligation to make further progress is great. The business of the State is the building of loyal, patriotic men and women.

Respectfully,

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

REMARKS ON THE GOODING BILL
(CONCERNING ADULTERATED GRAIN AND SEED)[1]

Mr. President, I shall take only a very few moments of the time of the Senate and will not attempt any detailed discussion of the bill, for it has already been presented rather thoroughly.

I am a member of the committee and attended the hearings held on this question. I think I heard all that was contributed at that time on the Gooding bill and on the bill offered by the Senator from Massachusetts. My training leads me to have a great deal of regard for those who are in a position to give information to the people of this country. The agricultural colleges have occupied my attention and consideration for many years, and, so far as I can learn, they have uniformly supported and advocated the provisions of this bill. On such a question I have to look to someone to advise me, for I am not an expert. I am a farmer -- a losing farmer -- but nevertheless I believe that I must look to those who claim to know and who have information on the subject. I cannot find that any agricultural college has done other than to give a favorable report on the pending bill and to express the hope that it may be passed.

I have profound respect for the agricultural colleges

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[1] Congressional Record, vol. 67, part 6, p. 6855-56, (March 17-April 5, 1926) 69th Congress, 1st session.

of this country. If they are not worthy of respect, we should discontinue them and adopt something that is better. The farmers of this country cannot get enlightenment very fast even through the agencies of the agricultural college. They are only partial. Then, again, in the hearings Mr. Gray of the American Farm Bureau Federation, said:

(Quotation from Mr. Gray)

I entertain no fear similar to that of the Senator from New York. I cannot help but believe that the farmer is fairly intelligent. I cannot find any evidence that the coloring of the seed would create prejudice whereby he would refuse to purchase the seed. As we Senators have to learn from somebody, as we have to take somebody's advice, it does seem to me that what the agricultural colleges of this country and the farm organizations of this country say they want and would like to try is worthy of consideration.

I could not for a moment put up my own opinion against the appeals of the farm organizations and of the agricultural colleges; and I also have the profoundest respect for the Department of Agriculture. What is the department for? What service is it to render us? How is it possible for the Senators assembled here, however wise they may be, unless they are experts in farming, unless they are experts in handling seed, to be sure of their opinions unless they pay deference to this advice?

In the State of Michigan I know from my own observation and from my own investigations as to what some of these

impure, low-grade seeds have done; and you cannot tell their quality merely by looking at them. You cannot tell the Italian seeds from any other seeds just by looking at them. We do know that in Michigan they are an absolute failure. We do know that some of these seeds are suitable for use in some States.

I hope that neither amendment will be adopted. I hope that for once we will have sufficient confidence in the farmers, in the agricultural colleges, and in the Agricultural Department to give the farmers a chance. That is all that I ask. That is all that I appeal to Senators for.

I have done just what every other Senator has done: I have tried to get information on this subject, and I have tried to get it from authentic sources. In the hearings I was convinced that if there was ever a worthwhile bill, a bill that would really render a practical service to the farmers of this country, the Gooding bill would do it. I presume it is not a cure-all; I presume it is not a panacea; but it is a step in the right direction. Why not take it without too many limitations and give the farmers and those who want pure seed an opportunity to get it?

UNDELIVERED ADDRESS BY THE

LATE SENATOR WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS[1]

Mr. President, it is taken for granted by everybody that education must occupy a prominent place in the affairs of a democracy. Notwithstanding this fact, I am not at all sure that the American people and even some of its law-makers, fully realize the absolute necessity of universal education in a democracy.

I recognize the fact that tremendous progress has been made in our attempt to educate all of the people. I have had the good fortune to stand in the classroom as an instructor, not simply as a supervisor, for half a century. Little else than a revolution has taken place in the efforts of educators to plan and arrange courses of study that are in harmony with the needs of American children. Within the last twenty-five years great progress has been made in methods of teaching. However, no well-informed man could maintain for a moment that we have, as yet, arrived at a science of education. The science of education is in the making.

Everybody is familiar with the fact that vast sums of money are being expended in the construction and maintenance of educational plants. Notwithstanding these

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[1]This speech may be found in its entirety in Memorial Addresses Delivered in the United States Senate in Memory of Woodbridge N. Ferris, 70th Congress, May 6, 1928, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1929.

evidences of progress, the World War revealed a condition that was pathetic. Thousands and tens of thousands of our soldiers could not even read or write. We have not yet recovered from this shock. It would be unfair to charge this lamentable condition to the public schools. This condition simply proves conclusively that the American people have not yet awakened to an appreciation of the value of education.

When I use the term "education" I do not use it as an equivalent of schooling. The two terms "education" and "schooling" are not synonymous. A village or city or State may offer an immense amount of schooling; this does not mean that the educational advantages are at all commensurate with the amount of schooling. In the minds of many the expression, "I have no education", means "I have no schooling." Abraham Lincoln did not have to exceed three months of schooling, but he was one of the best educated men that America has ever produced. Schooling at its best in the United States frequently has a tendency to make the acquisition of knowledge its chief objective. Such a view is paralyzing -- is unsatisfactory. Education has to do with the enrichment of life, and the enrichment of life depends upon productive thinking. Prof. Henry F. Osborne says, "To think, to act, to create, these are our great impulses inherited from far prehistoric past; these are the three objectives in the intellectual education of American youth." The wonderful accomplishments of a Franklin, an Edison, a

Burbank hinge not upon schooling but upon education.

Within the last twenty to thirty years our high schools have multiplied above the rate of increase in population. Likewise our colleges and universities have commanded the attention of thousands of American youth whereas prior to that time they commanded the attention of comparatively few. Dean Raymond Walters, of Swarthmore College, says in an article entitled "Getting Into College":

"The American secondary schools since 1900 have increased in enrollment nine times as fast as the population of the country. There are now some 12,000 public high schools offering 4-year courses, with 2,500,000 pupils, of whom nearly 400,000 are graduated each year. There are more than 2,100 private schools and academies offering 4-year courses, with total enrollments of 225,000 and some 35,000 graduates yearly.

"These figures explain the source of the college expansion in the past quarter of a century -- the increase from 104,000 liberal-arts students in 1900 to approximately 500,000 this year. They explain the improved average preparation of college applicants -- and likewise the present stricter enforcement of college entrance requirements and selective procedure.

"As for the reasons which impel three students proportionally to go to college today for one in the days of their fathers, there is the proverbial mixture of motives. One likes to believe that there is at least a corresponding

increase in those who go because they love learning."

At first glance this might seem to constitute further evidence of educational progress. Beyond a doubt it does indicate progress to some degree. Granting, however, that it means much, that it is conclusive evidence of great progress, there remains in this country the problem of educating the masses. In other words, the very life-blood of American democracy lies in the educational advantages which should be offered by the public schools.

The "hewers of wood" and "carriers of water" have never received a square deal. Millions and millions of dollars have been given to educational foundations; millions and millions of dollars have been given to colleges and universities, but very little effort has been made to take care of the great majority who can never hope to enroll in a high school. The real educational problem for America to solve is the problem of enabling the rural schools to provide a practical education through adequate equipment, through the best methods of instruction, through the employment of well-trained teachers.

The correct thinking of a child is along lines precisely the same as is the correct thinking of a Newton or a Huxley. In the rural schools the fundamentals must be employed for developing in the child productive thinking. I concede that great progress has been made along certain lines in the rural schools. But, broadly speaking, one great problem in American education consists in revolutionizing

our rural schools for a larger degree of efficiency. Objectors will point to the "little red schoolhouse" as the place where this great scientist, this great statesman, and that great inventor received his early training as if there were magic in the "little red schoolhouse." The truth of the matter is Abraham Lincoln, like many other great men, made progress in spite of the "little red schoolhouse."

In lines of industry and agriculture and commerce we have discarded some of the old ways and adopted methods which are in harmony with present civilization. I am not going to worry the Senate with concrete illustrations of the special weaknesses of present rural education.

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Adult education is not to be brought about by agencies of coercion or agencies of control. When the educational philosophy of America is as broad as I have outlined, there will be a demand for facilities whereby every man can secure the necessary advantages through his own ambition and efforts.

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Our educational problem instead of being simplified has become more complex and difficult.

Thus far I have chiefly referred to problems of rural and adult education. This is only a beginning of an outline of educational needs. I am not going to discuss other problems in education. Many of them that I might discuss are recognized by educators and laymen alike. It is only natural that the great army of teachers should take the

initiative with reference to discovering a means of solving some of the great educational problems that confront us. They are in daily touch with American youth. It may be that they are not statesmen; it may be that they overestimate what the Federal Government should do and can do in the way of solving some of their problems.

PROPONENTS OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

I am going to quote from a few of the great men and women who appeared at the joint hearings of the Committee on Education during the Sixty-ninth Congress and give in part their arguments for a department of education. I make these quotations because these men and women have offered what seems to me to be convincing arguments for a department of education.

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OPPONENTS OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

In the foregoing quotations I have tried to deal with different aspects of the bill under consideration. I now make quotations from those who are opposed to the bill.

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POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The opponents of this bill seem to be very much alarmed over the prospect of endangering the cause of education through political influence. It is true that the heads-of-the different departments are appointed by the President. If we have a Democratic President, of course the appointees for the Cabinet will be Democrats. If we

have a Republican President, the appointees will be Republicans.

The only possible basis for prophecy rests on what has happened in years gone by. So far as I am able to learn, the departments have not suffered seriously because of political bias. When a department has suffered it has been because of moral turpitude. To be perfectly frank about the matter, when you get down to "brass tacks," there isn't enough difference between the two great parties to permit any special worry over politics.

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PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The opponents of the bill are fearful that the independence of private schools will be disturbed by establishing a department of education. I have been engaged in private-school work for half a century. I realize that the testimony of a single representative is of little value. I have observed legislation in several of the States in relation to private schools. I am positive, however, that so far as my own experience in handling a great private secondary school is concerned, the supervision of private schools by the State has been beneficial.

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RESEARCH, THE MAINSPRING OF PROGRESS

This applies to our commercial development, to our agricultural advance, and to educational progress. There isn't anything mysterious about research. For example, in

industry it means nothing more nor less than "intelligent investigation into how to do practical things; if they are new, how they can be done in the best way; if they are old, how in a better way. In a word, it is invention. It is the most practical thing in the world."

The United States Chamber of Commerce says that "the amount expended annually by American manufacturers in conducting laboratory research alone is $35,000,000." Unquestionably this figure is well on the conservative side. This same authority places the annual saving to American industry by research at a half billion dollars.

In the field of medical science we must appeal to the imagination in order to appreciate the tremendous change in the last 50 years. The name of Pasteur is familiar to every physician. He wrought little less than a revolution in the field of scientific research. He was not a physician, but his researches have contributed more to medical science than the researches of any other one man.

In the last 25 years agriculture has undergone a revolution. That does not mean that there isn't a farm problem. It simply means that research is of tremendous value in every form of human activity. It has recently been estimated that the aggregate producing power of persons engaged in agriculture has been increased 25 per cent since 1900. Secretary Jardine says that these changes are attributable chiefly to the results of

scientific discovery. Whatever view a Congressman may take of the value of research in education, he must admit that in the lines I have already mentioned it has been of gigantic importance. I hold that the value of research would be even more valuable in education than in the fields already mentioned.

In what I have already said about research, the element of governmental control has not been an important factor. There is no reason that I can discover why educational research should lead to the dire results that the opponents of this bill outline.

The marked weakness of this age lies in the handling of our distinctive human interests. We handle the material things of this world almost as if by magic. The human mind, however, has received comparatively little consideration. Mental resources have never been adequately explored; mental possibilities are at this hour undiscovered.

If there was no other argument in favor of this bill than the one that I offer with reference to research, there would be sufficient reason for passing it. It is clearly evident to me that as a question of economy it is a thousand times better that this lack of research should be corrected by the Federal Government than by the individual States working separately. It has been quite clearly indicated that the States work at cross purposes, so to speak. It is important that in this field of research there be unification.

After the experience we have had with the Bureau of Education, a magnificent institution, we can see plainly that if education is to have the attention it deserves, it must be through the agency of a department of education. I have been personally acquainted with two of the Commissioners of Education, William T. Harris and Philander Priestly Claxton. No man can pay higher tribute to these two men than I. Very likely I could pay as high a tribute to some of the others if I had had the honor and good forture of knowing them as I have known these two men. It seems to me that it is a waste of argument to say that if the Bureau of Education had the money, it would be able to do the work that this bill provides for. The Bureau of Education never has had the money and it is reasonable to say that it will never get the necessary funds.

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Biography of the Author

The author, Irene Esther Wade, was born in Muskegon, Michigan, November 10, 1920. She attended the Henry Street School through the ninth grade, then attended Muskegon Senior High School. She was graduated from high school in June 1938, and attended Muskegon Junior College for one semester. She attended Hope College and Michigan State College, and was graduated from the latter in June, 1943 with an A. B. Degree. Her teaching major was speech, with minors in French, history, and English. While a junior at Michigan State College, the author was made a member of Pi Kappa Delta, national speech honorary.

After two years of teaching speech and debate in Traverse City High School, Traverse City, Michigan, Miss Wade returned to Michigan State College as a graduate assistant in the departments of Speech, Dramatics and Radio, at which time she served in the capacity of Director of Student Speakers' Bureau for the college, and also taught Written and Spoken English. In the summer of 1946, she was a staff clinician at the University of Denver in the department of Basic Communications. She returned to Michigan State College in September, 1946, as an instructor in the department of Written and Spoken English in the School of Science and Arts. The Master of Arts Degree was granted in December, 1946.

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