

Equal Rights

VOL. XII, No. 33
FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY,
SEPTEMBER 26, 1925



Jessie Dell, Civil Service Commissioner

Miss Dell, who is the second woman to hold this, the highest post in the United States Government ever filled by a woman, is a life member of the National Woman's Party, and is Chairman of its Government Workers' Council

Feminist Notes

Women Civil Servants in England

THE report of the Federation of Women Civil Servants (England) for the year ending March 31, 1925, shows no gains in obtaining for women real equality of status and opportunity in the Civil Service of Great Britain. Since the report was made, however, women have been admitted to the highest grade examinations for the service, as reported in EQUAL RIGHTS recently.

Although in 1921 a law was passed providing for equal pay in the Civil Service, this has not yet been put into force, and the Chancellor has stated that the "state of the country's finances did not admit of the increase in expenditure involved in the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women in the Civil Service."

Other organizations which are co-operating with the Federation of Women Civil Servants in their fight for equality of status, pay, and opportunity, and with which the F. W. C. S. is co-operating in their struggles for equality in other fields, are: London Society for Women's Service; Consultative Committee of Women's Organizations; National Council of Women; National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship; National Union of Women Teachers; and the Six-Point Group.

The Federation, as set forth in the report, is devoting this year to "consolidating the foundations of the two principles already admitted, viz., Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity."

British Women Engineers

WOMEN are making remarkable headway in the engineering profession in England, according to reports shown at the recent International Conference of Women in Science, Industry and Commerce, held at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Only since the war have women made their way in engineering in England. One large firm is composed entirely of women. A woman is drawing up plans for furnishing electricity for several villages at moderate cost. The Women's Engineering Society publishes a quarterly, *The Woman Engineer*.

Edits Influential Paper

DR. ANNIE BESANT is owner, editor and manager of *New India*, one of the great factors in controlling the policy of the home rule movement in India. The paper is said to be read by all the leading statesmen and politicians, both Indian and European.

Chilean Women in Professions

SINCE Dr. Eloisa Diaz of Chile, the first woman in all South America to obtain a degree in medicine, entered the practice of her profession, many other women have succeeded as physicians. Mathilde Troup, at about the same time, was the first woman to secure the degree of advocate, surprising the Supreme Court of Justice with her brilliant thesis. Many others have since followed her example.

There are also many successful and eminent women engineers, teachers and scientists.

Among the most famous artists of Chile is Rebecca Matte de Inguez, whose sculpture has distinguished her both in the Americas and in Europe. It is said that Chilean women lead their culture in music, painting and other artistic and literary attainments. The Chilean poet, Gabriela Mistral, recently toured the United States, Europe and South America.

Equality in Tibet

MRS. KING, the first Tibetan woman to set foot on English soil, says that women have and always have had equality in Tibet. Women serve as priestesses and "headmen" over the districts. Children of both sexes are given the same kind of education. There are no professions and no industrial development there, and no poverty-stricken class. Priests and priestesses occupy the highest place in society, with the large landowners next, and merchants and farmers making up the rest of the population. Mrs. King says that women have equal access with men to all these activities.

Women in India Advance

QUALIFIED women in five of the great Provinces of India have the vote on the same terms as the men, Mrs. Cousins, former Irish suffrage leader who has spent ten years in India, says. Women in the Indian states are in the parliaments, and one is the minister of health of her state. Women are members of municipal, district, and urban councils, both by election and appointment. There are women lawyers, doctors, professors, magistrates, apothecaries, etc., but education for women is still in a very low state, she says.

Women Fliers

FIVE women have recently joined the London Aeroplane Club. The club also has six women associate members.

Eastern Women Journalists

CAIRO (Egypt) and Turkey both have their first women newspaper owners. Munira Sabet is the first woman proprietor of a daily newspaper in Cairo, started in July, 1925. Nezhie Mouhidinne is the first woman owner of a newspaper in Turkey. Liu Ching-Yang owns and edits a woman's daily paper in China, and Japan is said to have a dozen or more women's papers.

Women of Newfoundland Enfranchised

WOMEN of Newfoundland have been granted the vote. South Africa is now the only British Dominion where women may not vote, according to *The Dawn*, the organ of the Women's Service Guilds of Western Australia.

For Equal Nationality

AS a means, not particularly of giving justice to women, but of stimulating marriage, it has been proposed by the French Senate to grant women the right to retain their own nationality on marriage, and likewise to adopt measures providing for a woman regaining her nationality if she has already married a foreigner, the press reports.

Women's Law Firm in Australia

TWO women have opened the first law firm composed solely of women in South Australia, and possibly the first in the entire Commonwealth. Mary C. Kitson, LL.B., the senior partner, was the first woman to be admitted to the South Australian Bar and to practice as a solicitor. Dorothy S. Somerville, B.A., LL.B., is the junior member.

Woman Manages Coal Mine

NETTIE L. MACOMBER has succeeded her husband in the general management of one of the largest lignite coal mines in America, valued at a million dollars. Mrs. Macomber and her husband have been business partners for twenty-five years.

In Mississippi Legislature

ELLEN SULLIVAN WOODWARD has been elected to succeed her husband, the late Judge Albert Y. Woodward, as Winston County, Mississippi, representative in the State Legislature. Mrs. Woodward's election brings the total women legislators in Mississippi up to three. She defeated her only opponent by a vote of 954 to 451.

Miss Dell Appointed

JESSIE DELL, chairman of the Government Workers' Council of the National Woman's Party, has been appointed Civil Service Commissioner by President Coolidge. The appointment was announced on September 17, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Helen H. Gardener, the first woman to hold this post, the highest both in authority and in salary — \$6,000 to \$7,500 — ever held by a woman in the government service. She took the oath of office the following day.

It is eminently fitting that Miss Dell should be selected to perform the duties of this office, for she has given her life to the service of the United States. For twenty-five years she was in the War Department, holding important posts. She was a charter-member of the National Federation of Federal Employees, and was a vice-president of the organization. She was also president of the War Department Branch of this federation.

Miss Dell has, furthermore, been devoted all her life to the service of women. She has been a member of the National Woman's Party since its organization. While she did not take part in the demonstrations at the White House during the World War, she was an active supporter of the Woman's Party's fight for a Federal Suffrage Amendment, and is now ardently working for Equal Rights. She is a life member of the Woman's Party, and has for a year been chairman of the Government Workers' Council, which she helped to organize.

Miss Dell is from Sylvania, Georgia. She says that her father always taught her that women should have equal opportunity and Equal Rights in the professions, as well as elsewhere, and accordingly took her into his law office after her graduation from the Sylvania Screven County Institute. Few Southern men were as good Feminists as her father at that time, Miss Dell says, and she speaks with great gratitude of his encouragement and his help in continuing her education and training.

An aptitude for figures soon placed her in the position of auditor of the Sylvania Railroad. She held this position till she entered the service of the government. She was first assigned to the Property Returns Branch, and later to other branches of the office of the Quartermaster General.

AT the outbreak of the World War, because of her long training and experience both in legal and accounting work, and because of her quick grasp of intricate problems, Miss Dell was placed in charge of the highly important Contract Branch of the Quartermaster Gen-

eral's office, where her administration was eminently successful. In addition to these duties, she was director of all welfare work under the office of the Chief of Finance.

What Women Are Thinking

Kerstin Hesselgren, Member of Parliament and Chief Woman Factory Inspector of Sweden, in The Vote (England).

INDUSTRIAL legislation in Sweden is of a high standard, and the eight-hour day is everywhere in operation. Our women, however, will have nothing to do with 'protective' legislation, such as operates in Great Britain, and in many other countries. They swept it away once and for all some time ago, protesting such legislation was for 'weak' women, not for them!"

After the termination of the war and the gradual return of the American Expeditionary Forces, the pressure became insistent that bereaved relatives of the fallen be permitted to go to France to visit the graves of their dead. The existing bar against such procedure was consequently lifted by the War Department. Early in 1919, therefore, the various units of the American Graves Registration Service of Europe were consolidated, and headquarters established in Paris. The tide of travel which immediately set in created an urgent demand for a bureau of general information and the co-ordination of effort toward the direction of bereaved inquirers to the particular cemeteries in which their war dead lay.

It was evident at once that a person of tact, experience, administration ability, and deep human sympathy should be placed in charge of this bureau. Miss Dell was selected for this post and on orders of the Quartermaster General of the Army proceeded to France there to assume her overseas duties. That she met with marked success the exacting requirements of an office entailing so great a strain on strength and sympathies is attested by heartfelt expressions of deep appreciation in innumerable letters sent her and to the War Department. She withdrew from the service in 1921, but returned later on a temporary basis, remaining till June 30, 1925.

During her long residence in the District of Columbia, Miss Dell has been

prominently affiliated with many organizations. She was president of the War Department Auxiliary of the American Red Cross, and is also one of the charter members of the Women's City Club in Washington. For many years she was vice-president of the Georgia Society of the District of Columbia.

SUPPORT of Miss Dell for the appointment to the Civil Service Commission came from the most varied sources. The Government Workers' Council and the Political Council of the National Woman's Party, of the latter of which Sue White is chairman; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, National President, Alice Paul of the National Council, Edith Houghton Hooker, chairman of the National Council, as well as many State and local officials and other members of the party personally urged her appointment. Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, Senator McKellar of Tennessee, and other Senators and Congressmen supported her.

Many prominent women, both Republican and Democratic, wrote to President Coolidge urging her appointment, among them Judge Mary O'Toole, Virginia White Speel, Ellen Spencer Mussey, Florence Frazer Stiles, Mrs. Frank Harrold of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, several State agents of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. E. K. Overstreet, a prominent clubwoman of Georgia, State leaders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, several State leaders of the League of Women Voters, and officials of women's advertising clubs, and lawyers' associations. Both the Democratic and the Republican State Committees of Georgia, and the entire congressional delegation of her native State supported her.

Miss Dell is a Democrat. When the vacancy occurred President Coolidge announced that he would appoint a woman to fill it. It was necessary to appoint a Democrat, since the law prohibits the appointment of more than two members belonging to one political party, and the two men members of the commission are both Republicans.

The appointment requires confirmation by the Senate.

As she took the oath of office, in the presence of Sue White and Katherine Southerland, Miss Dell was handed the following telegram from Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee:

"Heartly congratulations on your appointment as Civil Service Commissioner. I am sure the Senate will take great pleasure in confirming you."

Senator McKellar is ranking member of the Senate Civil Service Committee.

Equal Rights



OFFICIAL ORGAN
of the
National Woman's Party
Capitol Hill
Washington, D. C.

Published weekly
at 19 West Chase Street
Baltimore, Md.

Edith Houghton Hooker, Editor
Dora G. Ogle, Business Manager

Associate Editors:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nina E. Allender | Ruth Hale |
| Zoe Beckley | Inez Haynes Irwin |
| Ruby A. Black | Ada Davenport Kendall |
| Elaine Sterne Carrington | Katherine Leckie |
| Lucia Chamberlain | Hazel MacKaye |
| Mabel Potter Daggett | Edna St. Vincent Millay |
| Phyllis Duganne | Ruth Pickering |
| Crystal Eastman | Alice Rohe |
| Ernestine Evans | Maryse Rutledge |
| Rose Feld | Miriam Finn Scott |
| Zona Gale | Doris Stevens |
| Helen Davenport Gibbons | Sophie Treadwell |
| Rebecca Hourwich | Brenda Ueland |

Mary Winsor

Entered as second-class matter at Postoffice,
Baltimore, Md., under Act March 3, 1879.

Subscription, \$2.00 A Year

OFFICERS OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY
Lincoln 1366

President, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.

- Vice-Presidents,**
Margaret Whittemore, Cal.
Doris Stevens, N. Y.
Elizabeth Selden Rogers, N. Y.
Mrs. J. D. Wilkinson, La.
Myrtle Cain, Minn.

Chairman National Council, Edith Houghton Hooker, Md.

- First Vice-Chairman, Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Second Vice-Chairman, Edith Ainge, N. Y.
Secretary, Anita Pollitzer, S. C.
Treasurer, Edith Ainge, N. Y.
Congressional Chairman, Maud Younger, Cal.
Executive Secretary, Mabel Vernon, Del.
Finance Chairman, Sarah Pell, N. Y.
Headquarters Chairman, Evelyn Wainwright, D. C.
Hqrs. Furnishing Chrn., Florence Bayard Hillis, Del.
Organization Chairman, Laura Cramer, Mich.
Anne Archbold, Me.
Florence B. Boeckel, D. C.
Mrs. R. J. Caldwell, N. Y.
Lavinia Egan, La.
Emma C. Fox, Mich.
Zona Gale, Wis.
Sara Grogan, Ga.
Kathleen Hendrie, Mich.
Elsie Hill, Conn.
Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.

- Elizabeth T. Kent, Cal.
Sophie G. Meredith, Va.
Dora G. Ogle, Md.
Alice Paul, N. J.
Helen E. Scott, Md.
Dr. Caroline Spencer, Colo.
Amelia Himes Walker, Md.
Florence B. Whitehouse, Me.
Margery Whittemore, Mich.
Mary Winsor, Pa.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

Annual Dues.....	\$10.00
Associate Members.....	\$1.00
Subscribing Members.....	\$3.00
Founders.....	\$100.00
Life Members.....	\$1,000.00
Endowers.....	\$5,000.00
Sustainers.....	\$5,000.00

OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

To remove all forms of the subjection of women.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation"

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 21.
House Joint Resolution Number 75.]

Introduced in the Senate, December 10, 1923,
by SENATOR CHARLES E. CURTIS.
Introduced in the House of Representatives,
December 13, 1923,
by REPRESENTATIVE D. R. ANTHONY.

A Real Victory for Women

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S appointment of a woman devoted to the interests of women to the position of Civil Service Commissioner is a signal victory for women. Miss Jessie Dell believes that men and women should have Equal Rights in every field of human activity. As a member of the Commission at the head of the Civil Service, which is probably the largest single employer of women in the United States, she will have many opportunities to improve the status of women in that large field of work. We confidently predict that she will take all such opportunities, and that she will make still further opportunities.

All her life Miss Dell has been unflinching a feminist. Her own experience as a self-supporting woman, holding important posts in the Government service, will enable her to handle the problems of women in the Civil Service with rare sympathy and comprehension.

The manner in which her appointment was made likewise testifies the power of women. It was not political influence which brought her the post, but merit. It was, however, mainly the voice of women who knew her work which directed the attention of President Coolidge to her record and her qualifications.

It is indeed an occasion for rejoicing when a woman loyal to women, a woman whose deepest motivating force has been her devotion to the cause of equality between men and women, is placed in a position having such great powers over the advancement of women in the Government service as has the Civil Service Commission.

What Can the Amendment Do?

THERE is a fairly large group of American women, living chiefly in the Western and Middle Western States, that holds the Federal Equal Rights Amendment to be unnecessary and incapable of achieving the purpose for which it is designed. This group consists principally of business and professional women who have "made good" in friendly and open competition with men. They believe that people can no more be legislated into equality than they can be legislated into virtue. They are not opposed to the Federal Amendment, and they understand perfectly the fallacies of "protective" legislation based on sex. But for all that they would not lift a finger to have Equal Rights written into the Constitution. "What women must do to secure equality is to prove by their own efforts that they are the equals of men," they maintain. "The Federal Amendment cannot do this work for them; they will have to do it for themselves."

In all of which we heartily agree. It is a patent fact that the mere passage of the Equal Rights Amendment could not possibly level all of the multifarious inequalities that exist between the two sexes at the present time. But granting that the amendment is not to be conceived of as a magic wand, there still remains, in a quite practical sense, an immense amount that it can do. In the first place it can prevent arbitrary discriminations against women in the Government service. This in itself is a matter of considerable moment. In the second place it can throw out of function all laws regarding property, marriage, inheritance, parenthood, etc., based solely on sex. To a people whose heritage is the English Common Law this means much, for the ghosts of age-old prejudice still haunt our statute books and trouble too frequently our daily lives. In the third place, as our opponents realize, it can invalidate "protective," or as it is more properly called, "restrictive" industrial legislation for women only, thus removing women workers from classification as perennial minors under the law.

This list of benefits potential in the Federal Amendment would seem, without further testimony, adequate to justify its passage, yet the most significant effect of writing Equal Rights into the Constitution remains to be pointed out.

To bring the Constitution more into line with justice, to make it speak the truth and cease uttering falsehoods about the rights of man, to take the iron out of the souls of women and free them from the spectre of inborn inferiority as heretofore implied in the highest law of our country, these are some of the achievements potential in the Equal Rights Amendment. If to some individuals these benefits seem unimportant, we surmise that the frailty will be found to exist not in the Federal Amendment, but in their own standard of values.

Interparliamentary Union for Equality

INASMUCH as one of the tenets of the Interparliamentary Union, which meets in Washington October 1-7, inclusive, is equality among peoples, regardless of race, religion, color and sex, the National Woman's Party is deeply interested in its agenda and its action. Women members have been invited to be guests at National Headquarters.

Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, who will be present with her husband, F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, a member of the British House of Commons, who is a constant advocate of equality between the sexes, will be a guest at Headquarters, and will speak at a tea in honor of the women delegates in the garden at three o'clock on Sunday afternoon, October 4. She will speak at a meeting in Baltimore on Thursday, October 1. Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence is a member of the International Advisory Committee of the National Woman's Party.

The three American Congresswomen, Florence Prag Kahn of California, Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts, and

Mary Norton of New Jersey, will be hostesses at the conference. They are not eligible to be delegates to the conference, since none of them are member of the Parliament of the World, and will not be eligible for membership till after they take their seats in Congress in December, the Washington office of the Interparliamentary Union informs the National Woman's Party.

Among the women delegates to the meeting are: Mathilde Hauschultz and Edna Munch of Denmark; Gertrude Baumer, Clara Mende, Louise Schroder and Christine Teusch of Germany. Many other women from various countries will be present with their husbands or fathers.

Alice Paul and Anita Pollitzer, National Secretary of the Woman's Party, will direct the work of the Woman's Party in connection with the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union. At the meeting at which the women delegates will be introduced, Edith Houghton Hooker, Chairman of the National Council of the Na-

tional Woman's Party, will preside and will speak on the work being done by the Woman's Party in the world-wide movement for the removal of all forms of the subjection of women, as well as on the campaign for the removal of all legal discriminations against women in the United States by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and for equality in all customs, in education, in the professions, in business, and in industry.

While Miss Paul is directing the American end of the international work, Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, National President of the Woman's Party, has returned to Europe to complete the organization of the International Advisory Committee of the National Woman's Party, which she and Miss Paul initiated last winter, and the Woman's Party Committee of American Women in Europe.

Mrs. Belmont sailed on September 19. Miss Paul went to New York on September 18 for a final conference with Mrs. Belmont before her departure.

Socialist Women of Eighteen Countries Meet at Marseilles

By Crystal Eastman

"THIS day's work will lay the foundations for a Woman's International," said Mrs. Dollon, City Councillor of Glasgow, as we drove up to the Chateau des Fleurs early in the morning of August 21st. And when we drove back to our hotel in Marseilles that night after eleven hours struggle in a dim green light, with three languages and the worst acoustics the human voice has ever tried to conquer, I remembered what she had said and I knew she was right. Despite everything the foundations had been laid, and solidly laid.

Every new effort at organized expression on the part of women acting by and for themselves must interest a feminist. And I would ask my readers, whether they belong so far to the right that they regard Labour and the Socialist International as a menace to the human race or so far to the left that they regard it as a pitiful counterfeit movement deserving only contempt—I would ask them in either case to consider this first independent step on the part of the women allied to that International with sympathy and enthusiasm.

There has always been a scattering of women delegates at the meetings of the Socialist International and in recent years there have been two women on the Executive, Adelheid Popp of Austria and Mrs. Harrison Bell of England. Two years ago when the International met at Hamburg, the women delegates who happened to be present met together in an

effort to form some permanent association. The attempt was not successful however. The women present could not agree as to what the function of a woman's committee within the International would be; many of them were doubtful as to the wisdom of forming a distinct group. The only outcome was the election of a "Praesidium" of four, [Dr. Marion Phillips of England, Marie Jucharz of Germany, Alice Pels of Belgium, and Adelheid Popp of Austria], whose duty it should be to keep the project alive, to secure a permanent woman correspondent in every country, and to call a woman's conference in connection with the next meeting of the International. It is the conference which has just been held at Marseilles, the first official International Conference of Socialist women.

The Chateau des Fleurs is a long, low one-roomed building set in the midst of a shady park. The walls and low curved ceiling of the hall inside are completely covered with mural decorations representing flowers, fruits and hanging gardens, very much like those one sees in a cheap French or Italian restaurant in New York, except that they are dim and half-erased instead of new and shiny. The effect of these decorated walls is to darken still more the green light that filters

through the shaded windows. A perfect setting for a gentle afternoon slumber, but hardly one I should choose for hammering out the foundations of a new movement. In the center of this very rectangular hall capable of seating perhaps two or three thousand people, was a small platform and a few rows of tables and chairs, and here, with echoing spaces on either side, the eighty odd delegates assembled and tried to confer.

I think all reformers should be required to take a course in lighting and acoustics. Not contented with the difficulty of understanding each other and the still greater difficulty of agreeing with each other, we seem so often to meet in places where we can neither see nor hear each other!

The conference opened with Frau Popp in the chair and five men surrounding her on the little platform. These turned out to be members of the Executive of the International who had come to extend greetings to the women's meeting. The greetings I thought a bit overdone, especially as the women had but one day, and each of the five men made a speech which had to be translated into two other languages. Perhaps I was impatient for the business of the day to begin and therefore unduly critical, but these men, with one exception, seemed to me to have no sense of the conference as having any feminist significance. They had the smiles and gracious complimentary manner of a deacon addressing the "Ladies' Auxili-

ary." It was only old Wiebaut, a Socialist leader of Holland, who seemed to take the conference seriously. He was genuinely indignant over the fact that most countries deny to a married woman the right to retain her own nationality, and he urged Socialist women to work for "equality of the personality" in every respect.

Half the morning session having been given over to greetings, the second half was devoted to a confused deafening wrangle over a sort of "side" resolution brought in by the British delegates, dealing with war and poverty. It was a feeble resolution and vague, declaring that "as the interest of the great mass of women are centered upon the welfare of their homes and their children, so their interest in socialism is mainly concerned in its power to secure them against war and poverty"; and going on to urge that "in order to arouse this interest to its fullest extent" the Socialist movement should advocate a strong peace policy and a policy of co-operation among the workers of all countries in the production of food supplies, etc.

Surely this is unsound from both a feminist and Socialist standpoint. Men are no less interested than women in something which will "secure them against war and poverty." And every Socialist knows it is impossible to achieve co-operation in production internationally so long as capitalist nationalism exists. So I think the opposition to this resolution, from whatever confusion of motives it arose, was a healthy one; and the result of the discussion by which the idea of the British resolution was confined to a brief addendum to the main resolution, was on the whole a victory for intelligence.

WHEN we adjourned for lunch I found most of the British delegates believed that the opposition to their resolution came from timidity on the part of the Germans and Austrians, their unwillingness to take any action independently and separately from the men. Many were in despair over the outcome of the conference. But they were wrong, as the afternoon session proved. When the main resolution came up, with its straight feminist contentions it was the continental women who held out most strongly for the necessity of independent action on the part of women. And the amendments which were proposed to strengthen and broaden the demand for equality were proposed not by British women or American women but by continental women.

Coming now to the main resolution, in which there was an attempt to embody the principles as well as the form and machinery of the proposed organization, I will quote its main clauses in full, putting in italics the amendments added after discussion.

"I. For the accomplishment of Socialism it is necessary that the masses should be roused to assist in the active work of the re-organization of society, and the masses consist of women as well as men. It is therefore essential that the Socialist parties in all countries should do their utmost to assist in the organization of women within the labor and Socialist movement, and in order to accomplish this, every Socialist Party should regard the complete emancipation of women as the primary aim of their policy. It is their duty to work for the full political, *economic and social*, equality of men and women, especially in regard to electoral equality and equality in laws dealing with the family, citizenship and marriage, and equality of rights between legitimate and illegitimate children. They must also demand full freedom for women to enter administrative, professional and industrial life, *without regard to her family status (whether married or not) and without regard to her need*, and economic equality in regard to wages.

"II. As it is necessary that the policy of the Socialist movement should be based upon the needs of women as well as men, Socialist women in all countries should have the right to discuss and formulate for themselves their views of social problems of interest to women.

"III. The development of capitalist society has left women under many social and educational disadvantages, so that from a political and economic point of view their position is weaker than that of men, while the obligations and burden of motherhood require that they should have special care and protection in industrial life. It is therefore necessary that the Socialist movement should advocate all such measures of protection and care as the workers and especially the women workers think requisite, in order to secure the welfare of mothers and children.

"IV. In order to get full understanding between the Socialist women in the different countries, an International Advisory Committee of women should be formed consisting of representatives of the women; with the special duty of advising the Executive Council of the Labor and Socialist International; and to assist in organizing an international conference of Labor and Socialist women *in connection with each conference of the International.*"

Now that is not a good resolution, it is not brief and succinct, it is not eloquent, it is not even entirely clear or altogether consistent. My editorial pencil was itching to get at it all day. But considered as the output of women associated together in their own interests for the first time, considered as the first feminist utterance of women brought up in a movement whose primary attitude to women seeking equality has always been, "Help us

get socialism first and all these equalities will follow"—it is a surprisingly strong and purposeful declaration. There is the admission that the present order, hard as it bears on the masses of men bears harder on the masses of women; and there is the demand that "complete emancipation of women" be put in the forefront of Socialist policy the world over. Surely this is all we ask of "la femme socialiste."

And these women seem to know what they mean by freedom and equality. They do not confuse it with humanitarianism or family welfare. This, I think, is suggested by the amendments which were accepted as a matter of course, and it was revealed still more clearly by the tenor and emphasis of most of the delegates' speeches on the resolution, which continued without a break from two o'clock until eight.

"THE resolution is not clear enough on equality," said Mme. Budzynska, a Polish doctor; "we should demand equality not only in marriage laws, but in all civil laws."

"We must proclaim the right of women to work," declared Betty Karpisek, one of the two Czech delegates, "too often women are excluded from the public service or badly paid when they are allowed to remain."

Frau Wurm, a handsome, powerful looking delegate from Berlin (member of the Reichstag as nearly all the German delegates were), added a still more modern note to the discussion: "It is necessary to demand equality of opportunity to work, yes. Indeed, married women are in danger of being ousted altogether. This must not be. We must ask for protection of motherhood as proposed by the Washington convention, but otherwise opportunities must be equal. I do not agree to the idea of a family wage. We need a change of mentality on the part of women. They must cease to consider their work or profession as a temporary thing, dependent on marriage."

"In my country, Latvia," said Klara Kalnin, "women are still under the tutelage of men, though they vote. It is all right to demand protection of motherhood but that is not our only question. We must have full civil rights, men must be educated to a different attitude to us, we must have a complete transformation of family life."

"There is no atmosphere of equality between men and women in any country," said Mary Carlin, when it came her turn. Mary Carlin is a splendid big Irish woman who is the National Woman Organizer for the Transport and General Workers Union of Great Britain, and she ought to know. "Our International Advisory Committee will be a step forward, it will give us a chance to bring forward our special viewpoint. Men are very gracious but

we do not enjoy equality even in the Socialist Party."

And Frau Popp: "Political equality does not correspond necessarily to real social equality. We have the vote in Germany and Austria but women's labor has gone back since the war. Women are being driven out of all the better paid positions. We shall get ahead faster with our equality program if we have a central committee and can co-ordinate the reforms in different countries. It is not enough to have two women on the Executive—we must have our own international committee in contact with women in every country."

Toward the end of the afternoon a French woman spoke, Louise Saumoneau, editor of *La Femme Socialiste*, for many years on the Executive of the French Socialist Party. She is a small keen gray-haired woman, with deep burning eyes and a look both shrewd and earnest. The resolution, she said, was too theoretical. "We must go into details in our demands

The Silent Revolution of Women

Rebecca West
in the
New York World
(Copyright by Press
Publishing Company)

might not unfairly be compared with the position of the educated Negro in the United States. The Negro of the past who resented being treated as the white man's inferior was told by Booker Washington that all would go well with him if he would prove to all the world that such inferiority was a legend by becoming as well educated, as industrious, as respectable as the white man. He has done all these things. There are innumerable Negroes who have had distinguished careers at the universities, who are practicing the professions or engaging in commerce and industry with the utmost credit, and the Negro community is very often highly respectable and progressive. But the white man's attitude has altered hardly at all.

Women in England are in very much the same position. In the past they were treated as inferior to men on the ground that they were incapable of rising to man's intellectual level; that they were neurotic and unstable and incapable of exercising judgment in the everyday business of life, and that for reasons largely physical, but partly psychical, they suffered from an incapacity for continuous work which would always put them at a disadvantage in every sphere save the domestic. And feminists argued that if

and in our criticisms. For example two socialist governments of Europe, when they had the opportunity to achieve political equality for women, failed. We should not be quiet about this." One of these was the Catholic Socialist, government of Belgium, which, as a Belgian delegate admitted, voted against woman suffrage at a critical moment when the issue was precipitated by its enemies as a means of embarrassing the government and precipitating its downfall. The other must have been Macdonald's Labor government in England, which failed to extend the vote to women over twenty-one although with the help of the Liberals it had the power to do so.

MRS. DOLLON, who spoke soon after Louise Saumoneau, agreed that Socialist leaders could not always be trusted to stand up for equality: "For example, when the question came up in England of dismissing married women large numbers of Socialist members

Press Comment

women disproved these allegations they would automatically exact recognition as the equals of men.

Now women have disproved these allegations. For long they have been going to the universities in their thousands, they have been entering the professions and making their way into commerce and industry, and in all these enterprises they have acquitted themselves well. Then there came the war. During its later phases there was practically no activity of man which women did not undertake under rather more onerous conditions than he had ever been subjected to in peace, and they passed the test very honorably. But it would be fatuous to pretend that women are not still, in many ways, treated as the inferiors of men. It is a commonplace that they are denied the rewards of performances which, tested objectively, are equal to the performances of men, on the ground that they lack the mystical essential superiority which entitles men to the higher recompense and better treatment.

Illustration of this is to be found in the disappointing position of woman doctors and woman barristers. There are more than a thousand woman doctors in England and Wales alone, many of whom were graduated and practice with great distinction. But it would be absurd to pretend they are given a fair field in the profession. They are not admitted as medical students in some schools, they are discouraged in others. They are not smiled on by their male colleagues before or after graduation. Three great doctors,

of Parliament were in favor of it."

In the point raised by the last two speakers I have quoted lies the answer to the question whether women should maintain separate committees or merge completely as individuals in the political parties with which they are in sympathy. Morris Hillquit, one of the five men who spoke in greeting at the opening of the conference, said among other things, "I hope you will soon grow to the point where you will abolish your separate existence, to the point where women will take their place in the general movement for the emancipation of the working-class."

The answer to Mr. Hillquit, as I am sure most of those Socialist women at Marseilles would agree, is this:

"When the Socialist parties of the world do genuinely decide to make equal rights for women a primary aim of their policy, never to be side-tracked for political expediency, then and not till then will we abolish our separate existence."

bidden to a banquet by woman doctors last year, thought fit to make the trend of their after-dinner speeches the unsuitability of their hostesses for the profession they had adopted. The lot of woman barristers is even less satisfactory. However brilliant a woman barrister may be, she finds it 90 per cent more difficult to establish herself in practice than a man of equivalent gifts would find it. For solicitors simply will not brief women. Their clients would not like them to do so; and I am bound to confess that I would feel nervous if a case of my own for which I had briefed a woman barrister came up before certain of the more moss-grown judges.

Now, there is a reason for this, and cognate facts, such as the poor position of women in the Civil Service, and their exclusion from all the best-paid departments in industry, just as there is for the attitude towards the educated Negro. The inhabitant of the United States, overburdened with his task of imposing a white civilization on a new land of many races, feels he cannot afford to make any gesture that might lead to too close racial contacts and consequently to racial mixtures. And the average father of a family, trying to make ends meet in post-war Europe, where there is not enough work to go round, is really not in a position where he can well be expected to cheer women on when they announce their intention of competing with him for such work as there is. The moment is singularly unpropitious for the breaking-down of prejudice in this matter. But

the temporary shelving of the problem must not be mistaken for any failure on the part of women to make good in the new spheres they have chosen.

But in other departments of life women have richly benefited by the steps they have taken to establish their equality. There is a psychological gain which is beyond price. They know now that if women do not do the same things as men, it is not because they cannot do them, but because society is unwilling that they should do them. And this relieves them from the inferiority complex from which so many of them have suffered in the past.

It is recognized by psychologists that if a person labors under a sense of inferiority to another person or persons the whole harmony of his mind is apt to be destroyed. As many women labored under a sense that they were inferior to half the human race, many of whom were patently such that to be inferior to them would be to be bad indeed, it may be judged in what state of mind they were likely to be. They were all that men accused them of being, unstable and incapable, because they were neurotics. The woman of today does not feel like that, and the result is that she is infinitely calmer and happier.

One may judge that by turning back to the works of Charles Dickens and Thackeray and Anthony Trollope and looking at their terrifying pictures of their feminine contemporaries. Little Dora in "David Copperfield" and Amelia Smedley represent the depths of helplessness and silliness that this conviction of inferiority brought on passive natures, and the Old Soldier in "The Newcomes" and the horrible Mrs. Proudie show how very disagreeably stronger natures reacted to it, expressing their revolt in maniacal bad temper because the world of their day allowed it no more legitimate channel. There are no such utterly imbecile or

dreadful figures in the fiction of the most anti-feminist writer of today.

But there is even more conclusive evidence of the increased power and serenity of women in the increased contribution they make to the arts, and in particular to literature. Fiction is very largely falling into the hands of women. There are, perhaps, under a dozen man novelists of distinction who have come to the fore in the last ten years. D. H. Lawrence, Francis Brett Young, Aldous Huxley, David Garnett, Michael Arlen. In the same time there have come forward a much greater number of woman writers: Sheila Kaye-Smith, Clemence Dane, Rose Macauley, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, Ethel Sidgwick, V. Sackville-West, Enid Bagnold, G. B. Stern, Viola Meynell, Storm Jameson. This predominance is partly relative and due to the fact that many of the men who would have been the novelists of this age were killed in the war; but it is also an absolute predominance.

There have never been quite so many women who have written so well and with such diligence as this generation of woman novelists. Woman writers who have not been sustained by absolute genius have been apt to be episodic. Writers like Olive Schreiner or George Egerton came forward with the fruits of an inspired moment, and when the fortunate mood had left them they were dumb. But a writer like Sheila Kaye-Smith, who writes novel after novel, working on various aspects of the kind of life she has chosen as her material, and experimenting with her style and developing it, is laying the foundations of an artistic career which has just that element of continuity and endurance that women's work has been said to lack. In other words, it is work that is not neurotic.

The effects of this improvement in woman's temperament is seen most

quickly in the art of literature, because its superficial technique can be acquired more rapidly than that of any other. It will reveal itself more slowly in other arts, where the time of preparation is longer. But the existence of such serious artists as that group of pianists, Harriet Cohen, Myra Hess, Irene Scharrer, and that astonishing young portrait painter, Cathleen Harrington Mann, make it certain that in future the disproportion between the numbers of man and woman artists of the higher ranks will not be so great.

But where women have gained most tremendously during the last twenty years is not in the professions, or in industry, or in the arts, but in the home by the jettisoning of that multitude of social cantrips which used to eat up the life of every good woman. Leaving cards used to be a dreary activity, with more rules to it than any other card game; paying calls was a serious business that consumed endless hours; there were formal and joyless dinner-parties at which there was a lot of frenzied thinking about precedence; and at the end it was all as profitable as jumping through paper hoops. That is all over.

To think of such things now is the mark of the provincial, and society tends more and more to be an easy assemblage of friendships. This also is a sign of the increased health of women's minds, for all these social follies were the tricks of a neurotic sex. It is a revolution, and it has hapened silently; and that is typical of the present state of feminism. There is now no purely feminist organization in England of the slightest importance. There will never again be any feminist gesture so spectacular as the suffragette movement. But that is a proof of the success of feminism. The Normans stopped talking about their conquest quite a while ago.

News From The Field

KATE G. WINSTON, treasurer of the Texas State Branch of the National Woman's Party, was a recent visitor to National Headquarters, where she discussed the digest of Texas laws affecting women, now being made by Emma Wold of the Legal Research Department of the National Woman's Party. Mrs. Winston lives in Austin, Texas.

Minnesota Entertains Mrs. Fiske

ATEA for Minnie Maddern Fiske, chairman of the Actresses' Council of the National Woman's Party, was given by the Minnesota Branch of the Party in St. Paul during Mrs. Fiske's visit there

the first week in September. The Woman's City Club co-operated in entertaining Mrs. Fiske.

A deputation will visit Congressman Keller of St. Paul before his return to Washington, probably on September 29, to discuss with him the Lucretia Mott Amendment to the United States Constitution, providing that "Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

In October the first large fall meeting of the Minnesota Branch will be held. Marie F. Moreland is State Chairman of Minnesota.

Plans Congressional District Vice-Presidents

THE Missouri Branch of the National Woman's Party plans to amend its constitution to provide for a vice-president for each congressional district in the State. This plan will provide organizers throughout the State to stimulate continuous action for Equal Rights.

DAY PRINTING COMPANY

Printers

LIGHT AND LOMBARD STREETS

Entrance on Balderston Street

BALTIMORE