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BELLE S. SPAFFORD: LEADER OF WOMEN

A Thesis
Presented to
Department of Communications
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Gayle Morby Chandler
August 1983
This thesis, by Gayle M. Chandler, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Communications of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date: July 11, 1983

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express appreciation to thesis committee members, Dr. Nancy Rooker and Dr. LaVar Bateman, for their guidance throughout the course of my graduate studies. This thesis would not have been possible without their advice and encouragement.

Dr. Maren Mouritsen graciously extended the research opportunity by allowing access to the personal files of Belle S. Spafford.

Gratitude and love is also extended to my husband, Brent, to my mother, Pauline, and to my children Clayton, Cameron, Kristen, Lori, and B.J. for their patience, help, and positive support.
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CHAPTER ONE
The Research Problem

Belle S. Spafford lived to be eighty-six years old and during those years became an influential international leader of women. She is known and admired as a gracious lady, an accomplished advocate and practitioner in several fields (Salt Lake Tribune, 1982:14) and a profound thinker. Many of her accomplishments were related to her responsibilities as the General President of the Relief Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (hereinafter referred to as "the Church"). During Mrs. Spafford's lifetime, this dynamic woman also served several other organizations where she achieved significant influence. As an administrator, she served the Church for over 50 years and the National Council of Women for a similar period of time. In addition to being an extremely capable administrator, she successfully filled the roles of advisor, editor, and teacher. "Her talent for communicating with all types of people, her competence, tolerance and generous manner enabled Mrs. Spafford to work on behalf of women in an effective yet unobtrusive manner." (Salt Lake Tribune, 1982:14). Because of this work on behalf of women and also children, she was recognized as an international authority in the area of social work. Her primary means of
influence in these roles was accomplished through her varied skills of communication. She frequently spoke on the doctrines of the Church, social service issues, and women in the Church and in the world. Belle S. Spafford instructed and informed in her one-on-one contacts or in her public addresses. Although she used every facet of communication, her endeavors are visible primarily through her public addresses. While representing the General Board of the Relief Society on the staff of The Relief Society Magazine, her skill as a writer and editor became apparent. Her subsequent appointment to the General Presidency of the Society expanded her influence. Mrs. Spafford's creativity and wisdom became more widely recognized through her speaking opportunities as a counselor and President. Spencer W. Kimball, President of the Church, said, "Sister Spafford's voice has been heard in places where it has taken insight, courage, and forthrightness at times when she has stood almost alone" (Kimball, 1974:120).

**Statement of the Problem**

Belle S. Spafford served the women of the Church as General Relief Society President for almost thirty years, the longest administration in Relief Society history. During her administration, the Relief Society grew from a largely western American group of 100,000 women to an international organization of close to a million members with locally organized units in sixty-five countries.
During this period of time she also served the National Council of Women as Vice President, President, and as delegate to the International Council of Women. Mrs. Spafford received numerous honors because of her outstanding religious and secular service and leadership (See Appendix G). In 1978 she was one of seven women named to the Salt Lake Council of Women's Hall of Fame. She served as a member of the Church Board of Education, the first woman to do so. In 1979, the National Council of Women declared October 23 "Belle S. Spafford Day," citing and honoring her capable, influential and gracious leadership. In 1981, on the occasion of Mrs. Spafford's retirement from the council, the Belle S. Spafford Archival Fellowship at New York University was formed. The council cited her as a leader, teacher and humanitarian (The Daily Universe, 1982:1).

Because of her significant influence upon and contribution to the women of the Church and the world, there is a need for an analysis of her methods as they contribute to our knowledge of rhetoric and communication. Through research, the rhetorical means can be discovered by which she established her influence, and bridged the gap between religious and secular philosophies of women. While there has been some study of the rhetorical activity of Utah women (Rooker, 1982), it is a relatively untouched subject. As far as the author could ascertain, no previous
studies relating specifically to Mrs. Spafford's rhetorical activities have been written.

This study will add new information to the body of rhetorical knowledge concerning Utah women as they addressed the issues of their period and directly aided in their resolution. The problem to be examined is the rhetorical activity of Belle S. Spafford as she exercised her leadership responsibilities respecting women within and without the Church and to discover generally: (1) What were the issues with which she was concerned in her leadership of women? (2) What rhetorical strategies did she use in her discussion of the issues? (3) What impact did she have on her peers, both men and women, with respect to the issues? (4) What impact did her training, through the auspices of the Church have on her ability to communicate and influence others? (Rooker, 1982:13).

Scope of the Study

This thesis will investigate the years from 1945 to 1974 when Belle S. Spafford was influential in the women's movement in the state of Utah and in the United States. The content of her speeches and the modes of appeal also give greater insight into the woman's movement during that time period.

The critic should be familiar with the times in which a speaker lived in order to make an analysis of the
speeches. It is essential to understand the speaker through a knowledge of the life, the speech setting, the occasion, and the speech given by that speaker. The critic should also have an understanding of rhetorical standards by which to assess the analysis.

In order to accomplish the above purposes, the historical/descriptive method of research will be used to study the development of Belle S. Spafford as a person and as a public speaker. In addition, information will be sought about the occasions and the composition of her audiences.

An analysis will be made into four of Spafford's speeches to determine her rhetorical strategies. Since no single critical method covers all the facets to be studied, a synthesized method of rhetorical analysis was drawn from a variety of rhetorical theories and writings. This study considers the audience, the speaker's credibility, the values represented, and the organization of the speeches. Background information will be given about each speech which describes the individual audience and occasion. The first and second selections are representative of the type of speech which President Spafford gave more frequently, Relief Society conference addresses. The third speech was to the National Council of Women given in commemoration of their eighty years of organization April 1, 1968. Mrs. Spafford delivered the final speech to the Lochinvar Club,
a professional organization, in New York City, July 12, 1974. In addition, an examination will be made using the criteria of analysis to evaluate the speaking style and delivery of the speaker.

Review of Literature

The biographical information was researched in the published materials regarding Belle S. Spafford. They consist primarily of books, speeches, reports, and official Church publications such as The Relief Society Magazine, The Church News, The Ensign, The Improvement Era, and The New Era. Through the generosity of Maren Mouritsen of Brigham Young University, who is currently collecting Spafford's personal files, unpublished insights of Mrs. Spafford were gained. Members of her family and members of her staff contributed through interviews.

Other Mormon leaders and speakers such as Mary Freeze (Rooker, 1982), Brigham H. Roberts (Stephans, 1966), Adam S. Bennion (Bertock, 1971), Jack Anderson (Chambless, 1977), and Charles W. Penrose (Davis, 1972), have been critically examined as speakers. These studies provided guidance for this study. In addition, other helpful studies provided guidance, for example, the study of The Relief Society Magazine was informative. Of special interest was a study done on "Annie Dodge Waumeka, Spokeswoman for the Navajo Tribal Council" (Arrington, 1973). The study of "The Legal Precepts of Quintillian and Their Applications To
Modern Law" (Jenkins, 1966) also gave additional rhetorical guidelines.

It is necessary to base evaluations on standards accepted in the field of rhetorical criticism. No single critical method covered all of the facets to be studied. Therefore, the methods of rhetorical analysis were drawn from a variety of rhetorical theories and writings with greater emphasis from the following books relating to criticism: *A Rhetoric of Public Speaking* by Aly and Aly (1973), *The Rhetorical Act* by Campbell (1982), *Speech Criticism* by Thonssen and Baird, *Rhetoric: A Philosophical Inquiry* by Baird, *The Province of Rhetoric* by Schwartz and Rycenga, *Criticism of Oral Rhetoric* by Arnold (1974), and *Public Speaking, A Rhetorical Perspective* by Blankenship (1972). Other sources of rhetorical criticism were used to a lesser degree.
CHAPTER TWO

Development of the Woman

Belle S. Spafford was guided by Mormon values, beliefs and attitudes that gave her a particular perspective. One such belief is that in world and national affairs, women rule, in the main, by influence, while men rule by power. That belief was reinforced as a result of Mrs. Spafford's experience. For example:

Once an older woman asked her the question, "If someone came to you and had a good but different gift in each hand, and one was power and the other was influence and you had a choice, which gift would you choose?" Her reply after some thought was, "I think I would choose influence."

"You probably did, my dear," the woman said. "Influence is a great gift of God to women." Then she said, "Appreciate it and use it right. Do not covet that which has been given to the brethren." Belle S. Spafford said, "This was a great lesson which I have never forgotten (Spafford, 1970)."

This line of thought was recurrent throughout her life especially in her mild mannered style of persuasion. She rose to positions of power, but accomplished her goals by influence.

The following family history, including activities, gives the dimension of Mrs. Spafford as a person and the background of growth and development in which she thrived.

Family History

Marion Isabelle Sims Smith was born October 8, 1895,
in Salt Lake City, Utah, to a family of pioneer stock, John C. and Hester Sims Smith. She attained a prominent position of leadership in her Church and in her state. Her father died a few months before Belle was born. According to Mabel Jones Gabbot (1968:25-26):

Her mother built a house of order and culture and industry for seven children. Her mother offered wise guidance and her Scottish grandmother offered pithy advice. These qualities are reflected in Belle's capacity to understand and love people.

Elder Marvin J. Ashton (1982) commented on her qualities, saying, "She was a lady wise, warm, brilliant, loyal, gifted, teachable, true, vibrant, and fun."

The Spafford home was in the geographical boundary of the Sixth Ward of the Pioneer Stake.* This ward, in the view of Elder Thomas S. Monson (1983), was comprised of people who were self-reliant, with a particularly strong spirit of independence and loyalty to the organizational structure of the Church. There was a feeling of responsibility and concern for others. The Bishop was regarded as the father of the ward, according to Monson, and served as a father-figure in those homes where no father was present. Elder Monson (1983) stated that Spafford learned early to integrate with that pioneer spirit and to honor

* Church boundaries are determined by dividing areas into "wards;" several wards [which are similar to congregations] comprised a "stake of Zion." "A stake might be a city-wide organization or it might be a group of country wards organized on a valley-wide basis," according to Leonard J. Arrington (1958:30-31).
the Bishop as if he were her own father.

The childhood years were happy for the family. Hester Smith loved music, art, and good books. She taught her children to become good citizens. They learned the principles of thrift while recognizing the necessity to provide for one another without excessive difficulty. In this setting, Belle received early training for leadership, responsibility, and compassion for others. Education was particularly stressed. Belle was educated at the Latter-Day Saint High School in Salt Lake and then the two year Normal School at the University of Utah, from which she graduated in 1914 giving Belle a good academic foundation. For the following seven years she taught school in Salt Lake City and Provo, where she was a grade and remedial program supervisor at Brigham Young University Training School (Bair, 1971:71).

Working with remedial programs made her aware of human needs. She realized that special children require unique programs to help them to learn and achieve success. Later she was able to implement programs through the Church social service programs which she felt would contribute to the serving of those needs (Spafford, 1971:viii). Mrs. Spafford also became aware of the need for higher educational standards in the Church and the nation (Church News, Feb. 24, 1973:5).
Marriage, Husband, and Children

In 1921, she married Willis Earl Spafford, a young insurance salesman from a prominent Provo family who had served in the South Africa Mission. He later became the Deputy Collector for the United States Treasury Department. He was proud and supportive of his wife and willing to assist her whatever the assignment. His sister remarked that it was a different relationship than that which he had with his sisters. (Clinger, 1983).

Marianne Sharp (1945:259) reported a similar view.

Without the tender care with which he has guarded her, without his unselfish acceptance of the calls which have been made upon her time, increasing with the passing of the years, without his full support and wholehearted co-operation, it would not have been possible for President Spafford to have continued her Church duties and at the same time to have cared for her family.

In order to always maintain a close, loving relationship, the Spaffords had lunch together everyday she was in the office at the Salt Lake Church Office Building. She once told a friend they had been to every lunch counter, cafe, and restaurant in town (Mouritson, 1983).

Belle and Earl had two children, Earl and Mary Spafford Kemp. Earl is a lawyer in Salt Lake City and her daughter Mary (deceased) had been a social worker and a school teacher. Mrs. Spafford's husband died in 1963 and Mary died in 1964. The roles of wife and mother were always considered the most fulfilling for Mrs. Spafford, and the loss of these two family members was difficult.
But adjustment to their deaths was a necessary part of living in her eyes. Once she told her board members that her husband had always taken care of so many things for her that it was hard to remember to do for herself some of the little things that he had always done for her. For example, it was sometimes difficult to remember to fill the car with gasoline (Ashton, 1983).

The grandchildren were welcome to spend time with their grandmother and she would help them prepare their studies or speeches. These evenings were referred to as "Scholar Night" where one grandchild would be invited to dinner and a night of study was held under her direction (Bair, 1971:71).

In all of Spafford's speaking, she stressed the importance of the family and the judgment of the mother to know what was best for her husband, her children, and her home. Spafford said (Church News, Feb. 24, 1973:5), "When the mother is relieved of those responsibilities, I would feel that she could move into strengthening the community virtues in ways that would be acceptable." She was asked frequently about the mother working outside the home. She would respond by citing the gospel's teaching of free agency, but always stressed the competency of the mother, the age of the children, and the circumstances as factors that should be considered. She said:
The most valuable contribution that a woman can make to society is to rear children who have internalized a sense of worthwhile values through the family teaching that would enable them to function as responsible citizens (Church News, Feb. 24, 1973:5).

**Church Activity**

Belle Spafford continued her education through the auspices of the Church organization. She was given additional opportunity, experience and recognition for her accomplishments. She learned to accept responsibility and challenge because she believed in the principle of obedience to priesthood members and the brethren in the Church learned to trust her because they could depend on her steadfastness. She didn't always obey without questioning, but when a Bishop or General Authority asked, she would willingly comply (Miltenberger, 1983). She related well to Priesthood advisors and she worked very closely with Harold B. Lee, Mark E. Peterson and Marion G. Romney on the welfare matters of the Church. This experience, said Elder Monson (1983), gave her an unequaled knowledge of priesthood functioning and Church government.

Elder Boyd K. Packer (1983) said,

Three words would characterize her greatness: Obedience (she always passed the test), Service (she gave generously and had a reverence for duty), and Inspiration (She endured disappointment and sorrow, but had the inspiration to keep going). Because of such qualities, she received many more opportunities to be an influence in the Church.

As an example of the quality of obedience, Elder Packer (1974:130-133) told of the first time she was called
to a Relief Society position.

Sister Spafford as a young mother requested a teaching position in the Sunday School or the Mutual Improvement Association. The following Sunday she was sustained as 2nd Counselor in the Relief Society. She protested and used the word "shocked." That organization is for my mother, not me! I don't have the right experience." She was bold enough to add, "and I have no desire to learn."

The responsibility caused health difficulties for her children and on two different occasions, she asked to be released. In both instances, however, the Bishop said he would think about it.

Then a serious auto accident left her with severe facial lacerations which became infected. The bishop stopped by wondering if there was trouble in the home. The woman in her agony . . . began to weep in pain and concern. And when he asked, as bishops will do, "Is there anything we can do for you?" through her pain and tears she said, maybe with a touch of bitterness, "Yes, Bishop, now will you release me from the Relief Society?" I still don't get the feeling that you should be released from Relief Society."

Elder Packer (1974:130-133) quoted Mrs. Spafford's recollection concerning this experience. She said:

I have learned [of] the greatness of the priesthood of God. I have learned [of] the inspiration that guides the brethren who preside over us. I have learned that there is nothing more important for me to do as woman than to be obedient to the council which they give. Many, many times as the years have passed, I have thanked the Lord for the inspiration that guided a ward bishop . . . when he said to me more than once, "I do not feel inspired to release you."

From that beginning, Belle S. Spafford was recognized as a leader of women and her service to the Relief Society
organization began. She was serving as a counselor in the Wells Stake under Marie Tanner when she was called to be on the General Board (Sharp, 1945:259). She served at least three different presidents as counselor in the Relief Society, quietly accomplishing tasks that would reflect well on others (Monson, 1983).

When Belle Spafford was asked to join the staff of The Relief Society Magazine, she had no previous training in journalism. She had some limited insight, vicariously gained, because her mother had worked for a book company. Her mother had "... taught her to tell a well-made book from a poor one and told her that any book that was worthwhile could be told by how it was put together (Mann, 1971:76)." She knew among other things, the types of binding, paper weights, and type faces, but she did not feel confident to serve as editor of the Magazine. Mary Kimball, then the editor of the Magazine, developed a terminal illness and was not able to remain in the position. Spafford agreed to do one issue only while the General Presidency of the Church found a replacement. Patricia Ann Mann (1971:76) reports that there was great reluctance on Spafford's part to become the editor.

On Christmas Eve, 1937, President Heber J. Grant called Mrs. Spafford and told her she had been selected to edit the magazine. With the counsel and admonition of the leading women of the Church, and the admonition to develop sound editorial policy, the young editor set to work. She read each manuscript that came in herself and did all the editing.
According to Mann (1973:76), some of the major changes in the looks of the *Magazine* came about during the years from 1937 to 1945 when Belle S. Spafford served as editor. During the eight years that Spafford edited the *Magazine*, it had a phenomenal growth in subscriptions—increasing from 40,000 in 1937 to 72,000 in 1945 (Sharp, 1945:259). As editor, she consistently manifested a great desire to meet first the spiritual and then the literary reading needs of the readers (Sharp, 1945:259).

On November 18, 1942, it was announced that Belle Spafford had been appointed second counselor in the General Presidency of the Relief Society. In announcing her appointment, Vera W. Polhman (1942: 825-826), the General Secretary of the Society, wrote an article for the *Magazine* stating:

> The new counselor is qualified not only as an educator, but also possesses a sense of sound administrative procedure which, with her first hand knowledge of how the Society operates in the wards and stakes, will be a valuable asset in her new position.

and

> Under the editorship of Belle S. Spafford, *The Relief Society Magazine* has continued to serve the purpose for which it was established and has upheld its standards of accuracy and excellence. In the interest of accuracy and content, Belle has meticulously checked facts and has edited with a view of achieving the utmost clarity and meaning while preserving the style of the writers. ... In the difficult position as editor, Belle ... has shown good judgement. She is known and respected among local and Church writers ... for her frankness and genuine helpfulness in criticizing their work and suggesting needed revisions.
When Belle S. Spafford was called to serve as President of the Relief Society, she had heard that a decision had been made that future presidents would serve only five years. When she asked the First Presidency to confirm that information, J. Reuben Clark said, "You may not last that long, Sister Spafford." (Bair, 1971:71). "Last," she has.

For over 29 years, from 1946 to 1974, her administration guided the women of the Church. During that time, leadership for the entire membership of the Church was under six presidents, Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, Joseph F. Smith, Harold B. Lee, and Spencer W. Kimball.

Relief Society prospered because of the foundation of programs that was built by Spafford, according to Mayola Miltenberger (1983), the General Secretary of the Relief Society. In many ways, Mrs. Spafford served during a "Golden Era." She directed the Society's growth and progress, holding a steady course with little need for radical change.

One of Belle Spafford's major accomplishments was the monumental task of designing, financing, and constructing the Relief Society Building. Pioneer sisters spoke of it being in the shadow of the temple. As early as 1901, the First Presidency contributed a building site valued at $18,000, but that building never reached fruition (Sharp,
1945:750). Over one hundred years from the founding of the Relief Society, there was a need to house the general offices and the various departments of the society. The women wanted a place to come and rest, and a room to display historical valuables, an auditorium for meetings, and a kitchen in which to hold homemaking demonstrations. The initial process was put to a vote in Relief Society conference in 1945 and approved unanimously (Spafford, 1945:753). This dream of previous presidents was realized after Spafford and her board launched a campaign to have every woman in the Church membership (100,000) give a donation to the building fund. Men were encouraged to make a gift in honor of a wife, a mother, or a sister. Women of the Church helped finance many of the other Church buildings, but had never had enough means to erect their own home for the organization.

The dedicatory address was given by President Spafford eleven years later, October 3, 1956. In her address she spoke of the beauty of its artistic decor, the simple elegance of classic design, the beauty of the bronze, marbles, and woods, and its spirit of love and peace. President Spafford (1947:799) spoke of the numerous decisions that had been made with respect to the building and mentioned what a happy day it was when the financial goal of one-half million dollars was reached. The building is a magnificent symbol of faith, diligence, and devotion.
of all the women. Elder Thomas S. Monson (1983) called the building a miracle and gave Spafford the credit for the culmination of dreams and efforts.

As director of the society's Social Service and Child Welfare agencies in Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and Idaho, Spafford supervised a program for unwed mothers, adoptive services, care of deprived and neglected children, and youth guidance services. She also was an initiator of an extensive foster-care educational program for the Indian children (Spafford, 1971:viii). She worked with the Department of Social work at the University of Utah providing staff and space for the training of students as she was determined to guarantee a professionally trained staff. In 1957, she was awarded an Honorary Life Membership in the Utah State Conference of Social Work (Bair, 1971:73) in recognition of her contributions to the needs of social service in the state.

Of course, time and progress perpetuate change. Some changes were easier to adjust to than others. In 1970, a decision was reached by the General Presidency of the Church to terminate publication of *The Relief Society Magazine*. It was considered a great loss by the members of the General Presidency of the Relief Society. Great creative writing had been stimulated among members and non-members. President Spafford felt it was a loss of the voice to the women of the Church (Miltenberger, 1983).
Elder Thomas S. Monson (1983) said it was not by choice that Spafford agreed to discontinue the vehicle to the field of women, but she honored the decision of the general authorities.

At one board meeting, Norma Ashton (1979), who was a member of the General Board, recalled President Spafford's report that the Magazine would be discontinued. Spafford said, "I've always been sure of two things: death and taxes. Now I'm sure of three things: death, taxes, and change." Mrs. Ashton (1979) said Spafford would do her homework, present her case to priesthood advisors, and then honor their decision even if she preferred a contrary position. She always supported them with all her heart and all her energy. Regarding the demise of the Magazine, Spafford said, "Adjustment is painful in changing an old pattern into a new one, but we must make the new patterns fit (Mann, 1971:117)."

President Spafford adapted to yet another new pattern when the General Authorities of the Church decided to change the independent status of Relief Society and correlate all aspects of the Church, including the financial aspect. According to Miltenberger (1983), Spafford appreciated the autonomy Relief Society had enjoyed, but could see that the real purpose of the Relief Society was to be compassionate and to teach the members. It was felt that the time of the members would be better
spent in those ways than in generating and managing money. The growth of the Church increased the need for the change and she accepted that change and the direction of the priesthood leaders (Miltenberger, 1983).

Civic Activity

Belle S. Spafford believed strongly that a woman should extend her reach and her sphere of influence into civic and community opportunities. She was quoted in an article in the Church News (Mazuran, 1969:4):

Women must maintain their traditional roles of homemakers and mothers, but they also must accept new responsibilities in civic life. . . . Women are the best positioned of any segment of our population to be the spiritual force and balance in human affairs. This is what I believe, this is what I am trying to teach.

It would be impossible to cite Mrs. Spafford's many contributions to civic needs during her twenty-nine years, but several of the national and international appointments are considered essential to understanding the dimension of this committed woman. She served on the National Advisory Committee to the White House Conference on Aging and acted as chairman of the two sub-sessions of the conference having to do with volunteer service. For ten years, she was Vice President or on the advisory board of the American Mothers Committee, Inc. She was on the Board of Directors for the National Association for Practical Nurses and 2nd Vice President for that association. She also served the governing board of LDS hospital. (See Appendix G).
The Relief Society was a charter member of the National Council of Women of the United States. The Council was founded in 1888 primarily in the interest of women's suffrage. National women's organizations whose purposes were of national importance were invited to membership. The National Council of Women has a membership of 15 million American women of all races, creeds and national origins. (Church News, Oct. 19, 1968:3). It serves as an information center and clearing house on questions of national and world concern to women. Mrs. Spafford said, (Mazuran, 1969:4). "We regard the council as the voice of the American woman." The National Council of Women works as a catalyst for women both in America and throughout the world, to keep women informed on current issues and to act in their best interest and the well being of the home, family and social life (Church News, Nov. 7, 1970:13).

The International Council of Women was also organized at the same time. This Council examines current issues and common problems and often offers guidelines for an improved world society (Church News, 1973:5, July 29). Spafford felt that both councils provide a very good platform for the Relief Society to advance its view with regard to the role of women. In an article by Gerry Avant (1973:4), Mrs. Spafford said,

It gives us an opportunity to receive a broadened view of what women throughout the world are thinking and doing. It provides good
relationships both national and international with distinguished women. It has brought the Relief Society into a position of dignity and respect among other women's organizations. It has also provided some of us with unique opportunities for leadership. There is a world concern on the part of women about implementing the changes needed to preserve the home as a cornerstone of society.

Prior to being named a member of the Relief Society Presidency, she had been assigned at various times to represent the society at the annual meetings of the U.S. Council. She had not been favorably impressed with the treatment the Relief Society had received. When Mrs. Spafford was installed in the new presidency, she decided to recommend the Relief society withdraw from the Council. She wrote out a statement of recommendation with reasons and made an appointment with the President of the Church, George Albert Smith. She recalls the experience: (1980).

President Smith thoughtfully read through our statements. In defense of our action, I added, "President Smith, It's costly for us to go to New York to attend their annual meetings and we really get nothing from the councils, either the National or International Council."

He said, "You surprise me. Do you always think in terms of what you get? Don't you think it's well at times to think in terms of what you have to give? Now I feel that Mormon women have something to give to women of the world and I believe also that you learn from them. Rather than to terminate your membership, I suggest you take one or two of your ablest board members and attend the meetings and continue your membership in these organizations."

. . . As I arose to leave he extended his hand across the desk and grasping my hand firmly he said in a positive voice, "Attend the forthcoming meetings and make your influence felt in those organizations."
After she had made a presentation in which she was identified as a "Mormon woman," she was completely rejected by the women in the council. The rejection was difficult, but she kept her perspective and did not consider it a personal rejection. In a year or two, she had overcome the hostilities as the women grew to know, respect, and love her. This feeling developed because she quietly stood her ground and honored her standards. Elder Marvin J. Ashton (1982) said, "She knew how to disagree without being disagreeable. She wore a velvet glove yet her grip was of steel."

A year or two after this conference, Belle Spafford was elected to office and held some office for many years. She was a delegate to most of the triennial meetings of the International Council of Women which took her to many countries of the world. Often she served as Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Conference of the International Council of Women.

In 1969 Mrs. Spafford was asked to run for election as President of that organization. She was overwhelmed, but also greatly honored. However, she could not see how she could possibly undertake the presidency of Relief Society and also the National Council of Women. She turned to President David O. McKay, certain that he would tell her not to consent. After hearing from each member of the First Presidency, President McKay turned to her and said, "You
authorize them to place your name in nomination, and if you are elected we will provide additional help for you here and my door will always be open to you for counsel (Spafford a)."

Spafford was elected without a dissenting vote. After her return to Salt Lake City, she asked President Tanner for a blessing. The following statement represents Mrs. Spafford's recollection of that blessing:

As you assume the duties of your newly elected office among women of the nation and the world, there will be times when the road ahead will be dark, dark, indeed, and strewn with obstacles difficult to surmount. You will be unable at times clearly to see the path ahead. Insofar as you are true to your trust as a Latter-day Saint woman, I bless you that at such times of darkness the light of the gospel will suddenly shine forth lighting the way, and you will walk ahead in confidence with sure footing toward success (Spafford a).

A. Craig Baird (Linsley, 1968:42) feels that the speaker is "the product of the home, school, associates, and the other earlier experiences." Her speaking personality and capacity is shaped by relationships. The environment is a formative influence. Belle S. Spafford lived and participated actively in an environment which was conducive to personal growth. She was intelligent, and well-educated by community standards. As she confronted challenges, she developed leadership ability and speaking skills. It is possible to assess those skills more wisely with an understanding and knowledge of her life and surroundings.
CHAPTER THREE
Criteria of Analysis

Five specific areas which appear to be essential for an analysis of Belle S. Spafford's speaking are: Values, credibility, audience, organization, and style. However, no one standard of criteria seems to cover all aspects of analysis pertinent to this study. Therefore, the criteria are drawn from texts and other scholarly works. They have been further utilized to clarify and amplify the standards of evaluation. In each of the following sections these areas of analysis will be defined and applied to Mrs. Spafford's speeches and speaking. The purpose of such application is to complete an analysis of her speaking abilities.

Values

Ralph T. Eubanks and Virgil L. Baker (Schwartz and Rycenga, ed., 1965:331) believe "the central function of rhetoric is to crystallize and transmit human values, the 'what-fors' of a culture." Rhetoric has the potential to generate "right action" with respect to these values if it is related directly to the important human values espoused by the speaker and shared by the audience (Schwartz and Rycenga, eds. 1965:332).

To gain a clear understanding of Belle S.
Spafford's speaking goals and achievements, it is important to examine the specific values about which she spoke. Although these values were presented as her own, they were representative of her cultural and religious background. It is particularly true that her Church audiences shared many of these same values and this influenced her speaking purpose and methods. Her values were consistent throughout her speaking years, but greater emphasis was placed on particular values where she knew there was a high level of consensus among members of the audience regarding the shared values upon which she spoke. Spafford (1960) used values as her primary means of appeal and was conscious of their impact. She said:

> The values which we accept with a consenting mind and willing heart rule in the determination of our conduct and in the activities to which we devote ourselves (1960).

Therefore, it is crucial to define and analyze values as they guided her speaking activities.

Milton Rokeach (1968: 159-160) in his discussion of values defines the parameters of values:

> Values are defined as modes of conduct and end-states of existence. ... A value is indicative of an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct is personally and socially preferable.

> Once a value is internalized it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a standard or a criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and others'
actions and attitudes, for morally judging self and others, and for comparing self with others. Finally, a value is a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes and actions of at least some others.

Specifically, in the rhetorical sense, human values have been described by Eubank and Baker in *The Province of Rhetoric* (Schwartz and Rycenga, 1965:337) as "logical constructs of the good which provide the bases of civil decision and action." In other scholars' works, values have been considered as they relate to the audience's perception of the speaker. Perhaps most important, a listener's perception of what is said is determined in part by his own values (Blankenship, 1976:192).

Further, Karl Wallace (1970:80) found that value statements indicate the kind of judgments or attitudes the speaker holds toward his topic and, often, toward the audience as well. According to Wallace, "These values are perhaps the real sources of attention and interest." This would certainly be true when considering Spafford's methods. She dealt with values extensively in many of her addresses. It is her primary means of appeal as she encourages her audience to be more diligent in obeying and incorporating the specific values she espoused into their lives. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969:74) state:

One appeals to values in order to induce the hearer to make certain choices rather than others, and most of all, to justify those choices so that they may be accepted and approved by others.
While it is not essential for the entire audience to accept Spafford's personal hierarchy of values, there would be at least general agreement in the Church audiences with greater diversity being apparent in the audiences of organized women. In the book, *The New Rhetoric*, the authors note that the agreement between speaker and audience values can be used by the speaker for greater audience influence.

Agreement with regard to a value means an admission that an object, a being, or an ideal must have a specific influence on action and on disposition toward action and that one can make use of this influence in an argument, although the point of view represented is not regarded as binding on everybody (Perleman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969:74).

Values enter into almost every form of persuasion and may occasionally be treated as facts or truths having universal agreement. Values serve as premises for argument because they are usually implied, serve as a standard for determining good or bad, and are used by people to select the manner in which they will act and speak (Rooker, 1982:165). Spafford's use of values was not precisely formulated as to set out specific action for each individual. Rather, Mrs. Spafford left to the listener the responsibility of interpreting the value and adapting such value to his/her own situation. She had a clear conception of the value system of her audience and used the identification of audience values as a means of motivation.

Mrs. Spafford generally spoke as a representative of the Church to every audience, although she was speaking
specifically for the Relief Society. It is postulated that Church authorities approved of the way she spoke and saw her use of values as consistent with the principles of the gospel. She frequently identified Church teaching as values and sought to reinforce them. Many of her general conference addresses were appeals to various values. However, it is not possible to identify the most important values espoused by Mrs. Spafford for two reasons. First, she does not always consider values individually or separately, and in her manner of presentation, several values overlap. Secondly, even though Mrs. Spafford made statements indicating the importance of specific values, it was impossible to determine a hierarchy based on those statements because there were appropriate shifts in importance of specific values from speech to speech. Two examples are noted:

While the old activity patterns within the home may be modified by the impact of change outside the home, the enduring values which cannot be measured in terms of their monetary worth, their power for good, the need of the human being for them (such values as peace, security, love, understanding) will not be sacrificed on the altar of new philosophies and new concepts (Spafford, 1974).

There is a need for the spiritual values of love, understanding, cooperation, unselfishness, peace, and faith—faith in oneself and faith in a supreme being (Spafford, 1948).

Because of the existence of values in an audience and because of the specific use of values as a motivational
force, it was imperative to examine her speeches to see how frequently she discussed such values. From such an examination of the forty speeches, an order of priority of her usage was established for those values which she discussed most frequently.

Family

By far the most frequently mentioned value in the speaking of Mrs. Spafford was the value of the family. While she seldom spoke specifically about members of her family, she did stress the importance of the value as it related to all women. Mrs. Spafford was happily married and the mother of two children. Further, she was devoted to her own mother and family. To an audience of the National Council of Women, Spafford (1963:411) said:

Do we as a Council need to enter into programs designed to emphasize the values that contribute toward stable family life and the inculcation of good character traits in family members? Which should be of greater concern to us—a strong national economy with emphasis on women in the labor market, or a strong national character with emphasis on the responsibility of mothers toward their homes and toward building within their children a discriminating sense of the true and enduring values of life—values that result in good character?

Members of the Church are taught that parenthood is next to Godhood, and that the marriage bond and family relationships are eternal (O'Dea, 1957:140). David O. McKay, President of the Church, taught that motherhood is the greatest potential influence either for good or ill in
human life and that motherhood is the noblest office or calling in the world (McKay, 1962:39-41). Spafford agreed. She frequently reinforces her value by citing well-known church authorities. Audiences would be even more accepting of the value when reminded that a president of the church placed emphasis on that particular value. In the speech "The Mission of Womankind," she interprets that mission to be motherhood. She said, "The gospel gives to the Latter-day Saint mothers the loftiest concept of home and family life known to mankind (Spafford, 1958)." Although one could point to many different instances when this value was given particular emphasis, the concluding statements in "The Mission of Womankind" are indicative of a priority in her perspective. Spafford (1954) said:

The Latter-day Saint mother knows that no other work to which she might set her hand could be so broad and inspiring, so filled with interest, so demanding of intelligence and capability, so rewarding. . . She knows that this is her great and all-important mission. Everything else is subordinate to it. Blessed are women in this day who have this knowledge.

A similar statement from "The American Woman's Movement" indicates:

. . . There is no task to which woman may put her hand so broad and inspiring, so filled with interest, so demanding of intelligence and capability, so rewarding, as that of wife, mother, and homemaker. I regard this role as taking precedence over all others for women (Spafford, 1974:17).

It is obvious from the discussion presented above that
Mrs. Spafford's first and foremost value was that of wife, mother, and homemaker. She carefully monitored each facet of the role as she spoke as from the position of the General President of the Relief Society so that she might exemplify this value personally.

One of the values that correlated with the overall value of family is the value of testimony.

A firm and unwavering testimony is of first importance to a mother, not for her sake alone, but also because of her key position in the home and the potency of her influence upon her children (Spafford, 1953).

The building of testimonies is our most important work (Spafford, 1953).

Another essential value for a mother is to teach her family to understand and love the word of God.

There should not be a Latter-day Saint home in all the world where there would not be found a Bible, a Book of Mormon, a copy of the Doctrine and Covenants, and of the Pearl of Great Price (Spafford, 1962).

Mother should emphasize the great value of scripture, implanting in the children a special regard for it (Spafford, 1962).

The family is a value given primary focus by the church and Spafford could be expected to address it with frequency which she did.

Relief Society

As President of the Relief Society, one could be expected to speak of the value of activity in the society. Mrs. Spafford is adamant in her adherence to this value.
In and of itself, Relief Society is not a value, rather it is an organization which fosters activities that teach many other values. It is mentioned because of the frequency and obvious importance attached to it by Mrs. Spafford.

In the second speech under consideration, Mrs. Spafford expressed her gratitude for the organization.

I am grateful today, perhaps more than any other time in my life, for my membership in Relief Society, for the inherent greatness of this organization, Priesthood directed and guided by the light of the gospel (1954).

This entire speech is devoted to teaching the women the value espoused by the society. Two statements deserve notice because they highlight the importance she places on this organization:

Relief Society is pre-eminent among women's organizations because it is God's organization for his daughters here upon earth (Spafford, 1964).

My vision has been enlarged until today, like the early-day sisters, I recognize the true greatness of Relief Society. Today the Lord has given us influence among women's organizations of the world... Sisters, value that with which you have been blessed (Spafford, 1964).

In a conference message, she said:

Relief Society must stand as a bulwark against the forces of evil striving to engulf women. It must be a beacon light and a guiding star to women of many nations (Spafford, 1963).

**Service**

The value of charity has always received emphasis in the Church particularly as exemplified in compassionate
service. The Relief Society was organized to render such acts of service. Mrs. Spafford saw this purpose work in many countries of the world and continually stressed the need for and rewards to be gained from giving service.

I have seen the spirit of Relief Society touch the hearts of women and, rising above the barriers of nationality, race, social and economic position, make of them—sisters in every deed, ready to labor and minister to one another as well as to those about them (1954).

To the woman who serves in Relief Society there comes understanding, enlightenment, and a truer evaluation of her own problems and a wish to solve them in all righteousness (Spafford, 1955).

Mrs. Spafford felt strongly that service to others is essential to joy in living and taught that we cannot be living selfishly and be completely happy.

The Role of Woman

The role of woman is a composite of overlapping values, and Mrs. Spafford choose to speak about many facets of that role with significant frequency. She believed in equality for women philosophically. She believed woman as capable as man, but she saw her fulfilling different roles physically, biologically and emotionally. The Church has always emphasized education for women and Mrs. Spafford saw education as a tool by which she might fulfill her womanhood. She told a college audience:

The best advice I can give you today is take full advantage of your educational and leadership opportunities and clinging fast to the Church and its teaching (1970 a).
Mrs. Spafford encouraged women to use their gifts of talent and to develop their skills in addition to educational pursuits she stressed. She insisted upon the recognition of woman's abilities. Many members of her family and her board saw the recognition of woman's capacity as one of Mrs. Spafford's lifetime goals (Spafford, 1983). She stated:

Women owe it to themselves to develop their full potential as women, to exercise their mental capacities, to enlarge upon their talents, and to increase their skills - in order that they may give to the world the best they have in a manner that will be productive of the greatest good, regardless of the paths their lives may take (1974).

America needs women to give courage and support to those leading the intellectual hand of this country. Women have begun to capture the intellectual leadership and a great deal is expected of them (Spafford, 1953).

The role of women is a national issue and Mrs. Spafford is concerned with the potential of legislation which she considered a threat to the traditional values of family life. She spoke of areas of the movement which she supported and areas of disagreement.

There are some things for which women are agitating that merit support: for example, equal pay for equal work; nondiscrimination in hiring practices when a male and a female applicant are equally qualified, whose personal circumstances are comparatively equal in meeting job requirements (Spafford, 1974).

Personally, I am not in accord with those who believe that current problems and needs of women may best be answered by a constitutional amendment on equal rights. I am of the opinion that major advantages embodied in the proposed amendment could be achieved through regular channels of state and
federal legislative action without raising questionable results (Spafford, 1974).

Belle S. Spafford had a very clear sense of direction regarding the role of woman in the changing world. She encouraged other woman to make their influence felt.

Latter-day Saints have a priceless contribution to make to the world. We make our contribution in the daily conduct of our lives, in the influence we exert upon individuals and groups with whom we associate, in the direction we give to the thinking and the attitudes and viewpoints of our associates. We must not think in terms of what we can get from the world, but in terms of what we as Latter-day Saints, have and must give to the world (Spafford, 1969).

The times call for a greater degree of individual responsibility on the part of men and women alike in preserving the free way of life, together with the self discipline that marks its wise and orderly use (Spafford, 1960).

Character

The personal development of God-given potential was a value of which Mrs. Spafford spoke. The value, as she perceived it, has several dimensions.

I believe there must be in one's character a certain nobility of character - character that is elevated above anything that is selfish, degrading or uncharitable; character that squares with the principles of truth and righteousness (Spafford, 1968).

We recognize that through self-mastery in rising above the trial of life, character is developed and refined (Spafford, 1965).

One cannot be proved by walking only the easy road, nor does he become valiant without struggle. Through a mastery of the difficult the character of a man becomes strong (Spafford, 1950).
encouraged personal integrity, honesty, trustworthiness, honorableness of intent and action, and appropriate moral conduct in private and public life. The values are classed as the character fibers of democracy (Spafford, 1960). Noble character would be expected from a person who was obedient to the teachings of the gospel.

Obedience

Belle S. Spafford’s life was a living example of adherence to the principle of obedience. Because that was a central value in her own life, she stressed the benefits of being obedient to authority. She believed the promise found in the Doctrine and Covenants:

For behold, it is not meet that I should command in all things; for he that is compelled in all things, the same is a slothful and not a wise servant; wherefore he receiveth no reward.

Verily I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness. (D&C 58:26-27).

In her last years, she had reflected on the fruits of that promise and told her son that obedience brings rewards and that "The teachings of the Church are sound, reasonable, and true. Obedience to them brings sure rewards. Disobedience brings nought but sorrow (See Appendix F)."
Prayer

Mrs. Spafford believed in the power of prayer and over the years of her speaking emphasized the value prayer could be to others.

In building strong character, one of mankind's most powerful allies has always been prayer (1959).

The individual in today's life is sorely in need of the sustaining power of prayer, of belief, in God, and the conviction that he has an interest in his children (Spafford, 1967).

It is my conviction that there is perhaps no single factor more important in the maintenance of a spiritual home and in the building of spiritual strength in our children than the teaching and practice of prayer (Spafford, 1959).

Shame, I say, on any Latter-day Saint mother who puts her little ones to bed at night without being sure they have said a proper goodnight to their Father in Heaven (Spafford, 1959).

What is happening to our great American tradition of prayer? "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of (Spafford, 1963)."

Happiness

By speaking in an inspirational and persuasive manner, Mrs. Spafford hoped to convince her audiences that the value system of the gospel was the way to achieve happiness.

The achievement of a happy life is a universal goal of mankind and properly so. The Book of Mormon tells us "... Men are that they might have joy (Spafford, 1970)."

The achievement of "True happiness is within the reach of every one of us," Spafford (1970) promises her audiences.

Other values have received attention in other studies of
Church leaders (Rooker, 1982:164-202) and in historical studies (O'Dea, 1957:119-154). Spafford spoke on several of the values they considered, but did so less frequently than the ones discussed above. In her many years of speaking, she had ample opportunity to emphasize the values she felt were most important and to do so repetitively knowing that people need to be motivated frequently to actually change their values and their lives.

Values were a dominant part of her rhetorical concern. In one conference speech Spafford, (1960) asked:

For what am I really striving in life? Are the values which I hold dear those which the teachings of the Church, time, and experience have proved to be of genuine and enduring worth? The values we accept with a consenting mind and willing heart rule in the determination of our conduct and in the activities to which we devote ourselves.

**Credibility**

It is essential to establish credibility prior to the speech act or to achieve it during the act. Even if there is prior ethos, it is a very transitory thing and should be enhanced by the speaker's manner, delivery, and the treatment of the subject. Aristotle (Cooper, 1932:8-9) indicates its importance:

The character of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely . . . his character is the most potent of all the means to persuasion.
We do believe good men more fully and more readily than others. Spafford was respected for her "goodness" and dedication to the gospel and her personal standards. There is no indication that her audiences did not believe her.

The importance of credibility is also emphasized by Thonssen and Baird (1948:384) who cite Aristotle in their conviction that there are three sources of personal credibility, "or in other words there are three things apart from demonstrative proofs which inspire belief, viz. sagacity, high character, and good will."

More recently, Blankenship (1972:130-142) points out that there are two ways in which a speaker may make himself known.

The first is what he brings with him to the speech: his character, personality, reputation, image, ethos, and charisma. The second is what he says in the speech: the topics he chooses to discuss, the evidence he offers to support his point of view, the lines of argument he takes, and the values he expresses - how he views the great concerns of the day... Ethos may be defined as an attitude of or a perception of the speaker held at any given time by the audience (Blankenship, 1972: 130-42).

Belle S. Spafford was known for her intelligence, warm personality, and absolute commitment to the tenets of the gospel. She was an example to the women of the Church.

She had ethos for Church members simply by virtue of her position of leadership in the Church. She had the approval of the General Presidency of the Church as evidenced by her extensive years of service, and the trust
and faith the brethren had in Spafford's judgment (Miltenberger: 1983). In several of the interviews with her close associates, the comment was made, "She had so much wisdom and common sense."

Campbell (1982:122) believes that "ethos does not refer to your peculiarities as an individual, but to the ways in which you reflect the characteristics and qualities that are valued by your culture or group." Spafford reflected the characteristics and qualities that were valued by her peers in the Church and in several organizations of women. In that way, she had established her credibility and acceptance as an individual and as a speaker.

Aristotle believed that members of the community were influenced by "evidence of good sense on practical matters, by evidence of the rhetor's ethical principles, and by indications that the rhetor had the best interests of the community in mind (Campbell, 1982: 123)." It was commonly known that Spafford prized moral and ethical principles as guides in her life and that she worked diligently to gain recognition, acceptance, and rewards for women in the world and in the Church. In Relief Society Conference, Spafford (1966) made a statement about women which really represented her own philosophy and reinforced her credibility. She said:

The world is full of good women seeking the right way, ready to accept truth when it is
presented to them with clarity and conviction, devoid of criticism, and when one's own actions give credence to her words.

Credibility was definitely a strong point in the public speaking career of this woman. In fact, she achieved such a high level of credibility that she was very conscious of her remarks because she realized they would have a significant impact. According to Mouritsen, when Spafford expressed her opinions, they carried. She became the "Grande Dame" by virtue of her competence and long years of experience.

When Mrs. Spafford spoke to the National Council of Women, she enjoyed her credibility because she had earned it over the years. Her proven capabilities and her skill with interpersonal relationships made the difference. Initially, she was not given the respect by the women of the organization she felt she deserved as a representative of the Relief Society. But by the time she delivered this speech, she had achieved admiration for herself and respect for the Church. During the years of activity in the National Council, she took some controversial stands (Mouritsen, 1983). For example, her feelings about abortion and the equal rights amendment were counter to the majority of the women. At times she had to contend with derogatory comments concerning Church policies regarding Blacks. But she was very skillful in holding to her values without offending others. In fact, because of such skill she was
able to increase her credibility and her influence. Elder Monson (1983) indicated she was recognized as a leader of women as she rose to the top because the women saw in her these qualities which they wished they had. They wanted her to represent them and expose those qualities to the women of the world.

Even after her term as President, the National Council of Women wanted her on their governing boards and continued to elect her to various positions. Norma Ashton (1983) said, "The National Council of Women loved her and respected her because she stood her ground and maintained her own standards. Once they took her in, they wouldn't let her go."

In an interview with Edith Watson (1983), she related a personal experience she had in New York with Mrs. Spafford. At a luncheon meeting of the National Council of Women, the President of the Council insisted that Spafford sit at the head table although she was not among those to be honored. Many prominent women were introduced and honored including a Princess, two city mayors, and several wives of Governors. Then the President introduced Mrs. Spafford saying, "You all know Belle, our own dear Belle." Spontaneously, the entire membership stood and applauded to express their respect and love for her. After the meeting, Spafford said to Mrs. Watson, "Well, I've come a long way, haven't I, for
a little Smith girl from the wrong side of town."

Credibility is acknowledged by the introduction a speaker receives. Most of the speeches given by Belle Spafford have not included the introductions. However, the speeches given at Brigham Young University generally include the introduction. The final paragraph of one introduction given by Stephen Covey (Spafford, 1968) is indicative of the respect she was given:

So we have with us today a very unusual woman, one of the great and noble spirits of this dispensation. Her magnificent strength and character have been fashioned in the crucibles of life, close working association with the Lord's annointed apostles and prophets, many times of personal tragedy and deep sorrow, and years of dedicated humanitarian selfless service as the president of the Relief Society of the Church, truly a living model of the values of LDS womanhood. So we are very honored and pleased today to have Sister Spafford give our devotional message.

Of the four speeches selected for analysis in this thesis, only one has an introduction. That particular speech was "The American Women's Movement" given to an audience primarily composed of men. It is assumed that the same introduction was given vocally that was printed in the pamphlet although no recognition is given of the person who might have given the introduction. The achievements cited are those one would expect to use when establishing credibility with this cosmopolitan audience, including several of her educational degrees and service awards. The concluding paragraph emphasizes her extensive travels, her expertise in the area of social work and the time spent
with Lady Reading in England. Although no mention is made of this woman or her prestigious position as head of the Voluntary Services in England, it is assumed that merely mentioning the opportunity Spafford had to study the service would increase her credibility.

One of the first things a speaker should do is to gain the good will of the audience. Many approaches may be successful, but Thonssen and Baird (1948:387) list six.

Good will is revealed through the ability (1) to capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience; (2) to identify himself properly with the hearers and their problems; (3) to proceed with candor and straightforwardness; (4) to offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration; (5) to offset any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech, and (6) to reveal, without guile or exhibitionism, his personable qualities as a messenger of truth.

In Spafford's opening paragraph, she establishes her modesty and concern about speaking to such a distinguished group. She makes an attempt to establish her credibility by mentioning her preparation and awareness of the diversity of opinion held on several issues concerning women. Later in the speech, Spafford (1974) establishes her personal concern with moral law which in turn enhances her ethos. She said, "I accept the premise that moral right is that which is true, ethically good and proper, and in conformity with moral law."

Example is one means that can be used to increase a speaker's credibility. Blankenship (1972:145) defines
example as "the use of one particular instance to clarify or verify a more general statement. Examples may well be the best remembered expression of the ideas in a speech."

The use of personal examples did little to increase the ethos of Belle Spafford. She seldom referred to herself unless it was in an experience which occurred in her official capacity. Mudd and Sillars (1979:128) stated, "Use real examples whenever it is possible and give them the kind of detail that will make them seem more directly related to the listener's experience." Mrs. Spafford uses many historical experiences, but few current examples. Her speeches would have benefited from a more liberal use of such examples where she believed they could be appropriately shared with her audiences. She had many personal examples to draw from, both in her life and in the lives of women who shared their personal experiences with her as she visited the stakes of the Church or the meetings of the organized women of the world. But the infrequent use of the personal example may be a common approach by speakers of the Church especially women speakers in positions of prominent leadership, and has been documented in at least one study (Rooker, 1982:220).

There is further indication of the reticence to share personal examples in the paraphrased remarks of Elder Boyd K. Packer (1982) at her funeral. Without having intended to do so, she had related a personal example involving Elder
Packer because she felt she had been prompted to do so. She called him to confess that she had shared the story. The story is as follows:

One night, Elder Packer had a dream concerning her and he awoke feeling Sister Spafford needed a blessing. He called her the next morning and she said his call was an answer to prayer. She had been ill. Tests had shown she had a tumor and other complications. The blessing was unusual. She was promised that her days were not over, that her life was to be prolonged so she might fulfill an important purpose. Special promises were given. She was promised that her mind would always be sharp and that she would yet accomplish some things dear to her. When further tests were made the next week, the tumor was gone. When she did pass away five years later, her mind was clear and the promises were kept.

Mrs. Spafford experienced a genuine sense of loss with the death of her husband and daughter (Covey, 1983). She apparently coped with adjustment through the exercising of her faith in the concept of the eternal family unit, but not through an open showing of her feelings with any audience. As far as can be ascertained, no mention was made to either experience publicly. Perhaps Mrs. Spafford felt it was inappropriate to use such personal examples in her speaking. The examples she did use were generally impersonal and less well-developed.
Audience

Belle S. Spafford spoke to many different audiences during her years of service. It is possible to categorize those audiences generally into two major types, the Church audience and the Civic audience. Although each audience has its own make-up, there were similarities of religious and/or civic principles in the speeches.

More speeches were given to Relief Society Conference audiences than other Church audiences and, occasionally, she spoke in Stake Relief Society meetings. Over the years, she was invited to speak several times at Brigham Young University which is primarily a Church audience.

But Mrs. Spafford also spoke to other audiences as she traveled extensively representing the Church to the world or in behalf of the National Council of Women and other women's organizations with which she was affiliated. She conferred and counseled with women in most of the free nations. In her retirement years, she traveled throughout North and South America and Europe on speaking engagements (Deseret News:A-1).

Aristotle recognized the importance of an audience in the total speech situation. "For a speech is composed of three elements, viz. the speaker, the subject of the speech, and the persons addressed; and the end or object of
the speech is determined by the last, viz. by the audience." (Thonssen and Baird, 1948:8).

"Every speech is an experience in audience adjustment" (Thonssen and Baird, 1948:8). But the adjustment can come in different phases. In most cases, Mrs. Spafford undoubtedly considered audience analysis an essential part of her preparation. For Spafford, the adjustment was made to each individual audience during the preparation phase. There was little apparent deviation from written texts of speeches. It is essential, therefore, that the initial analysis is based on a correct understanding of the audience.

According to Campbell, (1982:71) there are at least four ways to define an "audience."

An audience is: (1) those exposed to the rhetorical act, the empirical audience, (2) the target audience, the ideal audience at whom the act is aimed, (3) agents of change, those who have the capacity to do as the rhetor wishes, who can make changes, and (4) the role the audience is asked to play, the audience as it is created by rhetorical action.

Obviously, this definition fits the audiences Spafford addressed. The first two speeches selected for the study had essentially the same audience composition. Both addresses were given in Relief Society Conference, the first in 1954 and the second in 1958. As with all general conferences of the Church, the setting is the tabernacle on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. But in
order to assess the target audience and the agents of change, it is necessary to know the history and the composition of the Relief Society and Belle S. Spafford's relationship with that society.

Founded in 1842 in Nauvoo, Illinois, by eighteen women under the direction of Joseph Smith, the Relief Society extends membership to all adult women of the Church. Many of the women are young, but as Spafford (1952) said, "There are also middle-aged women and those who are experienced and who have grown old in dedication to the work."

Ostensibly the Relief Society [women] were organized to visit the sick and the helpless and the needy, and learn their wants and under their Bishops collect the means necessary to relieve them. (Arrington, 1958:251).

In reality, the Relief Society serves many varied and demanding functions. The Relief Society was asked by the President of the Church "to teach the poor to provide for themselves and to establish institutions and programs which would assist the poor to live more comfortably and those not so poor to live more frugally (Arrington, 1958:251)."

O'Dea (1957:182) mentions family relief, maternal and child welfare classes and aiding the Church Welfare plan as among the Society's activities. He states:

It has no written constitution and by-laws but works under the direction of the priesthood and on the basis of its own precedents. It has supplied the feminine equivalent of the priesthood activities for men (O'Dea, 1957:182).
In a speech given to the New Century Club in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Spafford (1954) was asked to tell something of Relief Society. Regarding the purpose of the society, she says:

The purposes of Relief Society as set forth at the time of its founding and as later developed by the Society are: "to manifest benevolence, irrespective of creed or nationality; to care for the poor, the sick and the unfortunate; to minister where death reigns; to assist in correcting the morals and strengthening the virtues of community life; to raise human life to its highest level; to elevate and enlarge the scope of women's activities and conditions; to foster love for religion, education, culture and refinement; to develop faith; to save souls; to study and teach the gospel (1954).

At the yearly conference meetings, women come with expectations of receiving guidance, instruction, motivation, and inspiration to continue in the "work." Rooker (1982:107) found similarities with the ward audiences of her study. Leaders, such as President Spafford, spoke to those ends.

[They] desired and received "instruction" rather than stimulation to learning through reasoning or questioning. They sought an understanding of the gospel through faith and testimony rather than through analysis of doctrine or organization.

The large audience, composed of women, was accepting of the speakers (Ashton, 1983) as authority figures. These women are devoted to their religion and to the concerns of Relief Society. The geographical background is quite diverse, more so in the second speech, as women began to travel great distances to attend conference sessions.
Relief Society Conference is held in conjunction with the General Conference for the entire Church membership. The educational background also has diversity, with the socio-economic make-up primarily middle-class. The value system, which would be based on the tenets of the gospel, is held in general agreement. Many of the women have common experiences in Church activities and in their domestic lives. As the "target audience" and the "agents of change," they are generally responsive to direction and return to their own wards to act upon their convictions.

Another audience for these speeches also exists. That is the general membership of the society which is in the home stakes and wards located in the United States and throughout the world. This audience is international and very diverse in every aspect except the unifying belief in the gospel, with a significant percentage being relatively new converts and less well-informed concerning some gospel principles. This audience is reached through the Magazine where the text was printed. Belle Spafford established rapport with the women of the Church, first through her role as Editor of the Magazine, then as counselor to the general president, and finally as an effective president. She represented the women and she was always working in their behalf.

Most of the conference audience is married women who are primarily occupied with the responsibilities of raising
a family and serving the Church. Some are employed. All have a general knowledge of the Church's beliefs regarding the subjects Mrs. Spafford choose for her remarks in "The Greatness of Relief Society" and "The Mission of Womankind." The composition of the audience for the third speech is quite different, although it, too, is primarily women. These women are members of the National Council of Women (see Appendix D) and represent local organizations of women throughout the United States. The grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City was the setting on April 1, 1968, for the occasion. It was a luncheon meeting marking the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the National Council of Women and the International Council of Women which was established at the same time. Spafford (1968: 484) indicates that there were more than 700 women in attendance. In a report given in the Magazine, she wrote that the women came from varied fields of interest: Music, art, theater, fashion, interior design, law, public relations, publishing, advertising, economics, medicine, nursing, finance, industry, business, religion, government, and volunteer organizations. Spafford (1968) said,

> The precise measure of the accomplishments of the Council would be impossible to determine. We must concede, however, that for over three quarters of a century, it has had a far-reaching influence for good in the life of the Nation and in the well-being of womankind.

The geographical backgrounds of these women were
diverse and there were wide variations in education and socio-economic backgrounds. They were, however, recognized as successful women in their fields. Spafford was highly honored to be billed on the program as "A First Lady" in civic work. Other speakers were Cornelia Otis Skinner, well known author and actress, billed as "A First Lady" in the arts, and Dr. Benetta B. Washington, director of the Woman's Job Corps, billed "A First Lady" in education.

All of the women held one common conviction, "that organized women can contribute to a better world" (Spafford, 1968). Historically in this period of the late sixties, women were concerned with "resolving the causes of national unrest and world crises." This was a commemorative occasion and Spafford thought the audience expected reference to the history of the organization and appeals to pride, progress, and future improvement (1968:484). The attitude was respectful towards the speaker. The value system and the individual perspectives were diverse. The common problems facing women were recognized, but there was little agreement as to solutions.

Aly and Aly (1973:163) indicate that an audience that comes to hear a speaker is motivated by some bond of collective interest. The collective interest for the audience for the final speech selected was religious and historical. History was in the making in terms of the women's movement. As a result of the movement, states had
began to pass the Equal Rights Amendment and Belle S. Spafford had been invited to express her position. This speech was also given in New York City. Thus, this final speech, "The American Women's Movement" was given in 1974 to the Lochinvar Club. Membership in the Lochinvar Club was restricted to persons who were successful in business. This was determined by the recognition of title; a person must be at least an officer in his business or corporation. According to Weston Edwards, (1983) the very cosmopolitan audience could be classified as "influence setters." The make-up of the audience was predominately male, not as a requirement of membership, but as a result of the fact that few women had achieved significant leadership positions which qualified them for membership. There may have been wives present. George Watkins (1983), former president of the New York Stake and early member of the club, recalled that the initial purpose of the club was for prominent LDS men in the business community to meet with those who were inactive Church members, but prominent in the New York area. Watkins said (1983), "It was an opportunity to interface with all the members of the Church, but this precept was unwritten and possibly is not in action now."

After the speech was given, Spafford received a standing ovation. This speech was widely quoted in the public press according to an editorial in the Church News (1974:16). The editor stated, "She is recognized as one of
the great women of the world." The text of her speech was printed in booklet form and distributed by the members of the Lochinvar Club as they wished.

Spafford kept the attention of her audiences. Ashton (1983) said she never did see an audience drift away. By knowing the general composition of each specific audience, tailored her remarks that she might most effectively influence her audience.

Organization

Man is by nature a logical animal who expresses his logic through organization communication. As a communicator he begins to organize when he selects his topic and his proofs. Such process of organization is essential and closely related to the occasion, the particular audience, and the purpose of the speech. In analysis of these factors, the critic can find the rhetor's craftsmanship. One looks for the emergence of a central theme or thesis statement, the general method of arrangement and the order in which the parts are developed. Thonssen and Baird (1948:393) infer it is the critic's task to see if the speaker's conception of his purpose is clear and whether the selection and arrangement of ideas contribute to the elucidation of the purpose. It is critical to analysis to recognize the method of arrangement which forms a basis for managing the materials of the speech so as to achieve the
purpose of the speech. Most commonly the historical, distributive, or logical methods are used (Thonssen and Baird:394-395). However, most frequently these principles work in combination, so that the historical, distributive and logical methods may all be used with one of the methods generally predominating in a given speech.

During the period of time under consideration (1945-1975), Belle S. Spafford spoke frequently and the author was able to study 40 speeches given during that time period. These speeches were delivered in Relief Society General Conferences, dedications, devotional assemblies at Brigham Young University, National Council of Women conventions, civic clubs and other a variety of organized women's groups. Although she frequently spoke to conventions of the International Council of Women, no speeches were obtainable. Further she undoubtedly delivered a number of extemporaneous speeches, but none were located or identified as such. Therefore, only those speeches which were specifically identified as manuscript speeches were considered. The texts were primarily published in the Relief Society Magazine, the two books containing collections of her writings, and the Brigham Young University Speeches of the Year. One speech was printed in pamphlet form by the Church. The texts were approved by Mrs. Spafford for publication in the Magazine and her books. It is also likely that she would have given the
texts of the speeches to the publishers in the other instances. Therefore the accuracy of the written material is fairly certain. The four speeches chosen for analysis are included in the Appendices A - D.

The historical method of organization predominates the speeches. Mrs. Spafford apparently feels it is critical for all members of her audience to have an understanding of the development of the women's movement, the National Council of Women, and the Relief Society. In some speeches, the historical development begins with reference to the Bible, the scriptures of the Church, or the history of the Church. Of the forty speeches, twenty-two use a chronological format with a historical introduction. Frequently, Mrs. Spafford related stories of the founding of the National Council of Women or the Relief Society.

As has been stated before, rhetoric is the study of that which is persuasive and examines the means by which influence occurs. Speakers and listeners come together with expectations sometimes determined by the occasion or by their previous experience. The potential purpose will depend on the issue, the audience, the content, and the speaker. Purpose has a broad range and affects organization and arrangement as they interrelate. Further, Belle S. Spafford spoke to audiences she understood relatively well. Her intention was to persuade by influence. Spafford's purposes were sometimes to inform,
to explain, to formulate belief, to inspire, to initiate
action, and to maintain action. As the individual
purposes of each speech are examined, it is crucial to keep
in mind the general and overriding attitude of the speaker.
For as Campbell (1982:13) indicates, the range of purposes
available begin with "creating virtual experience" and
extend through the following five purposes: "altering
perceptions, explaining, formulating belief, initiating
action, and maintaining action. Spafford basically deals
with the final four.

"If we measure the effects of rhetorical acts by how
much they altered belief, nearly all of them would be
failures," according to Campbell (1982:10).

Beliefs do not change in response to a single
message. If people do alter their beliefs, they do
so over weeks, months, or even years, and in
response to many different messages.

After studying Belle S. Spafford's speeches, covering some
thirty years, the author feels that Mrs. Spafford acted in
accordance with the above concept. She reiterated her
central themes, and anticipated that repetition would add
to the level of persuasion. Campbell further states that
"Most rhetorical acts serve, at best, to confirm a position
being considered or to present an explanation the audience
is ready to ponder." In speaking to the Church audiences,
in most cases, it is a matter of confirming a position.
New innovations in Relief Society generally are handled
through priesthood channels of authority to the local
stakes and wards rather than addressed by the president. But the values do need reinforcement. The rhetorical action is a way of maintaining adherence to the position. Most religious sermons continue to motivate and urge compliance with accepted values.

While the organization of a speech may have different plans, many rhetorical critics use the Aristotelian format as the criterion for evaluating disposition (Thonssen and Baird:1948:398). Aristotle believed that "the only indispensable parts of a speech are the statement of the case and the proof (Cooper, 1932:220). However, he added that if other parts were necessary, the exordium or introduction, exposition or statement of the case, proof, and peroration or conclusion are acceptable. Thonssen and Baird (1948:398) discuss the function of these parts as Aristotle defined them. The introduction enlists the attention and interest of the listeners, renders the audience well-disposed toward the speaker, and prepares the way for the ideas of the speech. The statement of the case presents the nature of the subject to be developed. The proof is the means through which the ideas are elaborated and enforced. And the peroration or conclusion attempts to inspire the audience with a favorable opinion of the speaker as opposed to the adversary, to amplify the subject, to excite the audience emotionally, and to recall the facts which the speaker wishes to stress.
Using the above guidelines, the central idea, the order or arrangement, and the means of proof and the purpose will be considered for each speech to analyze relationships and effectiveness.

"The Mission of Womankind" (1958) was given in Relief Society Conference in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City to an audience composed primarily of women.

**Specific Purpose:** To convince the women of the Church that their mission is to marry in the House of the Lord, to establish homes and raise children in righteousness. The purpose would not call for a change in belief of most of the women, but the persuasive approach is more direct in this speech than in many of Mrs. Spafford's later speeches.

**Introduction:** President Spafford announced her choice of subject immediately as one "very near and dear to the hearts of the Latter-day Saint mothers; namely, our homes and families." She used an example of a mother and son which indicated devotion, affection, and faith in the eternal family.

**Statement of the Case:** "The gospel gives to Latter-day Saint mothers the loftiest concept of home and family life known to mankind."

**Proof:** A value was stated that is shared by members of the Church: "The gospel teaches that marriage is an eternal principle ordained before the foundation of the world. It teaches that in our existence here, through
husband and wife, the spirits which God created shall be given tabernacles of flesh. It is here we prove ourselves and prepare ourselves and our children for the place we shall hold in our heavenly and eternal home." Proof is established through the quotation of President Joseph F. Smith. He elaborates on a principle which Spafford ties back into her specific directive saying, "I speak particularly to mothers, ... make all else in life subservient to the well-being of our homes and families." She further appealed to authority as she quotes Brigham Young and David O. McKay. She uses David O. McKay's mother as an example of sacrifice to the principle. Statistics from a Manpower Conference are cited to indicate the number of women working outside the home and the prediction of pressure for more married women to engage in paid employment outside the home. As examples she refers to several "so-called" authorities who present conflicting views regarding the future of employment for women.

**Conclusion:** Present-day trends, attitudes, opinions, and practices are representative of the adversary. Short-run gains should not take precedence over long-range consequences or eternal values. The women are admonished to recognize their role as inspiring and all important. It is a role which will combat the adversary.

"The Greatness of Relief Society" (1954) was also given in Relief Society Conference in the Tabernacle in
Salt Lake City.

Specific Purpose: To inspire the women to live up to their heritage, to recognize the greatness of Relief Society, to value and be grateful for the blessings of membership. The speaker states the purpose after the introduction, enumerating her gratitude and restates it in the conclusion.

Introduction: President Spafford indicates her gratitude for the women and for the General Authorities of the Church. She begins nine paragraphs with the expression, "I am grateful." This captures the attention of the audience as they relate their own feelings of gratitude to those of Mrs. Spafford.

Statement of the Case: Relief Society has a position of stature among the women's organization of the world.

Proof: She begins with an example, a story of the early leaders of Relief Society and their exalted view of their position "...Standing at the head of the women of all the world." She then relates her own personal experience in Helsinki, Finland as chairman of the United States delegation of the National Council of Women. The next portion of her text is mainly an explanation of the purposes of that council and a comparison with Relief Society. The comparison proves Relief Society offers more because it is of "a higher order."

Mrs. Spafford uses logic as another means of proof to
show that Relief Society can make a difference in the lives of women. She explains that there is a relationship between the cause (the power of Relief Society) and the effect (the transformation of the women lives) and then cites specific examples from her travels abroad which illustrate her point.

It makes their burdens light. In faraway Finland I found Relief Society women, who by their own words 'had suffered much.' They were sweet-spirited, poised, capable in their leadership, and they were radiantly happy women. Just as I saw this in Finland, so I saw it in the other European countries, so I have seen it at home.

**Conclusion**: President Spafford with all her travels and exposure to the world came to the conclusion that Relief Society is great and that the "Lord has given us influence among women's organizations of the world." The point is made that the women should conduct their lives so that this influence will be used properly. The concluding statement emphasizes that point:

"Value that with which you have been blessed. Never underestimate its beauty, its importance, its power, and its influence for good. Make it ever more potent as an organization proclaiming the Master's way."

Without specific direction, she utilizes her inspiration to serve as a guide.

"After Eighty Years" was given to the National Council of Women of the United States, April 1, 1968, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, New York.

**Specific Purpose**: To praise the past in the world of
woman with particular emphasis upon her best work in the field of woman's suffrage, her place today, and to inform woman what may be expected of her tomorrow.

Introduction; Mrs. Spafford introduced her comments of tribute with a quotation categorizing the present day as "woman's era--her triumphant day of achievement." She acknowledged the prestige woman has acquired through the years and the sacrifices made by many to acquire that position. Such comments would have been in keeping with the desires of the audience.

Statement of the Case: Tribute is paid to the founders of the National Council of Women and the members are motivated to use the power their predecessors fought for.

Proof: Spafford uses the chronological method and her supports are examples from history. She explains the woman's role in the early part of the 19th century, the women who formed the first woman's club with a political purpose in 1833, the first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, and the organization of the National Council in 1888. She uses examples to elaborate the experiences of each one. In addition, she uses a more specific example from the history of the Church, Emily S. Tanner Richards. Mrs. Richards had been an official delegate to the first convention. She served as an example of the many women who directed the movement on a local level. In the chronological development, she points to the present day,
followed by a brief mention of the future.

**Conclusion:** Mrs. Spafford concludes with a challenge to the women. She admonishes them to meet the challenge, use the power as had the women of the past, and unite under the "aegis of the National Council of Women."

"The American's Woman's Movement" was delivered July 12, 1974 at the Lochinvar Club, New York City, New York.

**Specific Purpose:** To explain the history of the development of the woman's movement, inform the audience of the current trends, and formulate and maintain belief in the preservation of the home.

**Introduction:** Mrs. Spafford recognizes the distinguished group, and expresses her modesty and concern because of the audience and because of the differing viewpoints held by the audience. She announces her topic immediately explaining it covered a two hundred year period. Interest is created through the use of a quotation which refers to the topic as "the sensation of the hour." She then lists several headlines that indicate current interest in the topic by diverse groups.

**Statement of the Case:** Three major questions constitute the statement of the problem to be covered in Spafford's discussion: First, are we in the midst of a new movement? Second, what has given rise to today's agitation? Third, What does it portend?

**Proof:** In many of Mrs. Spafford's speeches, she is
careful to state her proof as "my opinion." Of course it is always based on her considerable research and years of experience. She uses this approach as a method of appearing less dogmatic, something she seems to wish to avoid. In this speech, her opinion is a generously accepted established fact. She says, "Woman's Lib" is an offshoot of the early suffrage movement. Then she follows the historical development of that movement citing the colonial days, life after the Revolution, the emergence of education for women, and the founding of "The Ladies Association for the Education of Females" of Jacksonville, Illinois. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the chief agent in the organization of the first women's convention, is referred to in a story from the book, Angels and Amazons, which she considers "a highlight in the history of feminism." Other than scriptures, this is one of the few books Spafford refers to as a means of proof, but it is mentioned in several of her speeches. To continue in the historical vein, Spafford then refers to the founding of the Relief Society in 1842, pointing out the recognition women of the Church have enjoyed from an early period.

The National Council of Women worked for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Spafford makes two didactic statements, still qualifying them as opinion, with which some members of the audience probably disagreed. She states:
Suffrage and the equal rights amendment are fundamentally different.

Agitation began with a few sporadic efforts by poorly structured groups, somewhat militant in character and extreme in viewpoints, gaining momentum until it has now become a national effort, commonly referred to as the Woman's Liberation Movement.

She then sets up the adversarial position by listing the controversial views of some liberal advocates. Spafford does not well document many of her comments. For example:

Some pollsters find that women in large numbers prefer the job of wife and homemaker to that of the unmarried woman working and seeking fulfillment in man's competitive working world. They prefer the gratification of motherhood, the privileges of wifehood, the position generally accorded the woman in the home by family members and the status conferred by society on the title Mrs.

Some activists have openly stated that one of their big problems is the indifference of the average married woman to their efforts in behalf of liberating her from her traditional status of housewife.

What pollsters conducting which poll? Who are the activists and how many married women have they talked to? She does state her areas of agreement; "equal pay for equal work; and nondiscrimination in hiring practices," but states that in her opinion "the major advantages embodied in the proposed amendment could be achieved through regular channels of state and federal legislative action without raising questionable results." Her next line of defense is to state the values that have influenced her conviction. The statement that "a woman should feel free to go into the
marketplace and into community services on a paid or volunteer basis if she so desires, when her home and family circumstances allow her to do so without impairment to her family life" seems to be less narrow in its perspective than statements made in "The Mission of Womankind."

Mrs. Spafford's uses ethos as proof with the statements:

I accept the premise that moral right is that which is true, ethically good and proper, and in conformity with moral law. What was morally right based on truth must remain right regardless of changing times and circumstances. Truth - and right that is based on truth - are immutable.

Mrs. Spafford again picks up the threads of the chronological development by asking what of the future? She offers five opinions concerning the trends for the future. In the presentation of those opinions, she uses one analogy. The women's movement is called a pendulum. She attempts to use logic and reasoning to project the future and then tie everything back into spiritual and moral values. There may not have been enough time to assess the accuracy of her observations regarding the women's movement, but it seems doubtful that materialism will take a lesser position. Thus far, it would seem there is little evidence to state otherwise.

Conclusion: Mrs. Spafford re-establishes the need for the preservation of the status quo regarding the home, cites two authorities the audience would accept, and
finalizes with a familiar expression and a scripture. The expression and scripture are not particularly powerful, but her point has already been well established. In the author's opinion, Mrs. Spafford was careful to state her conclusion in a mild way, to "influence" rather than to be viewed as argumentative. She seems to feel that most people are able to draw proper conclusions if they are given the facts or values in interesting form.

Blankenship (1972:200) feels that the speaker should state his conclusions specifically and positively. She says:

It is most often ineffective to "let the facts speak for themselves. They may or may not or they may say one thing to the speaker and another to his audience. Thus, the speaker should interpret his facts for the audience and explain why his is a more reasonable and valuable interpretation.

Spafford tended to let the values, as opposed to the facts, speak for themselves. Her conclusion could have been stronger had she added more reasoning and restatement of her position in a more persuasive manner.

Belle S. Spafford was known for her wit, but she used it rarely in her public speaking. Over the years, she used the different forms of proof more expertly. She increased her use of example, however, it was always rather impersonal. Her use of analogy is extremely limited. Statistics occur more frequently. Cause to effect reasoning, comparison and contrast become tools, but she continued to primarily depend upon explanation,
generalization, reiteration of some stories, authority and value statements for support.

Her choice of rhetorical purposes correlate with the audience, the subject, and the speaker as they should. Overall, Mrs. Spafford's organization is very effective. She is well-organized in the management of her personal life, and her administration of leadership positions. Her speaking demonstrates the high value she places on such organization and is a carry over into her speeches.

**STYLE**

When someone attempts to describe a speaker's effectiveness, the comment is often made, "It wasn't what he said; it was the way he said it." The comment is a reference to style, the quality that makes each individual's mode of expression distinctive (Aly and Aly, 1973:207). The critic not only must be concerned with how well the speaker's style expresses his ideas, but with the components which go into that "style." The sum total of a speaker's personality affects the style.

According to Thonssen and Baird (1948:429) style is important to the extent that it helps prepare and subsequently open the minds of the listeners to the ideas developed in the speech. Therefore, to be effective, style should be clear, appropriate and vivid. While there are many conceptions and definitions of style (Baird, 1965:153),
these three elements of style have been accepted by the author as a means of analyzing the speaking style of Belle S. Spafford.

Clarity

Aristotle (Baird, 1965:160) was concerned with this aspect of style.

Let excellence of style be defined as to consist of its being clear; style to be good must be clear, as it is proved by the fact that speech which fails to convey a plain meaning will fail to do just what a speaker has to do.

It appears to this critic that clarity is the strength of Mrs. Spafford’s style. She uses correct grammar and syntax; the general choice of words is clear and understood by her audience. She never uses structures that require definition, and only occasionally does she use vocabulary that might be considered unfamiliar for all of her audiences. For example, of the four speeches to be analyzed, only in the speech given to the Lochinvar Club—an audience of well-educated, successful, cosmopolitan men—did she use words that could possibly be considered uncommon to all of her audiences. They are "inturregnum," "afflatus" "manumitted," "extant," and "miscreant." It is known that this speech was well received, so apparently the clarity level of her speaking was appropriate for that particular audience. Clarity is a memorable quality associated with Mrs. Spafford. Marianne Sharp, who worked with her for over thirty years classified her speaking style
as "interesting and clear," "very clear." Most importantly, Mrs. Spafford's clarity was matched by her use of direct statements as indicated by the following examples: "The love and the sanctity of the home should be zealously safeguarded (1958)." "Power is in our hands (1968)." "Tomorrow we undoubtedly will hear less of woman's rights and more of her responsibilities and achievements (1974)."

### Appropriate

A speech can be considered appropriate if the speaker, the audience, the topic, and the occasion are congruent. Mrs. Spafford realized this. Members of her family said she continually demonstrated her concern for being appropriate and proper (Nimer, 1983). It was an integral part of her personality and approach to life. Mrs. Spafford spoke at important occasions on subjects which were considered serious and important. As president of the Relief Society, she received many requests to speak, but she felt that the prestige of the office and the limitations of her time required her to be very selective in her acceptances (Miltenberger, 1983). In rare cases where she felt there was a particular need or she had an overriding interest, she would speak in a ward or stake meeting where it might be considered acceptable to speak less formally. In addition to her personal inclination, and
the importance of the occasion, the demands of the office of president called for a formal level of speaking. Campbell (1983:260) suggests "The more authoritative the rhetor is or wishes to appear, the more formal the style." The president of the Relief Society is received as an authority. By her manner, Mrs. Spafford promoted that image. To speak casually, to use colloquialisms, or to appear uninformed or unsure would have been inappropriate even if she had chosen to do so. Mouritsen (1983) said Mrs. Spafford had "charisma;" she believed in "always being proper." Audiences could sense that this was a forceful personality, full of energy, intensity and dignity.

Vividness

Another quality of style to consider is vividness which can be appropriate or inappropriate to the occasion, the topic, or the speaker. Vividness refers to a use of language that makes us see and hear and feel. A sharp mental picture is created for the listener. Vividness focuses attention and establishes empathy (Aly and Aly, 1973:218). "It creates virtual experience" is the expression chosen by the author of a recent textbook on rhetoric (Campbell, 1982:263). Vivid style "depicts, dramatizes, personifies, and describes." Specific detail, accurate description, metaphorical language, examples or quotable phrases can make a speech more interesting and more memorable. Rhetorical questions can involve the
audience and contribute to vividness. Occasionally the use of rhetorical questions invites the audience to identify with the speaker or subject if a feeling of shared experience is created. The analysis indicates Mrs. Spafford used relatively few of the above means for increasing vividness. Figurative language is minimal. While her style is clear, appropriate, polished and well received, in the areas of vividness, it is not outstanding. The examples of vividness that she does use add variety and interest to her style as indicated by the following:

Connotative words:

Each step for women has been taken over "a rough and rocky obstacle course (1968)."

"Determination enabled her to carry the lighted lamp and level the rugged ground (1968)."

Tribute is paid to "stalwart women who launched" the movement and "set the sails (1968)."

Contrast:

Today our focus must be on our responsibilities rather than our rights (1968).

Rhetorical Questions:

Three major questions arise. First, are we in the midst of a new movement? Second, what has given rise to today's agitation? Third, what does it portend?

Can we not meet this challenge with the same degree of success that the women of the past met the challenges of their day? Can we not do so with confidence, working unitedly under the aegis of the National Council of
Women which for 80 years has performed with integrity and honor? I believe we can (1968).

Metaphor and Simile:

"... women were silent as the tomb."

"... [those] who have tasted these fruits of home and family life will recognize new philosophies which create spoilage in them..."

Analogy:

Just as the pendulum swing to and fro under the combined action of gravity and momentum to regulate the movements of clockworks and machinery and usually with the first push strikes hard at the far left and far right, moving somewhat irregularly and then finds its level, thus assuring the proper functioning of the instrument -- so I believe will the pendulum of the current woman's action program perform.

Allusion:

We may now say to her, in the words of Solomon, the wise man of Israel, "Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates" (Proverbs 31:31).

With her breadth of personal experience, Mrs. Spafford could have included additional vivid stories and images. She chose not to do so. "The Greatness of Relief Society" (1958) illustrates that point. In that speech she relates in some detail, the story of the soldier who wanted to be remembered to his mother in some detail. But within the same speech she fails to build to her advantage the story of the young man who was imprisoned and severely beaten for possessing a Book of Mormon.

"After Eighty Years" (1965) illustrates the same
conscious decision by Mrs. Spafford. This speech contains a reference (it can hardly be called a story) to the first convention of women held for a political purpose and she matter-of-factly states that "a mob roared outside the meeting place and following the meeting, the building was burned." Also in this speech, she uses enumeration, another technique for adding vividness, effectively with her nine paragraphs expressing her gratitude and the following statement illustrates further enumeration in the same speech.

I am grateful to belong to a nation where I may express my opinions freely; where I have the right to own property, to work, and save, and make provision for my future; where I may maintain my simple home and rear my children according to my own desires and standards; where I may go forward and improve my own conditions and pursue the interests that make me happy without any unnecessary fear, restraints, or restrictions -- rights guaranteed me by a government in which I have a voice.

Emotional proof was not her style. She preferred to present her main idea and then support it with appeal to authorities, impersonal examples, historical experiences, and scriptural references. She had a fine vocabulary and used fairly complex sentence structure which had variation in length and form. Perhaps she feel the use of emotion would not be considered acceptable by her audience. Blankenship and Stelzner (1976:79) find that "rationality is superior to irrationality, that reasoning is somehow superior to emotion, is an accepted value in our society."
Thonssen and Baird set forth clarity, appropriateness, and vividness as three means of analyzing style. They elaborate on those means by defining effective style as capable of preparing and opening the minds of the listeners for a particular subject. It depends upon the speaker's having (1) an idea worth presenting (2) an unmistakably clear conception of the idea, (3) a desire to communicate it, (4) willingness to adapt it to a particular set of circumstances, (5) a mastery of language adequate to express the idea in words (Thonssen and Baird, 1948:430).

With that definition as a conclusion, the critic can agree with others (Sharp, Miltenberger, Ashton, Mouritson, Spafford, I., Nimer, 1983) who feel that Belle Spafford successfully met the requirements of effective style. Asked to assess Spafford's style, Norma Ashton (1983) said:

I would call her style "motivational" because even though she was generally informative, she always tried to help people see how to do things better and how to solve problems. She was well organized, with goals and objectives in mind, but her style was free flowing and down to earth, not overly intellectual in the choice of words, but always clear and succinct. She spoke appropriately and on the level of the people.

**Delivery**

Theorists and rhetoricians vary in their estimates of the importance of delivery in public address, but most agree it plays a significant role in the rhetorical process. Baird (1965:204) indicates the areas that comprise delivery are:

1. The speaker's preparation for his speech or speeches
2. Method of communication in relation to the composition of the material
3. Method of voice usage, including rate, pitch, intensity, quality
4. Articulation and pronunciation
5. Physical activity, including movement, posture, gestures
6. Speaking personality

Consideration will be given to each of these six aspects of delivery as they apply to the speaking of Belle S. Spafford. Assessment of delivery is difficult for the author because it must be based on the judgment of others and on previously recorded speeches. None of the four speeches selected were available on tape. It is assumed that delivery of these speeches would be similar to the two recorded speeches studied. Newspaper comments concerning speeches of Mrs. Spafford dealt more with content, than delivery, style or audience response. With a combination of research efforts and Baird's guidelines, an evaluation will be made.

Preparation: Miltenberger (1983) was especially informative regarding the method of preparation used by Mrs. Spafford. Topics were personally selected and the speeches written after some discussion with counselors or secretaries. There was never any ghost writing. Frequently, the actual writing was based on an outline and would take place at night. On occasion, she would feel inspired and write all night. She kept files on many
favorite topics and she would contribute to them as would
the secretaries. Mrs. Miltenberger (1983) indicated that
Mrs. Spafford was quick witted and very perceptive. Many
experiences became teaching examples. She read her mail
personally and many ideas came from the experiences that
other women would share with her from "the field."

After writing, she would revise and edit extensively,
sometimes giving the speech to members of her staff to
gauge their reactions. Mrs. Miltenberger said, "President
Spafford was very sensitive to the particular audience she
was addressing, dynamic in delivery, and an excellent
communicator who believed in thorough preparation." Some
rough drafts were available for study, and few changes were
indicated on the drafts. Occasionally, there would be a
single sentence, such as, "Tell the story of ..." or
"Respond to introduction as needed." Otherwise, the text
was completely written out. Mrs. Ashton (1983) mentioned
that Spafford kept up on world events, political trends,
economic figures, and world problems as she considered it
essential to be well-informed and was concerned about
speech preparation.

Communication method: After the speech was prepared
in manuscript form, it was read, not memorized. However,
some stories, facts, and themes were recurrent; therefore,
it is assumed that the speaker was quite familiar with them
and delivery would not be totally dependent upon reading
the manuscript. The office of president of either the Relief Society or the National Council of Woman required exactness. Content must be communicated as intended, therefore, it is important to adhere closely to the manuscript. Because of the great faith the General Presidency of the Church had in Spafford's accuracy in delivery, she did not have to have her speeches approved by the brethren prior to the presentation (Nimer, 1983). There are inferences that Mrs. Spafford spoke extemporaneously on occasion and she was concerned about what she might say. She related an experience she had with President David O. McKay that indicated her concern.

One day I received a wire from President John F. Kennedy inviting me to attend a meeting at the White House the following week, to which the presidents of women's organization of the United States, having a membership of 100,000 or more were invited. I didn't wish to attend. I was of the opinion the matter to be discussed was controversial legislation. I felt I might be called upon to speak, and I preferred not to be involved. I knew, however, that I should refer the matter to President McKay before sending my regrets. I took the wire to the President, who read it, and then, to my surprise, he repeated the twelfth Article of Faith: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law." Concluding this, he said, "In view of this belief, I don't see how you can refuse to honor the request of the President of the United States, if it is at all possible for you to go." Of course I agreed to attend the meeting. I then explained my reason for hesitating, saying what I thought would be the nature of the meeting, and inquired if the President had counsel for me. To this he replied, "Indeed I have. Remember, you do not speak for the Church. This is my role. You speak only for Relief Society." Then, with a
twinkle in his eye, he said, "We would expect, of course, that what you say would be in harmony with Church views, insofar as you know them."

With the interview closed, I rose to leave the room. The President, as was his custom, walked with me toward the door. In leaving, I once again said, "President McKay, are you sure you have no further counsel for me?"

With great understanding for my feelings he replied, "Yes, I do have further counsel. Go in peace and learn to trust in the Lord."

I went in peace, and I trusted in the Lord, and I was called on to speak, as I expected. And I attest that I was guided in my actions and directed in my speech during that meeting (Spafford, 1973).

Voice usage: This aspect of delivery includes rate, pitch, intensity, and quality. Quality includes directness and force. Each aspect has been considered. Mrs. Spafford spoke with a moderate rate of speech that was easily understood, and a variety in her inflection. The pitch was moderate, neither especially high nor low. She spoke with sincere conviction giving her delivery a feeling of intensity. Her voice quality, while not distracting, did not seem to be an asset in terms of tone. One quality, which was apparently normal for Spafford, is a throatiness or raspiness. However, she had the ability to project well. Vocal quality should also consider directness and force. Blankenship (1972:282) defines them as follows:

Directness comes from (1) the desire to communicate - to exchange opinions, to talk out ideas and (2) concentration on the ideas under discussion which allows the speaker to forget himself.
Force stems from a feeling of deep earnestness and communicates to the audience the excitement of a nervous system and a brain working at top form, stimulated by having to think rapidly and aloud and responding with spontaneity, imagination, and vividness.

Unless ideas are animated, delivery lacks force and becomes dull and lifeless (Blankenship, 1972:282). Mrs. Spafford's sincere desire to communicate her ideas is very apparent. Her ideas are animated because she is excited about her message and wants to influence her audience to become equally committed to the values she is espousing. Directness is pronounced in her delivery. Her delivery is forceful. Compared with the people who introduced her on the taped speeches, she demonstrates the quality clearly. Because of the manuscript, sometimes, however, she does not seem as spontaneous as at other times when she is quite familiar with the wording of the ideas. As has been mentioned, she could have been more vivid in her choice of words and examples, but the earnestness she feels more than compensates and gives an overall impression of appropriate delivery.

Articulation and pronunciation: These aspects of Mrs. Spafford delivery were perfectly in keeping with the accepted speech of the Utah area. In the New York area, audiences may have noticed a different speech pattern than they were used to, but they certainly considered her an "articulate speaker."

Physical activity: An attempt was made to determine
the physical activity of the speaker, but it seems not to have been a memorable quality to her audiences. The author could make no assessment of physical or facial gestures. She spoke with a microphone to large audiences and, at least in the case of the conference addresses, behind a podium which may have been inhibiting physically.

**Speaking personality:** The speaker's personality is the over-powering component of her delivery. She had great credibility, conviction, and intensity. She successfully communicated her ideas to her audiences. Delivery was not something to be unduly aware of when she was speaking. Ideas were far more important.

The criteria of analysis suggest ways to evaluate the speaking of Belle S. Spafford. Through a study of her use of values, her credibility, the audience to whom she spoke, her organization and her personal style, a more detailed picture of her as speaker can be drawn. Values are her primary means of appeal. Using Eubanks and Baker's tenet that "the central function of rhetoric is to crystallize and transmit human values, the conclusion can be drawn that she effectively addressed the area and therefore the central function of rhetoric. Credibility is established by the speaker's character, personality, and reputation first; then it is established by the use of evidence, lines of argument, and how the speaker views the concerns of the day. Mrs. Spafford had great credibility,
but it was heavily dependent on the first tenet, not the second. She had a sterling reputation by the benefit of her position, her exemplary life, and her forceful personality. She did little to add to that established credibility by the use of evidence or lines of argument. Her concern for the issues was genuine, but not stated in a way to encourage immediate action from her audience. Ethos is the audience's perception of the speaker and her audiences generally found her believable and capable of her leadership role.

Because of her need for accuracy, she is severely limited in audience adaptation prior to manuscript preparation. Flexibility would contribute a sense of spontaneity and liveliness. Audience assessment plays a more significant role than audience adaptation. Audiences, however, were attentive. The careful use of organization is apparent in her speaking. The purpose is clear and the arrangement of ideas contributes to the purpose. Mrs. Spafford's used mild forms of proof. A stronger purpose or intent to persuade rather than convince would have necessitated stronger means of proof and therefore, a more direct appeal to her audience for concrete action.

Mrs. Spafford's style has clarity demonstrated by her language facility and is appropriate for the occasion and the requirements of the audience. Greater empathy could have been established by vivid language, stories, or
personal experiences. But she was able to effectively communicate ideas. She wrote her own speeches to express her own ideas. She did so with directness and forcefulness. The physical and vocal qualities did little to contribute to the success of the speeches. She didn't attempt to make use of either. Vocal building for intensity, interest, climax, and shading of inflection are not apparent. In the taped messages, a noticeable repetition of a rhythm of inflection was apparent. Those aspects were not particularly memorable because she concentrated instead on the projection of her ideas. Spafford's ideas were frequently implemented into programs and productions within the Church. Memorable are the ideas and the personality of Belle Spafford which represents her style.
Belle S. Spafford was a leader of women for more than forty years. She served the women of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the women of the National and International Council of Women, and other organized women of her community and nation. A historical/descriptive investigation of Mrs. Spafford's life and speaking activity has revealed some interesting insights. Mrs. Spafford's influence was accomplished through her varied skills of communication. Because of her significant influence and contribution to organized women, it is interesting to study her varied methods as they contribute to the knowledge of rhetoric and communication. Her rhetorical activity has been examined as she exercised her leadership responsibilities and conclusions can be drawn as six questions concerning that activity have been addressed.

1) What were the issues with which she was concerned in her leadership of women?

Mrs. Spafford was concerned with the issues that other women of her time faced. She had a sincere desire to lead and advise them in regard to their role in the family, the Church and the nation. She chose principles of the Church as her issues and topics especially as they applied
to women. She was committed to improving the spiritual, social, and psychological needs of women and children.

(2) What rhetorical strategies did she use in her discussion of the issues?

In her discussion of the issues, she used several rhetorical strategies effectively. This study has investigated the strategies most frequently employed: values as a means of persuasion, credibility as it enhances speech and speaker, audience analysis and adaptation, organization and rhetorical purposes, and the style of the speaker. Mrs. Spafford preferred to exert her influence with subtleness, seeking to convince rather than to challenge or exercise power. She said:

With regard to the meaning of influence, to me this is a spiritual or moral force. It is the art or the power of producing an effect without any apparent force or authority.

The Latter-day Saint woman reaches out or extends herself for her own personal development and usefulness, and to influence others aright. She can be bounded only by what her mind is willing to accept and her heart will allow (Spafford a).

Values rule our conduct. Mrs. Spafford's personal life represented her beliefs and commitment to values. In her mild-mannered persuasion, she appealed to values that were generally well accepted by the membership of the Church and organized women. Occasionally that was not the case, but her purposes changed relatively little. Primarily she was concerned with those values which had a
high level of consensus in her audiences and sought to reinforce those shared values.

Family and the related, overlapping values of wife and mother gained much of her attention as she wanted other women to see those values as inspiring, demanding, and rewarding. Mothers were admonished to gain a testimony, and teach a testimony through a study and use of the holy scriptures.

Relief Society is the umbrella for many values related to its teachings. Mrs. Spafford saw Relief Society as "a beacon light and a guiding star" in the lives of women. She encouraged activity as a means of expressing the values of service, educational improvement, and the development of women's full potential.

The role of woman, in addition to that of wife, mother, and homemaker, consists of several interacting values. The development of abilities, talents, and skills add to woman's ability to make a contribution to the world. Spafford stressed the responsibility for and rewards of making a contribution to the needs of others. The development of personal character was a favorite topic for Mrs. Spafford. Self-mastery, personal integrity, and moral conduct are essential to a noble woman. Inherent in that role is the value of obedience. Although Spafford commented little on obedience, her life represented her commitment to it. In building good character, obedience to gospel principles was
essential. Prayer was one of mankind's most powerful allies and she encouraged mothers to teach their children the power of prayer. By keeping life in conformity with these values, one could attain happiness. These values represented the core of Belle Spafford's value system. Other values of the gospel were facets of her speaking, but did not receive the degree of emphasis as did the values mentioned above. Frequently she would discuss many values in one speech in an attempt to motivate, inspire, and influence women. Always close to her purposes was her keen desire to teach and facilitate change in the lives of the women. Spafford (Church News, 1969:4) said:

Women are the best positioned of any segment of our population to be the spiritual force and balance in human affairs. This is what I believe. This is what I am trying to teach.

Belle Spafford used the ethical means of proof effectively. She had a reputation for common sense, good taste, and integrity. Her personal character was impeccable. These aspects of credibility preceded her as her reputation grew with the years. Spafford served as President of the Relief Society longer than any previous woman which was indicative of the approval of the First Presidency of the Church through six administrations. The National Council of Women enhanced her prior ethos. In her speaking capacity, she substantiated that prior ethos indirectly rather than overtly. She chose topics of
interest and concern to her audiences. She reflected the characteristics and qualities valued by her peers and thus was able to encourage identification with her audiences. It must be said that Mrs. Spafford was aware of her level of credibility and influence and used that influence wisely. Although there are few published introductions to her speeches, the conclusion can be drawn from the examples cited that the introductions given enhanced her credibility. She did not use personal examples as a means of increasing her credibility. Her speeches would have benefited from some vivid examples. She was evidently reticent to share her own experiences or to elaborate in specific detail on the pathetic examples of others. In terms of ethos, logos, and pathos, Spafford relied heavily on ethos, using logical means of proof somewhat more than emotional. Ethos was her dominant appeal. She encouraged ethical attitudes in others as well. She said:

The world is full of good women seeking the right way, ready to accept the truth when it is presented to them with clarity and conviction, devoid of criticism, and when one's own actions give credence to her words (Spafford, 1966).

Richard E. Hughes and P. Albert Duhamel in their article, "The Modern Uses of Persuasion" (Schwartz and Rycenga, eds., 1962:431) claim that

It is only in recent times that the full significance of Aristotle's first kind of proof (moral character) of the speaker or writer has been fully appreciated. The greatest single argument in favor of a proposition is the personality of the
speaker or writer as it is interpreted or understood by his audiences.

Whether Mrs. Spafford knew that her credibility was her greatest asset is unknown, but she did capitalize on it.

Miltengerger (Spafford, 1974:vii) recalled the response Belle Spafford received from her audiences who were predominately women:

The responses from those who listened to her were always the same: women relate to her and seem to feel she is their voice for she speaks with understanding and knowledge of the world of women. She is familiar with their concerns and their feelings and is aware of the challenging, ever-changing complexity of the society in which women live. She is a woman's woman who understands the anxiety and frustrations of women in a changing world.

She spoke to many individual audiences, but those audiences could be categorized into generally two types, the Church audience, and the Civic audience. Audience adjustment was made prior to the preparation of the manuscript. She analyzed each audience according to their bond of collective interest and presented themes to which they would respond. She kept the attention of her audiences. Always, she considered the general audiences as well realizing there were many who would be reached through the Magazine and the media.

Belle Spafford was devoted to organization in her life and in her speaking. Each speech has a clear central idea and a specific purpose. The historical method of arrangement predominates and contributes to that specific
purpose which was generally to persuade by influence. Some rhetoricians (Schwartz and Rycenga, 1965:431) (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969:27) distinguish between conviction and persuasion. An audience can be considered convinced when it agrees with what has been said, but persuaded when stirred to action. The author has deduced that Spafford felt it was a matter of degree from conviction to persuasion. She knew other speakers would focus on similar topics to the Church audiences and reinforce the position. Persuasion may not take place initially, but as a result of future encouragement.

Mrs. Spafford's organization was easy to follow and always contained a recognizable introduction, statement of the case, some means of substantiation or proof, and a generally brief conclusion. Proof was generally limited to citing contemporary leaders, explanation, or quoting scriptures. She used little factual evidence for logical support. The purpose of her speech in most cases correlated with the audience, the subject, and the speaker because the basic structure was sound.

Style opens the mind of the hearers to the ideas developed in the speech by being clear, appropriate, and using vivid language to maintain interest. Belle Spafford used correct grammar, a fine vocabulary, and denotative language to contribute to her sense of clarity. Her style was appropriate for each occasion, her subject, and the
audience to whom she spoke. Her personality and her position of authority contributed to her use of a more formal style. The language she employed was the language of the people she addressed, but did not include many connotative words. Vividness was not utilized extensively in either detail or number. Because of the inspirational nature of most of her speaking, one would anticipate greater usage of vivid or lofty language. However, in spite of limited imagery, she conveyed her ideas and she did so with conviction. Aly and Aly (1973:260) suggest that the overpowering essential in delivery for the speaker with intent to counsel is "depth of conviction, absolute sincerity, and intensity of belief." Belle S. Spafford epitomized each of those qualities in her speaking.

Because of her conviction and commitment to accuracy and appropriateness, Spafford concentrated on adequate preparation. The responsibility for representing the Church through Relief Society made her cognizant of that obligation.

The physical characteristics of Mrs. Spafford were not significant factors in the evaluation of her delivery. Her voice, her appearance, posture, and lack of extensive movement or gestures neither detracted nor contributed to her overall effectiveness. She was animated in her body and her voice sufficiently to convey her ideas and to be convincing. But the personality of Belle S. Spafford is
the remarkable aspect that will be remembered. Her attitudes, her intensity, and her dedication to valued principles convey her "style."

(3) What impact did she have on her peers, both men and women, with respect to the issues?

The impact Mrs. Spafford had on her peers is difficult to document and to assess. She primarily spoke to women. Men were targeted for some issues such as character, testimony, prayer, etc., but the men were generally a secondary audience. The issues affected them as they affected their wives and daughters. Few sources have documented an evaluation of her influence. She kept a private journal referred to as her "little black book." Evidently it was not a daily journal or diary, but contained purely personal information. She destroyed it. One can assume most references to her effectiveness might be included in that information as her modesty seems to have prevented her mentioning specific instances elsewhere. She does refer to instances where she had opportunities for influence on three different occasions. They refer to International Women's Council conventions:

Undoubtedly good was accomplished by the conference by way of greater understanding and appreciation of the problems of the different nations and by the friendships established. Good will grow out of the conference because the attention of organized women was brought into focus on problems which should be of concern to women (Spafford, 1954:653).
As a voting delegate both Sister Jacobsen and I had abundant opportunity to speak and influence decisions. While we supported a number of the proposals and resolutions, there were times when each of us was a voice of opposition. I assure you that to do this without offence tests one's diplomacy, and composure as well as calling for wisdom based on knowledge and experience (Spafford a).

Through these councils Mormon women convey their viewpoints, opinions, the guiding principles of the gospel which influence and govern their positions and their actions on matters of importance. They all know we are Mormons and our contributions receive respect and very often prevail in determining decisions and actions of these great bodies of national, international, and inter-continental women. Thus we have extended our reach and increased our influence (Spafford, 1980).

On the national scene, interaction with women who's views were in opposition was more difficult. Spafford (1966) believed her same approach was the most effective:

It is not advisable to crash head-on with opposing forces, but by clear and measured thinking, by courageous and patient teaching, by example and persuasion, they may point the way.

Her influence will continue to be felt in appreciation for the direction and completion of the Relief Society Building. There were foundations laid by the former administration for the social services program, but Belle Spafford formulated the agencies and selected the people in its conception. "It was a high compliment to her to have the Church give it departmental status," according to Miltenberger (1983). The years of publication of The Relief Society Magazine, the growth in subscriptions, and the overall quality of the work was an indirect result of
her influence. The best way to assess her influence would be to talk to those women whose lives she touched, a monumental effort. When she was asked about her accomplishments, Mrs. Spafford told a friend that one of her major accomplishments was the ability to select the right people and give them the freedom to function as they saw best (Mouritsen, 1983). Several of the people she selected are still in leadership positions for the Church.

(4) What impact did her training, through the auspices of the Church, have on her ability to communicate and influence others?

Through the auspices of the Church, Belle S. Spafford developed her leadership ability, her ability to communicate, and to influence others. Marianne Sharp (1983) indicated her natural endowments were great and she developed them through her willingness to serve. The opportunities came as she was asked or expected to speak at several important occasions each year, lead committees, and design new programs and the means to put them into effect. The development came through experience coupled with personal evaluation and the desire to do what was right. Boyd K. Packer (1982) concluded that Belle S. Spafford will stand as one of the greatest women of this dispensation. He felt there was no secret formula. Her greatness grew from establishing in her life the principles of Jesus Christ. Marvin J. Ashton (1982) said he had never
met a woman for whom he had greater respect and his wife, Norma, commented on Mrs. Spafford strength. Mrs. Ashton (1983) said:

Belle could totally understand the people with whom she worked, sense their needs, and build on their strengths. She was a brilliant student, but the Church helped her to develop her native ability. She was the greatest woman the Church has produced yet.

The assessment of influence may require the test of time before Belle S. Spafford's impact on the issues of her day can be ascertained. But this much is certain: No other woman in the Church has served as long and under as many different Church presidents. She has witnessed and participated in many historical events both in the Church and in the nation (Mouritsen). Her communication skills are an invaluable asset to her in her role as a leader of women.

As a leader of women the life of Belle Spafford, as evidenced by her rhetorical skills, has not been documented previously. This study presents the biography and speaking career and attempts to document a synopsis of the propositions she asserted to be important. In addition, the manner of speaking has been analyzed as it illustrates the various doctrines of rhetoric. It is not possible within the scope of this study to document the causal relations between her speaking career and subsequent historical events. No one issue dominated her career nor was any issue resolved during that period of time. In
fact, many of the issues and values she addressed will be addressed again by other Church leaders to similar audiences. The issue of the women's movement is still in a state of flux. While Spafford was involved with the diversity of opinion on that issue, the subsequent Relief Society administration has faced greater rhetorical challenges in this area.

The speaking of Mrs. Spafford does illustrate various doctrines of rhetoric and could be used as a teaching example of several principles. This study is by no means conclusive, but does add to the fund of rhetorical knowledge especially as it applies to women in general and Utah women specifically.

Belle S. Spafford was a product of her environment and her religion. Her speaking skills came as a result of experience rather than specific training. She spoke in a manner similar to other speakers in positions of authority in the Church. She followed the example set by others. In a study of a woman Church leader of the 1800's, "Mary Ann Burnham Freeze, the Utah Evangelist," (Rooker, 1982) similar patterns were evident.

Prior credibility is established by nature of the position of authority held. Audiences are willing to give their attention and are basically accepting of Church speakers. Credibility is enhanced by evidence, lines of argument, and personal concerns. Spafford did little to
enhance her prior credibility.

Manuscript presentation limits audience adaptation. Flexibility contributes to a sense of spontaneity and liveliness. However, audience assessment plays a more significant role for Church speakers than audience adjustment.

Organization is demonstrated by clarity, appropriateness and vivid language. Spafford expresses herself clearly with excellent language facility. Her formal style is appropriate to the occasion, but does little to convey pathos and interest.

While reasoning may be considered superior to emotion in our society, it may not contribute as richly to the persuasion process. Outstanding speaking is accomplished by vivid language and memorable images. Spafford depended primarily on ethos for receptivity of her ideas. Expression of feelings are minimal. Stronger statements of persuasion purpose requires greater support from each area of ethos, pathos, and logos. In general, speakers would benefit from adherence to that rhetorical principle. It must be stated, however, that the speaking of Mrs. Spafford did make progression along those lines over the period of her speaking career and thus did show improvement in content and means of support. Church speakers, even women speakers, tend to give speeches of direction, rather than motivation to concrete action.
Spafford bridged the gap between the secular and the religious philosophies of women because she worked at it. Because of the specific direction from the First Presidency of the Church to make her influence felt, it was important to her. Not all of her exposure to the "agents of change" were confined to the speaking audiences. She interacted with them in committee work and socially. It is assumed that these interactions contributed significantly to her ability to influence. The women of both the Relief Society General Board and the National Council of Women Governing Board indicated their love and respect for her in many ways.

"In history or in life," Arnold (1974:262) says, "truth rests not on possibility or plausibility, but on probability. In the author's judgment based on a thorough study of the speaker and the speeches, using the criteria of analysis, it is probable that the above conclusions are true and will make a contribution. It is also probable that Belle S. Spafford had a significant influence on the women of the Church and of the world."
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
THE MISSION OF WOMANKIND

Address Delivered at General Session, Relief Society General Conference, October 8, 1958

This afternoon I wish to speak to you on a subject very near and dear to the hearts of Latter-day Saint mothers; namely, our homes and families. This subject has been treated from this pulpit and elsewhere in Church gatherings times without number through the years, but it remains an ever important one to the mothers of the Church. If I were to ask most any faithful Latter-day Saint mother what were the two dearest things on earth to her, I think she would unhesitatingly reply, "The restored gospel and my family." The gospel gives to Latter-day Saint mothers the loftiest concept of home and family life known to mankind.

Recently I visited a mother whose forty-year old son had suddenly passed away. He had lived an unusually successful and exemplary life. His devotion to his mother and his watchcare over her had been of the highest order. Familiar with the deep affection of this mother for her son and knowing her reliance—yes, even her dependence—upon him, I expected to find her prostrate with grief and anguish of heart. Rather, I found a composed, albeit a sorrowing mother.

She said, "Had the Lord told me when he gave me this son that I might have him for forty years, but at the end of that time I would have to part with him forever, I feel sure I would have gladly accepted him. But the Lord was good to me. He gave me a choice spirit, an exceptional son, with the knowledge that he would be mine eternally. While I now must part with him for a few years, the knowledge of our eternal relationship forbids me to be aught but grateful to the Lord." What a moving demonstration of the sustaining power of gospel truths!

The knowledge which the gospel gives us of the eternal organization of the family is precious to all true Latter-day Saint mothers and serves as a guide in all of their activities in relation to their families.

The gospel teaches that marriage is an eternal principle ordained before the foundation of the world. It teaches that in our existence here, through husband and
wife, the spirits which God created shall be given tabernacles of flesh. It is here we prove ourselves and prepare ourselves and our children for the place we shall hold in our heavenly and eternal home. The doctrine of the continuation of the marriage covenant and the family as a unit has been referred to as among the most sublime of the theological doctrines of the Church.

In explaining this doctrine, President Joseph F. Smith has said:

Our associations are not exclusively intended for this life, for time, as we distinguish it from eternity. We live for time and for eternity. We form associations and relations for time and all eternity. Our affections and our desires are found fitted and prepared to endure not only throughout the temporal or mortal life, but through all eternity. Who are there besides the Latter-day Saints who contemplate the thought that beyond the grave we will continue in the family organization? the father, the mother, the children recognizing each other in the relations which they owe to each other and in which they stand to each other? this family organization being a unit in the great and perfect organization of God's work, and all destined to continue throughout time and eternity? (Gospel Doctrine, Ninth Edition, page 277).

Surely with such a concept, husbands and wives should be included to love one another with a deep, a sacred, and an enduring love. Children should be cherished with the strongest bonds of affection; there should be the greatest solicitude on the part of the parents for their children. No effort should be too much, no sacrifice too great to protect them from evil and preserve them in righteousness, that none shall be deprived of his eternal blessings. The love and the sanctity of the home should be zealously safeguarded.

Just as the knowledge which we have of the divine destiny of the family is a comfort, a strength, and a blessing to us, so it also places upon Latter-day Saint parents, and today I speak particularly to mothers, a greater responsibility, a more solemn obligation than that held by any others to make all else in life subservient to the well-being of our homes and families.

Church leaders have continually emphasized the importance and significance to us of the doctrine of the eternity of the family unit, and they have guided us in the application of this doctrine in our individual lives.
Always in the Church, people have been admonished to marry in the House of the Lord, to establish homes, and bear and rear children in righteousness. An appealing picture comes to us in the teachings of President Brigham Young, wherein he said:

Young man, set you up a log cabin, if it is not more than ten feet square, and then get you a bird to put in your little cage. You will then work all day with satisfaction to yourself considering that you have a home to go to and a living heart to welcome you . . . Strive to make your little home attractive . . . Let your houses nestle beneath the cool shade of trees and be made fragrant with perfume of flowers (Discourses of Brigham Young, page 301).

To the young women he said:

It is the calling of the wife and the mother to know what to do with everything that is brought into the house, laboring to make her home desirable to her husband and children, making herself an Eve in the midst of a Paradise of her own creating, securing her husband's love and confidence, and tying her offspring to herself with a love that is stronger than death, for an everlasting inheritance (Ibid., page 307).

From such humble homes as are pictured in these words of President Brigham Young, lacking perhaps many of the pretentious, material comforts of life, but by no means impoverished, have come some of the Church's and the Nation's most stalwart men and women.

Our own great president, President David O. McKay, came from such a home. In writing of the ancestry of President McKay in the Relief Society Magazine, his sister Jeanette McKay Morrell, describes the home of President McKay's childhood as follows:

Following their marriage, David [President McKay's Father] took his bride, Jeanette to the log cabin in Huntsville, and they commenced life as young pioneers . . . Two daughters . . . were born in the log cabin before the front part of the rock house, now known as "The Old Home," was completed. It was a happy day when this small family moved into the larger and more comfortable home, and it was in this house that President David O. McKay was born (Relief Society Magazine, September, 1953:580-581).
When President McKay was eight years old, his father was called on a mission to Scotland. Sister Morrell writes of this: "The hopes and plans that had been in their minds for so long, regarding the enlargement of the house and furnishing it, seemed almost within their grasp, and now because of this call everything must be postponed." But the mother of President McKay was equal to the sacrifice. Her great goal was the eternal well-being of her family.

Today we are not called upon to live in log cabins, and the physical make-up of our homes has greatly improved. But the past has proved that pretentious houses, with fine furnishings, are not essential to happiness within the home nor to the development of children of strong and righteous character.

Not only does the physical make-up of our homes differ today from those in the past, but homes as we have traditionally known them are undergoing other basic changes. Many functions formerly performed in the home are now performed outside the home. Scientific advances have provided labor-saving equipment, and so-called "built-in maid service" comes to the homemaker in such things as frozen, canned, and packaged food, relieving mothers of much of the drudgery formerly required of them in their homes.

Perhaps the most basic change affecting homes today and the one fraught with the greatest uncertainty insofar as the ultimate well-being of the home and children is concerned, is the growing trend of mothers to enter the labor market. Leaving their homes, mothers are going to work each day, the same as are fathers, returning home at the close of the workday to pick up the duties incident to their role as mother and homemaker.

At a Manpower Conference held in 1957 at Montana State College, conducted by the National Manpower Council, it was reported that one-third of all the women in the United States ages fourteen or over are in the labor force in any given month, and well over two-fifths some twenty-eight million - three out of every ten married women - are now working. Nearly two out of every five mothers whose children are of school age are in the labor force. It was predicted that during the next two decades, there will be tremendous pressures for more married women to engage in paid employment outside the home.

The Manpower Council considers that in the course of the present century a revolution has occurred in women's employment. They compare it with the Industrial
Revolution, of the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, in its impact upon American life and in its influence in bringing about changes in national attitudes, programs, practices, home and family life, and social and economic conditions generally, with the end results difficult, if not impossible, to foresee.

There are varied views among so called authorities as to the effect upon homes and children of mothers entering the labor market. At a conference of the International Council of Women held in Montreal, Canada, in June of 1957, a delegate from Great Britain, declaring her opinions to be based on survey and study, said that "when the mother was in employment, the home was not less well-kept nor were meals neglected, nor the children less clean. When the mother was a capable woman and able to make satisfactory arrangements for the care of her children when she was not at home, the children did not appear to suffer." It was apparent, she said, "The condition of the home, the happiness of the marriage, and the care of the children depended more on the character and competency of the mother than on the fact that she went to work." She claimed that, "There was an overwhelming consensus of opinion that there had been no increase in juvenile delinquency due to mothers taking up employment."

At the same International Council of Women conference, another authority, a Canadian woman, gave a counter view. She declared that, undoubtedly, some of the problems of child waywardness, and adolescent upheaval are related to the weakened discipline and influence of the homes, due to mother being away from home at business and being too occupied with household tasks during the hours they are in the home to give proper attention to the emotional, spiritual, and disciplinary needs of their children. She warned, "If the mother who embarks on home and marriage underemphasizes the home, it is inevitable that the husband, the children, and the community in the end will follow her lead and all will suffer proportionately.

The Manpower Council summarized the situation by saying, "What all this means to the home and family has not been validly appraised. Research, study, and time are all needed."

Certainly women are facing a curious combination of certainty and uncertainty. The choice between their homes to the exclusion of a career outside the home and their homes plus a career outside the home is one of the most pressing questions before women today.
Latter-day Saint women are not immune to present-day trends, attitudes, opinions, influences, and practices in these matters. I say this, my sisters, by way of warning. However, there are no women in all the world so well positioned to make wise decisions with regard to them. They have the doctrine and teachings of the Church to guide them. They know the essential elements of good home and family life. They know the factors that are important in the well-being of children. They also know where to place their values. They must be concerned with long-range consequences, eternal values, not with short-run gains.

To bear and rear children, for a mother to feel the dependence upon her of husband and family, to know that upon her rests, in large measure, the health, character, and the happiness of human beings whom she has brought into the world and for whom she is responsible, to see herself laying and preserving the foundations of so basic and necessary a structure as a family, to build so that this family will be of service to the Church, society, and the Republic, is a responsibility of greatest magnitude.

The Latter-day Saint mother knows that no other work to which she might set her hand could be so broad and inspiring, so filled with interest, so demanding of intelligence and capability, so rewarding.

Moreover, the Latter-day Saint mother knows that hers is a divine calling; that she was created and placed on earth to be the mother of spirits that were created by our Heavenly Father to come to this earth and prove themselves whether or not they would obey all the commandments which the Lord their God should give them. She knows that this is her great and all important mission. Everything else is subordinate to it. Blessed are women in this day who have this knowledge.

May the Lord bless Latter-day Saint mothers that all of their decisions in relation to their homes and their families may be made in the full light of the knowledge which they possess. And may they fulfill their divine calling to the eternal joy and well-being of themselves and their families - I sincerely pray.
APPENDIX B
THE GREATNESS OF RELIEF SOCIETY

Address Delivered at the Annual General Relief Society Conference, September 30, 1954

I am deeply grateful today for the privilege and blessings of this conference, for the faith, for the unity, and for the spirit of sisterhood that exists among us. I am grateful for the presence of General Authorities of the Church whose direction, support, and encouragement are indispensable to us. I am particularly grateful for the presence of President Stephen L. Richards and for his willingness to address us today. It is impossible to overestimate the value to us, as organized women, of having with us in our conference God's chosen leaders among men. One who has known this blessing feels deeply its lack when attending a gathering of women where Priesthood authority is not present.

I am grateful for the missionaries who are proclaiming the gospel to the nations of the earth. As I noted the earnestness with which the missionaries in Europe were performing their labors, the purity of their lives, and the sincerity of their testimonies. I felt to love them every one. I bring to the mothers of these missionaries their love and their greetings. I assure the mothers of the great importance of the work in which their sons and daughters are engaged.

I am grateful for the lives of the young Latter-day Saint men and women in the armed services overseas, who are upholding the standards of the Church. They too, are performing missionary service. I recall one young man who waited for me after the sacrament meeting in Germany one Sunday. He said, "Sister Spafford, I guess everyone asks you to remember them to someone when you return home; but if it is not imposing, I would surely appreciate it if you would call my mother and tell her I'm fine. I know how anxious she is about me." Then with great earnestness the
boy added, "Every night I pray God to bless my mother for the good teachings she has given me." God will answer the prayers of that boy and he will bless that mother for teaching her boy the principles of righteous living.

I am grateful to live in the beautiful land of America declared by God's prophets to be a land of promise, a land choice above all other lands; a land of great cities and productive farms; a wonderland of broad rivers, blue lakes, lofty mountains, and expansive plains; a progressive land; a Christian land whose culture is enriched by the contributions from many cultures.

I am grateful for my United States citizenship, for the privilege of belonging to a nation whose citizens are assured basic freedoms by a divinely inspired Constitution--where I may go to the church of my choice, unrestricted. (When one has talked with a young man who was imprisoned and severely beaten for possessing a Book of Mormon and a few gospel tracts, he realizes the greatness of this freedom).

I am grateful to belong to a nation where I may express my opinions freely; where I have the right to own property, to work, and save, and make provision for my future; where I may maintain my simple home and rear my children according to my own desires and standards; where I may go forward and improve my own conditions and pursue the interests that make me happy without any unnecessary fears, restraints, or restrictions--rights guaranteed me by a government in which I have a voice.

I am grateful today, perhaps more than any other time in my life, for my membership in Relief Society, for the inherent greatness of the organization, Priesthood directed and guided by the light of the Gospel.

There are blessings to which most of us have become so accustomed that, at times, we are inclined to take them almost for granted. Only as one sees the absence of them does he fully and deeply sense their magnitude.

And now I would speak of Relief Society and its place among women's organizations of the world. I trust that what I say will in no way seem boastful. I assure you I speak with humility.

I recall in the past reading the old Woman's Exponent and noting with interest the title on the front page which read: "For the Rights of the Women of Zion and the Rights of the Women of All Nations."
I also recall a phrase used many times by the early-day Relief Society leaders which engaged my attention. It read: "Standing as we do at the head of the women of all the world."

However, as my experiences have been widened, as my perception has been deepened, as my knowledge and understanding have been increased, I no longer smile. Rather, I marvel that, young as was the work and new to them as leaders, they should have had so enlightend a concept of the place of Relief Society among women's organizations of the world and of their position as its leaders.

As most of you know, during the summer months it was my privilege to attend the tri-ennial conference of the International Council of Women at Helsinki, Finland, and to serve as chairman of the delegation of the National Council of Women of the United States. This conference brought together many distinguished and able women representing influential women's organizations from thirty-four free nations of the earth, whose total membership would be counted in terms of millions.

I vividly recall the deep feelings that stirred within me at the formal opening of the conference as it became my privilege to lead the chairmen of the respective delegations on to the dais of the festival hall, and, as the chairman of the National Council of Women of the United States, the world's leading nation, to stand in front of the glorious Stars and Stripes and be formally introduced. For one brief moment there flashed into my mind the phrase at which I had so often smiled and which at that moment seemed almost prophetic—"Standing as we do at the head of the women of all the world."

During the conference, I had opportunity to meet the leadership, to learn the purposes, to become more or less acquainted with the programs and accomplishments of women's organizations from many nations of the world.

Today I pay tribute to these leaders and to the organizations which they represent. The leaders are serious-minded women dedicated to the accomplishment of good as they see it. They are organized for instruction to their members, for mutual edification, and service to humanity. It would take this entire session to present to you, even briefly, the varied interests and activities of the many affiliates of the International Council of Women. Their aims and programs vary so considerably that they cannot be brought under a few classifications. The traditions, cultures, social and economic development, the
political life of the nations wherein the various organizations operate differ greatly, making it difficult, at times, for the council to project for consideration matters of equal interest and concern to all. However, there are some things on which all agree. As an International Council of Women, they assert their belief in education, in culture, in the removal of prejudices and misunderstandings between individuals and peoples in the preservation of the dignity of women, in social justice, and in the maximum spiritual development of mankind.

They subscribe to the belief that the age-old role of mother and homemaker remains today the primary role of woman. They regard good homes as the basis of man's well-being and the fundamental cornerstone of a good society.

They support the contention that moral well-being is basic to a strong civilization, and that it is accorded too small of a part of the organized and co-ordinated efforts of countries and their peoples.

They believe that women must be the preservers of the human and spiritual values in community life. And now that civilization has reached the threshold of the nuclear age, it is their contention that women must do their part in guarding against the misuse of the forces of nature.

These are all matters we as Relief Society women hold at heart. But a question arises: Wherein are we different from other women's organizations whose work is animated by goals toward which we ourselves strive? Wherein lies our right to claim pre-eminence among women's organizations? Recalling my feeling as I was introduced at the opening session of the conference, I knew full well our position comes not by virtue of my standing on a platform or by any worldly recognition that might be accorded us.

My feelings led me to consider the elements which go into making a great woman's organization. My contemplation brought me to the conclusion that any society of women to be great must be well founded; its purposes must be important to the well-being of people; its program must be capable of fulfilling its purposes; and its affairs must be administered by capable leadership devoted to its cause.

Countless numbers of women's organizations conform to these standards. Relief Society conforms to them.

What, then, does Relief Society possess in addition to all this? I realize the inadequacy of words to define the elements that give Relief Society transcendence among women's organizations of the world. An understanding of
this lends itself to feelings more than to verbal expressions. This knowledge is the testimony of the heart rather than the mind. Nevertheless, I call your attention today to a few things. Relief Society is preeminent among women's organizations because it is God's organization for his daughters here upon the earth. It was founded under the inspiration of the Lord bestowed upon the Prophet Joseph Smith; it was organized "under the Priesthood and after a pattern of the Priesthood." Relief Society women are women embarked in the service of God, and it follows that they are embarked in the service of their fellow men. Ours is not a man-made society—a higher power is operating to bring about the fulfillment of the purposes of Relief Society.

The light for which organized women are reaching in many of their programs has been ours for more than a century. The hazy paths along which they are slowly feeling their way are clearly illumined for us by the revealed word of God. The power inherent in them is decreed by human determination. The power inherent in Relief Society is God ordained.

The great disciplines of the gospel of Jesus Christ give to us unbounded strength.

I have seen the power of Relief Society literally to transform the lives of women; to make of them, as the Lord said to Alma, "new creatures."

It makes their burdens light. In faraway Finland I found Relief Society women, who by their own words "had suffered much." They were sweet-spirited, poised, capable in their leadership, and they were radiantly happy women. Just as I saw this in Finland, so I saw it in the other European countries, so I have seen it at home.

I have seen the spirit of Relief Society touch the hearts of women and, rising above the barriers of nationality, race, social and economic position, make of them sisters in every deed, ready to labor and minister to one another as well as to those about them. Entirely forgetful of self, I have seen them tenderly and tirelessly minister to the sick and patiently care for the aged.

I wish you all might see some of the little welfare rooms in the faraway mission filled with neatly packaged, useable clothing and other commodities, representing the labor and the love of Relief Society women, ready to meet the emergent welfare needs of their people. I have attended programs, handwork exhibits, socials; I have listened to Singing Mothers concerts—all a glorious
reflection of the power of the society to utilize and
develop the talents and the tales of women.

Few organizations in all the world have so
comprehensive a program as does Relief Society. There is
not a worthy interest or a woman's talent that cannot be
nourished in this wonderful society. Relief Society
reaches into every avenue and touches every aspect of a
woman's life.

Personal ambitions so damaging in some women's
organizations and so conducive to disharmony among members,
has little place in Relief Society. With lines of
authority and positions within the society well defined by
Priesthood authority, Relief Society goes forward
practically devoid of this disturbing and often destructive
influence. Relief Society is a society of order, regulated
by a righteous and inspired Priesthood.

My visit abroad has deeply impressed me with the
importance and magnitude of the work of the Relief Society.
My vision has been enlarged until today, like the early day
sisters, I recognize the true greatness of Relief Society.

Today the Lord has given us influence among women's
organizations of the world. It is our responsibility so to
conduct our lives and our affairs that this influence may
be ever widened for the blessing and the benefit of our
Father's children.

In conclusion I say to you--sisters, value that with
which you have been blessed. Never underestimate its
beauty, its importance, its power, and its influence for
good. Make it ever more potent as an organization
proclaiming the Master's way.
APPENDIX C

AFTER EIGHTY YEARS

Delivered at the Eightieth Anniversary Luncheon Meeting of the Founding of the National Council of Women of the United States, held April 1, 1968, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, New York.

A newspaper columnist, speaking recently of the present day, referred to it as "woman's era--her triumphant day of achievement." Certainly it is a day when, in most countries of the world, discrimination against woman because of her sex, in large measure, has been removed. Today she is a person of consequence in national and international affairs. In our own great Nation, doors of opportunity are invitingly open to her in the fields of business and the professions, and she is steadily making inroads into the top policy-making levels of government. There is scarcely any field of human endeavor she may not enter if she wills to do so. Her opinions are sought and respected and her influence on national attitudes, programs, and practices, on American home and family life, as well as on social and economic conditions generally, is a potent one.

While woman points with pride, and justly so, to her position of dignity and influence today, she is not unmindful that this position was hard won; that it was not conferred upon her merely through the good graces of change. She knows that each forward step has been taken over a rough and rocky obstacle course. She knows, also, that preceding her was another woman whose vision, courage, and determination enabled her to carry the lighted lamp and level the rugged ground.

It seems appropriate, as we observe the 80th Anniversary of the founding of the National Council of Women of the United States, and also the International Council of Women, that we look back a moment at the road that has been traveled and at the woman of yesterday whose efforts brought us to this triumphant day of achievement. It is appropriate inasmuch as one of the avowed purposes of the Councils was to unite, as a body of women, to "devise new and effective methods of securing equality and justice for woman."

In the early part of the 19th Century, a woman's
world, in large measure, was her home and her church with, perhaps, a few humanitarian services extended to her immediate community. Life for the average woman was hard, and many shackles bound her in the development of her talents and in the exercise of her abilities, as well as in the exercise of her God-ordained free agency.

There were rigid barriers of law against property holding and guardianship of children. Most industries refused to employ her and those which did employ her, offered only routine labor with long hours and low pay. The taboos of society on education and public expression, along with the prevalent superstition which held, "the weak, feminine brain, incapable of serious thinking . . ." shackled her personal development. The advantages of education were extremely limited. Colleges of higher learning did not admit her.

The political privileges of woman were nil. There had been sporadic woman's clubs of a sort—neighbors meeting together for sociability and the exercise of their minds—with some groups working in a haphazard fashion for the public good. These clubs were poorly organized, however, and affairs were largely controlled by husbands of the members.

In 1833, a few bold women formed the first woman's club with a political purpose—the Philadelphia Female Anti-slavery Society. The furor which this aroused is described in the book, Angels and Amazons, issued by the National Council of Women of the United States, in 1935. It states that the woman who identified herself with this group was regarded as bold and unwise indeed, for a respectable woman did not speak in public, nor did she organize in behalf of any political cause. At the first convention held by this group, a mob roared outside the meeting place, and following the meeting the building was burned.

Woman was not to be deterred, however, in her efforts for emancipation. Early in 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton joined with Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, and Mary Ann McClintock in calling what is regarded as the first Woman's Rights Convention. It was held July 19, 1848, in the little Wesleyan Chapel at Seneca Falls, New York. In the book, Angels and Amazons, we read that the word "convention," as a term for this meeting "expressed hope rather than fulfillment....It was practically a small assembly of neighbors." It thrashed out, however, the first public "Declaration of Independence for Woman," with which most of you are familiar. This "Declaration" was the
offspring of the pen of Mrs. Stanton who, in reality, was the chief agent in calling the convention.

Forty years later came that highly significant event—a convention convened March 25, 1888, in Alboughs Opera House in Washington, D.C. to observe the 40th Anniversary of the first public declaration of women's rights. The convention was called by the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Two giants of the early suffrage movement—Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony—were the key figures. Their primary purpose in calling the convention was to further the cause of woman's suffrage. So strong were the convictions of Mrs. Stanton on the importance of women's suffrage that according to one of her biographers, Theodore Tilton, "...she would willingly give her body to be burned for the sake of seeing her sex enfranchised;" while Susan B. Anthony, according to one of her biographers, Ida H. Harper, "stood ready to sink all personal feelings...for the sake of promoting this cause which she placed above all else in the world." It was a day of rejoicing for these two great advocates of woman's rights when Frederick Douglas, a respected and influential community leader of the day, who had been invited to speak at the convention wrote: "The cause of woman's suffrage has under it a truth as eternal as the universe of thought, and must triumph if this planet endures."

Invitations to the 1888 Washington convention were issued to 77 women's organizations selected as being of either national scope or national value. Of this number, 53 accepted. In addition to the delegates from the United States, there were representatives from England, France, Norway, Denmark, Finland, India, and Canada. Eighty speakers addressed the convention.

The central figure proved to be Susan B. Anthony. In her black dress and pretty red silk shawl with her gray brown hair smoothly combed over a regal head, she was every inch a stateswoman. In addressing a meeting preliminary to the convention, Susan B. Anthony, with all the earnestness of her strong nature and in a voice vibrating with emotion, set forth far-sighted views with regard to the platform—views which maintain today in the National Council of Women. Said Mrs. Anthony:

We have now come to another turning point and, if it is necessary, I will fight forty years more to make our platform for the Christian to stand upon. Whether she be a Catholic who counts her beads or a Protestant of the strictest Orthodox creed...these are the principles I want to maintain: that our platform may be kept as broad as the universe; that upon it may
stand the representatives of all creeds and of no
creeds --Jew or Christian, Protestant or Catholic,
Gentile or Mormon, Pagan or Atheist.

(It may be of interest to you who know the price of
your seat at a table today to learn that for the opening
session of the 1888 Washington convention 25 cents was
charged, with 50 cents for seats in the reserved section.)

In The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, by Ida
Housted Harper, published in 1898, the Washington
congression is referred to as "the greatest women's
convention ever held."

Certainly, we must concede that this convention
remains among the greatest women's conventions ever held as
we contemplate that it was utilized as the springboard for
the formation of the National Council of Women of the
United States and the International Council of Women, whose
continuing influences over a period of 80 years have
reached into hamlet and city, touched for good the lives of
people of many nations and all races, helped win for woman
in our own beloved nation the right of suffrage through the
adoption of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution in 1920;
helped woman in other nations toward suffrage; helped open
for woman doors of opportunity and service; effectively
contributed toward lifting woman to a position of dignity,
trust, and responsibility in community life and world
affairs; and perhaps most important of all, helped woman to
realize her own potential as a thinking, feeling,
producing, and contributing human being in a world where
such is sorely needed.

So today we pay tribute to those stalwart women who
launched the so-called "women's movement"; we honor those
who called the 1888 convention; we rever those whose
foresight and genius conceived the Councils of Women and
set the sails that bid them where to go: Susan B. Anthony,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, the
Grimkie sisters, Frances Willard, Clara Barton, and others
of immortal memory.

We pay tribute to those other women of lesser
prominence who caught the vision, played well their
respective parts in the founding of the Councils and in the
advancement of the cause of woman. Without them the
convention could have failed in its purposes. These were
the delegates who came, who listened, who were convinced,
and who went forth to act in their respective spheres of
influence. They, too, were women of stature--enlightened,
courageous, tireless in their dedication to the cause they
espoused.
One such woman was Emily S. Tanner Richards, the official delegate to the convention from the organization which I represent. May I present a brief word picture of Mrs. Richards, with the hope that in my so doing, you may also see the other delegates, how they worked, and the magnitude of their contribution.

Mrs. Richards' home was in Salt Lake City in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. By nature she loved freedom and by environment she enjoyed it. Her husband was an attorney whose affairs took him often to Washington D.C. Mrs. Richards usually accompanied him. While in Washington, she had rare opportunities to be instructed and inspired by the great suffrage leaders. These influences, together with the teachings of her Church which at the time of its founding granted woman the religious vote, made of her a strong advocate of the rights of woman and a consistent believer in the obligations that accompany these rights. Her supporting voice was clearly lifted at the Washington convention. Upon her return home, she was appointed by the National Suffrage Association as the chief organizer for Utah. With intelligence and courage, she led this organization, rallying to her many prominent and capable women dedicated to the cause of national suffrage. With conviction as to the place of women in public service, she organized women's charity societies, establishing in that early day a society known as the Utah State Council of Women. There then came into being the organization of The League of Woman Voters to which she lent her great administrative strengths. She won appointments to school and library boards, and helped other women of competence to do so as well. She influenced legislation. Step by step, she and her associates established in community leaders a confidence in the ability of women to take her place at the side of man. At length she received responsible assignments and special honors from Utah's governors.

Thus did Mrs. Richards advance the so-called woman's movement in Utah. Similarly, it was advanced throughout the width and breadth of the land by other delegates to the Washington convention.

We also pay tribute to the National Council of Women of the United States and to the International Council, which for 80 years have consistently made their organized contributions to the achievements of woman. We honor them for the way in which they have held to the original concept of an aggregation of organizations extending their influence and power by uniting as a single body on matters of common concern. We respect them for their integrity with regard to suffrage, and for their readiness to lend
their influence in its behalf wherever it has been denied to woman. We admire them for their achievements and for their continuing concern for human well-being. True, new interests and activities engage the Councils as times and needs change, but throughout the years they have held firm to body of principles patterned by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who penned the first "Woman's Declaration of Independence": Good home and family life, proper care of children, temperance, woman's suffrage and the widening of woman's sphere, indignation against all forms of oppression, love of liberty and love of justice, respect for human rights and human dignity.

Just as the beginning years of the woman's movement claimed great and enlightened woman leaders, so have the advancing years. We pay tribute today to such brilliant and distinguished women as May Wright Sewell, Dr. Anna Garland Spencer, Mary McLeod Bethune, Eleanor Roosevelt, to mention but a few. Nor do we lose sight of the dedicated leaders among us today who generously devote their time, energies, talents, and means to the great purposes of the Council.

In a day referred to by the columnist as woman's triumphant day of achievement, let us rejoice in the accomplishments of the past and the good of the present and let us look with clear vision toward the future. None would deny that we are living in a day of turmoil, upheaval, and confusion; and that the action of today will have its mark on the world of tomorrow. Let us then remind ourselves that the struggles and sacrifices that have brought woman to her present position of influence and power require that she shall use these strengths to dissipate hate and prejudice, allay fear, promote understanding; that she shall stand firm for respect for law and order, that she shall intelligently exercise her hard won rights of suffrage in obtaining ever improved laws and honorable and worthy government; that she shall engage in intelligent and well directed action that effectively will contribute toward building a better world. Today our focus must be on our responsibilities rather than on our rights.

Power is in our hands. How best to use that power is the challenge before us. Can we not meet this challenge with the same degree of success that the women of the past met the challenges of their day? Can we not do so with confidence, working unitedly under the aegis of the National Council of Women which for 80 years has performed with integrity and honor? I believe we can.
APPENDIX D

THE AMERICAN WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

An address delivered July 12, 1974, at the Lochinvar Club, New York City, New York

It is always with certain misgivings, I believe, that one speaks to such a distinguished group as is here assembled. These feelings are compounded when it is known that there are differing viewpoints on the subject. This is the position in which I find myself this evening in speaking on "The American Woman's Movement." A further difficulty presents itself in highlighting significant events covering a two-hundred-year period.

The intensity of activity in recent years on the part of certain women's groups, as well as on the part of some individual women, in behalf of improving the status of women and removing what they regard as injustices, has been called by one editorial writer "the sensation of the hour."

The goals women's groups seek and the general interest of the public in what is happening are reflected in numerous newspaper and magazine articles, in bulletins, in radio and television programs, in editorials, in conference and seminar programs, and in other ways. For example, I assembled at random seventeen headlines from newspapers, magazines, and bulletins that were close at hand as I began preparation for this talk. To illustrate the nature of the articles, I cite a few headlines:

2. Women Charge Discrimination in University Admission Policies and Scholarship Grants
3. Women Seek Ordination to the Ministry
4. Women Students Urged to Reach for Training in Traditionally Male Dominated Fields
5. Give Women Credit Where Credit Is Due (This referred to purchasing credit.)
6. Women Emerging as New Breed of Political Activists

One brave man published an article entitled "Women Filling Men's Jobs." The writer inquired, "What will this do to me and my ilk?"
Three major questions arise. First, are we in the midst of a new movement? Second, what has given rise to today's agitation? Third, what does it portend?

It is my opinion, based on some research and many years of identification with organized women, both nationally and internationally, that the current effort commonly referred to as "Woman's Lib" is an offshoot of what began in the early part of the nineteenth century. Traditionally, the activity has been referred to as "The Woman's Movement."

As times have changed and progress has been made in the lot of women, new demands have come to the fore, and agitation that they be met has been intensified in recent years.

To review the rise of the American woman since the 1830's, which is generally conceded to have had its faint beginnings at that time, is to see her taking part in one of the great dramas of the ages. It is to see a tremendous force, which had been partially dormant, brought into active exercise in the great work of the world. She moved onto the stage of this great drama when there was need for her intuition and intelligent service.

In colonial days women had more rights socially and politically than in the days of the early republic. In the matter of the franchise, colonial women usually had the right to vote. It is doubtful, however, whether they made much use of the privilege. A few women, however, as individuals, distinguished themselves in fields outside the home. The American Revolution produced women like Abigail Adams, whose letters and pamphlets, history tell us, "helped light the fires that blazed at Concord."

Following the Revolution, there was a dull interregnum in the life of the American woman. For almost half a century she seemed to have stood still. One historical writer declared that women were as silent as the tomb. They probably were held less important in the social scheme than they had ever been before or were destined ever to be again.

In 1833 there began faint stirrings. A silent revolution was beginning to take form insofar as woman and her privileges and her work were concerned.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin. It revived the slumping institution of slavery, which was growing increasingly distasteful to many women, who by nature were endowed with
humanitarian impulses. Weaving came out of the home, taking with it numbers of women to work at the industrial power looms. The industrial revolution was being born. This and the distaste for slavery are generally regarded as being behind the stirrings of the women for greater freedom of action and better opportunities for education. Education for women at that time was confined, in the main, to the three Rs.

In 1833 an American institution of higher learning, Oberlin College of Ohio, under pressure we are told, opened its doors to women. It established a kind of annex, a female department, entitled "Collegiate Institute." The announcement had its pathos, its humor, and its general touch of patronage. The reason given for the action was:

The elevation of the female character by bringing within the reach of the misguided and neglected sex the instruction privileges which had hitherto distinguished the leading sex from theirs. (Inez Haynes Irwin, Angels and Amazons Doubleday and Doran Company, 1933:39).

Fifteen women enrolled.

In 1833 there appeared the first women's club to which one might apply the term in its modern meaning, "The Ladies Association for the Education of Females" of Jacksonville, Illinois. Then came "The Female Anti-Slavery Society." Both organizations were short lived.

An interesting story is recorded in a book titled Angels and Amazons, by Inez H. Irwin, in reference to a world anti-slavery conference held in London in 1840. The United States sent delegates, among them William Lloyd Garrison, who was expected to make the great speech of the occasion. Henry B. Stanton took with him his bride, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and a few other women who were deputized as delegates, among them Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Peace. When the American women tried to take their seats, the conference denied them recognition. After a long and agitated discussion, the house compromised by deciding that the women might not take part in the proceedings, but might sit behind a screen in the gallery and listen. William Lloyd Garrison, arriving late, acted with characteristic justice and generosity. He promptly took his seat with his country's women and insisted on listening with them. He did not make his speech. The event which perpetuates this conference in history, however, happened outside the hall and had nothing to do with black slavery. Hurt, righteously indignant, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton walked down Great Queen
Street that night, discussing the burning injustice of the day's proceedings. At home these two women had struggled against the handicap of having to keep silent. Now in England which had already manumitted her black slaves, behind a screen they faced facts at last. They drew a logical conclusion that they should go back to America and begin agitation for women's rights. This was a highlight in the history of feminism. (Irwin, pp. 78-79).

With the dawn of the 1840's there appears to have been a general awakening with regard to the power of organization and the need for it.

In 1842 a unique and significant event took place. A handful of women, members of a newly organized church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, residing in Nauvoo, Illinois (a western frontier town), approached the Prophet Joseph Smith, who presided over the Church. They appealed to him to organize them in order that they might more effectively serve the Church and the people generally. The response of the Prophet to the request was favorable. On March 17 of that year, the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, now known as the Relief Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was organized according to parliamentary procedures. The major purposes of the organization were defined as education (with emphasis on religious education), the development of women, and benevolent service.

Orderly procedures were marked out for maintaining and conducting the affairs of the Society. Under the direction of the presiding priesthood of the Church, the women were "authorized to direct, control, and govern the affairs of the society... in the sphere assigned to it." (Bruce R. McConkie, Relief Society Magazine, Mar. 1950, pp. 150.)

Latter-day Saint women from the very beginning of the Church had held a position of dignity, trust and responsibility. Their mental capacities were recognized, as was their right to develop their talents to the full. They had been given the religious vote almost with the founding of the Church in 1830. Elsewhere, this was at a time when few men and no women enjoyed this privilege. Now, these women had been given the unique recognition of having an organization of their own, a structure through which to advance themselves and give service.

At the third meeting of the Society, the Prophet Joseph Smith met with the women. In addressing them, he made this significant statement:
I now turn the key in your behalf in the name of the Lord, and this Society shall rejoice, and knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time henceforth; this is the beginning of better days to the poor and needy, who shall be made to rejoice and pour forth blessings on your heads (Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed., B. H. Roberts).

I have already referred to the limited educational opportunities for women extant at that time. Insofar as the needy were concerned there were few private agencies for the care of the dependent, and public provisions afforded by one type of treatment -- custody only for the poor, the feeble minded, the insane, and the miscreant. Almshouse care was considered to be the most satisfactory method of providing for the poor (See A Centenary of Relief Society, [Salt Lake City: General Board of Relief Society, 1942], p. 39.)

As we consider our great systems of education today, as well as our vast private and public welfare systems, we must concede that this small group of organized women had listened that day to inspired words.

With reference to the words "turning the key" in behalf of women, to turn a key implies opening a door. Opening a door contemplates a structure built for some specific purpose, with doors through which people pass in using the structure for the purposes for which it was designed.

It is my conviction that the words "turning the key" for women implied opening doors of opportunity and advancement for them through the structure of an organization. It is my further conviction, shared by others, that the key was turned not alone for Relief Society women, but for women worldwide.

For those of us who believe in the over-ruling power of a Supreme Being in the affairs of mankind, it does not seem inconsistent to accept the words "I now turn the key" as divine afflatus in relation to women; nor in the light of future events does it seem unreasonable to regard this action as the actual beginning of organized effort for woman's emancipation from restraints that for years had encumbered her full development and usefulness.

Today the Relief Society, founded in 1842 with a membership of eighteen women, is national and international in scope. It operates in sixty-four countries of the world
and has on its rolls the names of approximately 900,000 women eighteen years of age and over, representing many nationalities. Its membership includes non-Latter-day Saint women, for the Society maintains an open-door membership policy. Its programs and instructional materials are now translated into seventeen different languages. Insofar as we are able to determine, the Relief Society is the oldest national women's organization to continuously persist.

And now as to what followed: in 1848, six years after the founding of the Relief Society, what is regarded as the first women's rights convention was held in the little Wesleyan church in Seneca Falls, New York. It was practically a small assembly of neighbors, but it threshed out the first Declaration of Independence for Women, demanding for her educational, industrial, social, and political rights.

The next forty years, organizations flourished in numbers. In 1888 the National Woman's Suffrage Association convened, in Washington, D.C., what is regarded by many women's organizations as the greatest women's convention ever held. It was called, so they announced, to observe the fortieth anniversary of the first public declaration of women's rights. The underlying purpose, however, was to further the cause of woman's suffrage.

Invitations to this convention were issued to seventy-seven women's organizations, selected as being either national in scope or of national value. Of this number, fifty-three accepted, among them the Relief Society. (It may be of interest to you to know that Utah women had been granted suffrage in 1870 and were conspicuous figures in the national woman's suffrage movement.) In addition to the delegates from the United States, there were in attendance representatives from England, France, Norway, Denmark, India, Finland, and Canada. Eighty speakers addressed the convention, but the central figure proved to be Susan B. Anthony. One of her biographers said of her, "...in her black dress and pretty red silk shawl, with her gray-brown hair smoothly combed over a regal head, [she was] worthy of any statesman." (Ida Husted Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, vol. II [Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1898], p. 638).

In addressing the meeting preliminary to the convention, Susan B. Anthony, with all the earnestness of her strong nature and with her voice vibrating with emotion, set farsighted views with regard to the platform. Said Mrs. Anthony:

... We have now come to another turning point and,
if it is necessary, I will fight forty years more to make our platform free for the Christian to stand upon whether she be a Catholic and counts her beads, or a Protestant of the straitest orthodox creed. . . . These are the principles I want you to maintain, that our platform maybe kept as broad as the universe, that upon it may stand the representatives of all creeds and no creeds--Jew or Christian, Protestant or Catholic, Gentile or Mormon, pagan or atheist (Harper, p. 631).

The chief outcome of this convention was the formation of the National Council of Women of the United States to be made up of national women's organizations or organizations whose programs were of national import, and the formation of the International Council of Women to be made up of national councils of the respective nations. Both organizations are active and influential today.

Dedicating themselves to the cause of suffrage, these organized women swung into vigorous action. It was not until 1920, however, that the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, granting to women of the United States the right to vote and to hold public office. (May I say at this point that there are fundamental difference, in my opinion, between suffrage and what is contemplated in the presently proposed "Equal rights Amendment."

Women, however, appear to have been somewhat slow to expand their role in society, even after having been granted the franchise and other opportunities which they had demanded in their own declaration of independence. This was due, I believe, to a recognition of their lack of adequate training and experience in public life.

We recall also that war had descended upon the world, World War I followed by World War II. The wars seemed to entice, if not force, women out of their homes and into the labor market. After World War II an interesting phenomenon occurred in the world of work. A good portion of the women who, as a patriotic duty during the war years, had taken jobs, many of which were traditionally uncommon to women, felt a new independence; they saw advantages in the paycheck, and many of them never went back to the home and the life of a full-time housewife.

The desire of women to remain in the labor market and upgrade their employment opportunities was soon accompanied by an intense desire for training and education to qualify them for better job opportunities and a wider variety of services. The effort to thus upgrade employment opportunities continues. According to a study made by a
staff of Columbia Broadcasting System researchers, today more than fifteen million women in the United States have at least some college training, more than twice as many as two decades ago.

Concomitant with this training, there exist more and better work opportunities. In addition, the prevailing attitude toward smaller families, the rapid technological improvements affecting housework, together with economic need influenced by inflation have pushed increasing numbers of married women into the work force.

With this there has developed new demands by women for greater recognition, a determination to stamp out job discrimination on the basis of their sex, agitation for increased opportunities in the top policy and decision-making levels of public life. As I assess it, recently we have been passing through a period of upheaval. Agitation began with a few sporadic efforts by poorly structured groups, somewhat militant in character and extreme in viewpoint, gaining momentum until it has now become a national effort, commonly referred to as the Woman's Liberation Movement. Presently there are a number of well-structured organizations with dedicated members and determined goals. Militancy has largely subsided although, in my opinion some extremism remains.

Among the big issues that appear to stand out are the demand for full equality with men in opportunities and rights, the determination to wipe out the traditional obeisance to the concept of male supremacy, the intent completely to eradicate everything that tends toward denying woman full identity as a person or toward placing her in a position where she may be regarded as a second-class citizen.

The efforts to achieve these goals are being accompanied, in some instances, by shifts in some of the traditional values of life. Certain sacred patterns of life that have proved rewarding to both men and women and socially stabilizing, such as marriage laws and covenants, are feeling the impact. Certain new philosophies with regard to the character of home and family life are being aired which run counter to the time-tested traditional values. While the number of liberal advocates appears to be limited, their views are proving controversial. I cite a few of these as examples:

1. The advocacy of de facto marriage (i.e., actually existing without legal action).
2. The male domination of monogamous marriage.

There are those who affirm that legally
monogamous marriage is the most male-dominated institution of all, and is the only institution in which women are expected to work without receiving any stipulated wage, as well as without having fixed working hours.

3. The need to "throttle" the overproduction of babies. One viewpoint declares, "It's not women's lib that is downgrading the motherhood role; it is the ever more visible fact of overpopulation, and a reduction in the occupation of motherhood is now mandatory."

4. The need to curb the existing excessive voluntary service by women. The position of the advocates is that the volunteer worker robs another woman, who needs paid employment, of job opportunity.

Some pollsters find that women in large numbers prefer the job of wife and homemaker to that of the unmarried woman working and seeking fulfillment in man's competitive working world. They prefer the gratification of motherhood, the privileges of wifehood, the position generally accorded the woman in the home by family members, and the status conferred by society on the title Mrs.

Some activists have openly stated that one of their big problems is the indifference of the average married woman to their efforts in behalf of liberating her from her traditional status of housewife.

The home and family are not alone in feeling the impact of new views and current demands. They are also being felt by business, education, and other institutions, along with government, as these institutions endeavor wisely to adapt to new concepts and new demands.

Withal, there are some things for which women are agitating that merit support: for example, equal pay for equal work; nondiscrimination in hiring practices when a male and a female applicant are equally qualified, whose personal circumstances are comparatively equal in meeting job requirements.

Personally, I am not in accord with those who believe that current problems and needs of women may be answered by adoption of a constitutional amendment on equal rights. I am of the opinion that major advantages embodied in the proposed amendment could be achieved through regular channels of state and federal legislative action without raising questionable results.

I believe further that by nature men and women differ
physically, biologically, and emotionally, and that the greatest good to the individual and society results where these differences are respected in the divisions of labor in the home as well as in community life.

Working with women in many countries of the world convinces me that there is no task to which woman may put her hand so broad and inspiring, so filled with interest, so demanding of intelligence and capability, so rewarding, as that of wife, mother, and homemaker. I regard this role as taking precedence over all others for women. In a well-ordered home, husband and wife approach their responsibilities as a joint endeavor. Together they safeguard the sanctity of the home. Their personal relationship is characterized by respect and enduring love. They cherish their children. In child rearing, I believe, there is no substitute for a caring mother.

A woman should feel free, however, to go into the marketplace and into community service on a paid or volunteer basis if she so desires, when her home and family circumstances allow her to do so without impairment to her family life.

Women owe it to themselves to develop their full potential as women—to exercise their mental capacities, to enlarge upon their talents, and to increase their skills—in order that they may give to the world the best they have in a manner that will be productive of the most good, regardless of the paths their lives may take.

I deplore the far-out views that openly break with those practices and procedures whose tested values over generations of time have contributed to the decency, stability, well-being, and happiness of humankind. I accept the premise that moral right is that which is true, ethically good and proper, and in conformity with moral law. What was morally right based on truth must remain right regardless of changing times and circumstances. Truth—and right that is based on truth—are immutable. We cannot afford to allow national sensitivity to become lulled into a calm acceptance of degenerating values and their demoralizing effects on our nation and its people.

What of tomorrow? I ask.

May I submit a few opinions, not that I regard myself in the slightest degree as a seer, but merely from the point of view of trends as I observe them and as I draw upon the past as I have noted it.

Just as the pendulum swings to and fro under the
combined action of gravity and momentum to regulate the movements of clockworks and machinery and usually with the first push strikes hard at the far left and far right, moving somewhat irregularly and then finds its level, thus assuring the proper functioning of the instrument --so I believe will the pendulum of the current woman's action program perform.

Furthermore, I believe that without doubt many of the repressions and injustices which are troubling women today will be resolved. Gratefully, this is already taking place. I cite such things as equal pay for equal work under similar circumstances, new legislation on such things as property rights and nondiscriminating credit laws. This portends a better day ahead for woman.

Borrowing a words from Marvin Kalb [expressed in a televised news cast], "We have no valid evidence that today's headlines will be tomorrow's wisdom." Undoubtedly some of the things for which women are clamoring today will be in the discard tomorrow.

Tomorrow we undoubtedly will hear less of woman's rights and more of her responsibilities and achievements.

Legislation may make legal the total equality of the sexes, but in my opinion that the different natures of man and woman will be the supreme law in dictating the divisions a labor to which each will be drawn in the work of the world.

It is my experience that life, the stern teacher and the great disciplinarian, is now forcing upon us a recognition of the importance of spiritual and moral values. I believe a new day will find us moving forward toward primal religious, spiritual, and moral values, with materialism taking a lesser position. Man cannot live by bread alone.

I am convinced that the home will stand as it has stood during past generations as the cornerstone of a good society and happy citizenry. While old activity patterns within the home may be modified by the impact of change outside the home, the enduring values which cannot be measured in terms of their monetary worth, their power for good, the need of the human being for them (such values as peace, security, love, understanding) will not be sacrificed on the altar of new philosophies and new concepts. Countless men and women and even children who have tasted these fruits of home and family life will recognize new philosophies which create spoilage in them, and they will fend them off. It is in the home that the
lasting values of life are best internalized in the individual. It is this which build good citizens, and good citizens make good nations.

President Spencer W. Kimball of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has expressed the belief that the future of the nation, its success and development, are based largely upon the strength of family life. I am confident there are tens of thousands of Americans, men and women, who share this belief.

Robert O'Brien, senior editor of Reader's Digest, had this to say in an address given in May 1974 at a conference of the American Mothers Committee, Inc., held in New York City:

In our hearts, we all know that the home is the cornerstone of American democracy... It's well that the nation recognize and remember it, and engrave it upon the tablets of her history.

Throughout the ages children have needed mothers with their love and understanding guidance, men have needed wives, and women have needed husbands to share in the concerns and responsibilities of life. They have needed the happy, loving, and protective companionship of one another. It will ever be so.

There is an old saying, "Man must work while woman must wait." The waiting period for the wheels of progress to roll around in behalf of woman (a period during which woman herself has worked as well as waiting) is now nearly over. We may now say to her, in the words of Solomon, the wise man of Israel, "Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates." (Proverbs 31:31).
APPENDIX E

RECORDING MADE AT BERLIN

For broadcasting over Radio-Free Europe from Munich, Germany, July 8, 1954 to five of the iron curtain countries

I bring to the women of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania the love and greetings of the women of America. The women of America are concerned about the well-being of women throughout the world, and our sympathies reach out to those who are in sorrow and distress and who are suffering in any manner.

We know the plight of women is not always of their own creation. We also know that women the world over are by nature much the same. We know the spirituality inherent in women and their inner reliance upon God. We know the inborn desires, hopes, and longings of womankind for their homes and their families. We know the love of women for women, the love of women for humanity, the love of women for peace. Those influences which submerge, restrict, and interfere in any way with the free exercise of these traits are burdensome to women, and the conditions they create leave them distraught and miserable.

So the women of America, understanding your natures, your hopes, your desires, and appreciating your problems, extend to you their love, their faith, and their prayers. We encourage you to make truth and right your watchword, and diligence and faith your staff.
APPENDIX F
WHAT I HAVE LEARNED
IN EIGHTY-ONE YEARS OF LIFE

Today, October 8, 1976, is my eighty-first birthday. In response to my son's question, "Mother, what have you learned during these eighty-one years?" I responded as follows:

During the four score and one years of my life I have learned . . .

That earth life is very short;

That time is extremely valuable and should not be dissipated;

That the teachings of the Church are sound and reasonable. Obedience to them brings sure rewards. Disobedience brings naught but sorrow.

That the body is a fine precision instrument designed for accomplishment. It is folly, indeed, to neglect or abuse it.

That adversity is the common lot of everyone. Life's testing lies in whether or not one is able to overcome and rise above it.

That family ties are sacred. No effort is too great to safeguard them;

That friends are the savor that brings flavor and sweet refreshment to life;

That liberty is a priceless heritage. It should not be allowed to perish from this earth.

These things I know of a certainty.

Belle S. Spafford
APPENDIX G

APPOINTMENTS, HONORS, AWARDS AND PUBLICATIONS
OF BELLE S. SPAFFORD

(This represents a compilation of the major appointments, honors, awards, and publication of Belle S. Spafford, but is not necessarily all inclusive.)

Employment
Teacher Salt Lake City public schools 1914-1917
Teacher Brigham Young Training School 1918-1921
Special instructor in remedial work for retarded children at BYU-1923-1924

Religious Appointments
Member of Governing Board of Relief Society in 1935-1974
Editor of Relief Society Magazine 1937-1945
Counselor in General Relief Society Presidency
President of Relief Society 1945-1974

Service Appointments
National Advisory Committee to the White House Conference on Aging Jan 1961.
Chairman of the two sub-session of the conference having to do with volunteer service.
Member of the Advisory Committee for the section on "Religion and the Aging" in the Special Concern Division of the White House Conference 1971
2nd Vice President, from 1948 to 1956 of the National Council of Women of the United States
President, National Council of Women 1968-1970
Executive Committee from 1946 to 1962.
Chairman of the delegation from the U. S. at the triennial meeting of the International Council of Women in Helsinki, Finland, 1954
Delegate to International Council of Women Conference Triennial meetings since 1937.
Honorary President and Chairman of the Constituional Revisions Committee
Vice President of the American Mothers Committee, Inc. and Advisory Board, 1965-1975.
Special lecturer for School of Social Work at University of Utah Governing Board of Latter-day Saint Hospital Board of Trustees Brigham Young University Member of the Board of Directors for National Association
Honors
Cited by the American Mother's Committee for distinguished service to Women's Organizations.
Distinguished Service Award for the Crusade for Freedom
Brigham Young University Alumni Distinguished Service Award in 1951
Brigham Young University Honorary Doctor of Humanities in 1956
Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree, University of Utah 1971
Distinguished Achievement Award from Ricks 1967
Distinguished Alumni University of Utah Pursuit of Excellence Award Latter-Day Saint Student Association
Honorary Life Member, Utah State Conference of Social Work
The Belle S. Spafford Endowed Chair in Social Work, University of Utah
Treasurer, American Regional Council of Women (subsidiary of International Council of Women), 1977
One of 10 Outstanding Women in Utah History, and included in the Bicentennial publication "Famous Mothers in American History 1776-1976"
"Belle S. Spafford Day," honored by National Council of Women for her capable, influential and gracious leadership. The Belle S. Spafford Archival Fellowship at New York University established upon her retirement from the National Council of Women

Publications
Editor, The Relief Society Magazine 1937-1945
Chairman, Editorial Board, Practical Nursing Magazine
Co-authored with Marianne C. Sharp, A Centenary of Relief Society, an historical account of the first one hundred years of the organization.
Numerous articles and editorials in the publications of the Latter-day Saint Church and in various other national women's magazines
Author, Woman in Today's World, 1971
Author, A Woman's Reach, 1974.
...is a non-profit, non-partisan, non-political organization made up of 26 separate and autonomous organizations and 600 individual members. Our constituency, throughout the United States, numbers some twenty million men and women.

The National Council of Women is the oldest non-sectarian women's volunteer organization in America. From the outset, NCW has included all faiths, all national backgrounds, all opinions. The work began in 1848 when women banded together to fight slavery. Thereafter, they worked for the abolition of child labor, better working conditions and for woman suffrage. When the vote was finally adopted in 1920, the National Council of Women had worked for the legislation for 72 years!

In 1888 the National Council of Women of the United States was formally incorporated and, in the same year, spurred the founding of the International Council of Women—a group which today allies Councils in 71 countries.

The National Council of Women of the United States works for the education and advancement of women. NCW acts as a forum to bring all sides of an issue before women so they may make informed decisions. We provide opportunities for women to speak out, to be heard, to participate. Our work is done through programs, workshops, seminars. Through the NCW Bulletin and constant contact with other organizations. Through our international alliance.

As a charter member (1945) of the United Nations Non-governmental Organizations, the National Council of Women of the United States works to support the United Nations as an instrument for world communication and world peace.

NCW is wholly dependent upon dues and contributions, all of which are tax deductible. New members are welcomed. Call (212) 697-1278 for information.
BELLE S. SPAFFORD: LEADER OF WOMEN

Gayle M. Chandler
Department of Communications
M. A. Degree, August 1983

ABSTRACT

This historical-descriptive study analyzes the speaking career of Belle S. Spafford and attempts to document the relationship between her speaking and her influence with her peers. For over fifty years, the dedicated woman served as a spokesman for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the National Council of Women, bridging the gap between the secular and religious world of women. A rhetorical analysis of four speeches indicates the following findings: Mrs. Spafford appealed to her audiences through a focus on shared values; she had credibility because of her positions of authority and used it wisely; she effectively analyzed her audiences and their collective bond of interest; and she sought to convince and produce an effect without apparent force or authority. Her well-organized speeches are examples of the historical method of presentation with her style being clear and appropriate, but not particularly vivid. Mrs. Spafford is a product of her environment and her religion. She rose to positions of power where she achieved a significant level of influence through her skillful use of communication.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

Nancy B. Hooker, Committee Chairman

J. LaVarr Bateman, Committee Member

J. LaVarr Bateman, Department Chairman