

Equal Rights

VOL. XII, No. 46
FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY,
DECEMBER 26, 1925



Senator Charles Curtis

of Kansas who, with Representative Daniel R. Anthony, is sponsoring the Lucretia Mott Amendment in Congress. Senator Curtis has always been a strong advocate of measures for the advancement of women.

Feminist Notes

Women Unionists in Germany

IN Germany there are 38,000 women in the Union of Women Postoffice Officials; 34,000 in the Women Teachers' Union; and 18,000 women in the Roman Catholic Teachers' Union.

Economic Position of Women

E. GRESSWELL writes the following significant letter to *The Vote* (England):

"Dear Madam—Since men view the success and importance of a life in terms of £ s. d., women, under present conditions—unpaid labor in the home and meagre pay outside the home—will contrive to be regarded by the public in general as being, compared with men, of very secondary importance.

"The money-mind of men is a permanent symptom in their make-up. No man is proud, say, to have dined or danced with a woman because she is the mother of seven or eight future citizens, or because she keeps her house spotlessly clean, or because she does her own cooking, washing, baking, mending, and looks after the rearing of her children herself, but if she has produced seven or eight 'best sellers' instead of citizens, if she has put down her rolling-pin and duster and taken up her money-making pen, then the man whom she honored in ballroom or restaurant would have a proud boast to offer his fellow-men. The latter has a financial value, but not so the former. As long as woman's work in the home is unpaid—whether it be a leisured housekeeper, or single-handed maid-of-all-work—her personality will be swamped, her status negligible, and its effect will continue to penetrate into woman's work outside the home, and also to the general 'feeling' and attitude towards all womankind.

"We may get the vote on equal terms with men; we may get all our laws made equal between men and women, but until woman's so-called dominant work—home and motherhood—has a financial reward of its own, we shall be viewed instinctively as subordinate to men, and consequently have to suffer the injustices, the inequalities, the humiliation that such a state offers.

"We cannot urge too strongly upon women to develop the money-mind within themselves, to regard themselves as worthy of high financial reward inside and outside the home. People are taken at their own valuation, and if that valuation is in terms of £ s. d. it will have more power than anything else in raising women to an equality with men."

Women Physicians in Japan

THERE are more than 700 women physicians in Japan, the press reports.

Member of International Council Called to Bar

AMONG the 192 law students called to the Bar in London recently were four women. One of these was Dorothy Evans, the leader of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, who is a member of the International Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party.

Industrial Inequality Again

IF trade unionists really want advocates of Equal Rights to believe that they are sincere in asking special legislation for women in industry, and are not asking it as a means of hampering women in industry, they must prove it by deeds, not words. In a recent strike in the book trade in England, a settlement was effected between the employers and the union, which set the wage increase for men at 12s. 6d. a week, and 8s. 6d. for women.

Woman Real Estate Agent Negotiates Big Sale

AGNES K. MURPHY-MULLIGAN, the first woman member of the New York Real Estate Board, has negotiated one of the largest sales ever made in Bergen County. Mrs. Murphy-Mulligan sold 130 acres on top of the Palisades, adjoining the main entrance to the proposed Hudson River bridge, at Fort Lee, for \$1,000,000.

Old-Fashioned Home a Despotism

THE REV. C. EVERETT WAGNER of the West Side Methodist Episcopal Church of New York City declares that "the old-fashioned home," the passing of which it is now the fashion to deplore, was a prison for women and children.

"The old-fashioned home was generally one of male despotism. Neither the wife and the mother nor the children had any rights. All they possessed were duties. The despotism of the father has been a fundamental cause in young men and women running away from their homes where they would have preferred to remain, provided they had some rights and some 'say so' as to what they did," he said.

"Despotism of the home where the wife and the children are put into chains of real slavery is vanishing, and in its place is coming the recognition of the family as essentially an ideal democracy."

Women Pharmacists in Manila

OF the last 119 pharmacists who took the oath before the board of pharmaceutical examiners in Manila, 30 per cent were women. The press reports that 50 per cent of the women students of pharmacy in the leading colleges of Manila are women.

Women Workers Support Families

THE United States Department of Labor has discovered that women work, not for selfish reasons involving more luxuries for themselves, but for the subsistence of themselves and their families. In the report of Secretary Davis, released December 9, questionnaires filled out by a group of 101 women between the ages of 21 and 36 who were studying at the Bryn Mawr summer school for working women were analyzed. They show clearly that women cannot be considered as supplanting men who support families, for the simple reason that they themselves are supporting families. Commenting on the report, the Secretary says:

"It is evident that, in regard to the workers at the Bryn Mawr summer school, who, it must be pointed out, were not representative of the hardest-pressed workers, the burden of family support constituted so large a proportion of their actual earnings that it determined the economic position of the worker in a very important way. For nearly one-fifth of the workers the burden included the support of one or more total dependents. Even the workers who boarded away from home still contributed to family support in about half the cases. At least a half of all the women had the problem of family support to some degree, in view of the more than two-fifths whose earnings definitely contributed to the support of total or partial dependents, and in view of others whose contribution to the family income probably exceeded the cost of their own maintenance. Their obligations had to be met from wages that were not, except in a few cases, at high rates, and from earnings that were frequently interrupted by periods of unemployment. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the share in family support of women workers in general is probably an even heavier burden than that carried by the group studied."

Ireland Sends Woman Diplomat

THE only woman member of the diplomatic corps in Washington is Mrs. A. L. McFeat, second secretary of the legation of the Irish Free State.

Woman Jurors Proposed for District of Columbia

THE present Congress is being urged by the Woman's Party to establish the eligibility of women for jury service in the District of Columbia. At the request of the District Branch of the Woman's Party, Senator Capper of Kansas, chairman of the Senate District Committee, introduced a bill proposing to add a new section to the District Code of Law, to read as follows:

"Hereafter no person shall be disqualified for service as a juror or jury commissioner by reason of sex, but the provisions of law relating to the qualifications of jurors and exemptions from jury duty shall in all cases apply to women as well as to men."

The campaign for the bill's passage is under the direction of Mrs. Wymond H. Bradbury, District Chairman of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. Jennie O. Berliner, District Legislative Secretary. It is anticipated that the measure will be supported by many women's organizations. The Women's Bar Association of the District, which for several years has advocated jury service for women, endorsed the Capper bill at a special meeting held on December 14.

Women now serve on juries in at least twenty States including Arkansas, California, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas,

Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin. According to accounts from public officials, the record of women jurors has been excellent. The woman juror is fair and accurate in weighing the evidence, and the judges are impressed with her high qualifications. The country at large watches the lead of the nation's capital, the center of advanced thought. So if jury service for women in the District of Columbia is granted, it will lend great impetus to the movement for mixed juries in all jurisdictions.

Married Women Teachers: Important Test Case In Britain

ANOTHER important test case on the right of an education authority to dismiss married women teachers has been before Mr. Justice Lawrence in the Chancery Division for some days. It is not possible here to comment on the legal aspect of the married women's claim. The matter is still *sub judice*. We do, however, congratulate and thank the three women who have raised the action. It will decide a point vital to the position of women. Until we know exactly what the law is, it is not possible to frame proposals for its amendment. If after the decisions in the two cases now before the court it is necessary, we shall have to promote legislation such as will make it impossible for local authorities, as so many are now doing, to play fast and loose with the right of a married woman to earn her livelihood in the manner which she herself thinks best. There is no question more important. It is on a level with the original claim of the married woman to control her own earnings and property, this claim to be recognized as an independent personality where the right to work is concerned. Opponents assume that the work of a married woman is to be compulsorily at the disposal of her husband. It was literally so when before the first Married Women's Property Act even her earnings were his. Those who today would deny her the free right to earn seek to thrust her back into the position of an absolute dependent. And the same idea is at the root of the inequality of pay between the sexes. The man, forsooth, is to have enough to enable him to have free service at home, the woman only what will maintain herself so that she shall of necessity in her own person have to do her own domestic work.

It is more than a hundred years since

the last vestige of the bondage under which a worker was compulsorily attached to a particular employer was abolished in Great Britain. It is now inconceivable that a man should be compelled to work for one particular employer. That so many otherwise fairminded people should take upon themselves to deny this ordinary human right of choice to a woman because she is married is an indication how low is the status of the married woman in this country today.

To come back to the case now before the High Court. Mrs. Fennell and two other married women teachers employed by the Borough of East Ham had sent to them on November 1 of last year notices purporting to terminate their engagements as teachers. The plaintiffs are claiming that these notices do not duly and lawfully determine their engagements. They say that the grounds of their dismissal are not educational, but are alien to the function of the education authority. They allege that the grounds on which they were dismissed were three; first that unemployment among unmarried women teachers might be reduced by dismissing married women; second, that married women who had husbands earning a sufficient salary and in regular employment should not themselves be earning a substantial salary so that two incomes should go into the same home; thirdly, that the proper place for a married woman was in her own home attending to her duties. They further asked for an injunction restraining the defendants from acting on these notices. It is not denied by the defendants that the three women had always exercised their duties efficiently. But the defendants do deny that in discharging the women they

had acted on other than educational grounds.

Evidence was given on behalf of the plaintiffs by Mrs. Fennell and the editor of a local paper, but their chief witness was Mr. Pope, a member of the Borough Council, himself a teacher and the husband of a married woman teacher. He stated that on none of the different committees and sub-committees on which the question had been discussed had educational efficiency been the ground on which the committees had acted.

At the time of writing the witnesses for the defence had not been heard.

Mr. Justice Lawrence stated that after the hearing of the case he would reserve judgment till the decision of the Court of Appeal had been given in the Poole case, which is probably to be heard in the course of next week. It will be remembered that in that case judgment went in favor of the women who were declared to have been dismissed on other than educational grounds.

One serious revelation was made in the course of the evidence; namely, that the Board of Education had sent a circular to the council suggesting that one of the methods by which unemployment among single women teachers could be reduced was by dismissing married women teachers. This is another indication of the extremely low status of the married woman. Her unemployment is apparently in the eyes of Whithall not unemployment. If it were not so serious there would be something of comedy in the particular form of blindness which supposes that, if the number of single women unemployed is decreased by putting out of employment the same number of married women, unemployment on the whole is diminished.

—The Woman's Leader.

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

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.
Vice-Chairman, Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Secretary, Anita Pollitzer, S. C.
Treasurer, Edith Alinge, N. Y.
Congressional Chairman, Maud Younger, Cal.
Executive Secretary, Mabel Vernon, Del.
Finance Chairman, Sarah Pell, N. Y.
Headquarters Chairman, Evelyn Wainwright, D. C.
Hdqrs. Furnishing Chr's, Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
International Relations Chrm., Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.
Organization Chairman, Laura Cramer, Mich.
Parliamentarian, Emma C. Fox, Mich.
Anne Arehbold, Me. Sophie G. Meredith, Va.
Florence B. Boeckel, D. C. Dora G. Ogle, Md.
Mrs. R. J. Caldwell, N. Y. Helen E. Scott, Md.
Zona Gale, Wis. Alice Paul, N. J.
Sara Grogan, Ga. Dr. Caroline Spencer, Colo.
Kathleen Hendrie, Mich. Amelia Himes Walker, Md.
Elsie Hill, Conn. Florence B. Whitehouse, Me.
Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y. Margery Whittemore, Mich.
Elizabeth T. Kent, Cal. 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.

Republican Responsibility

THE National Woman's Party calls upon the Republican Party, which controls the present Congress, for the immediate passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. As we held the Democratic Party responsible in 1913, and the following years when that party was in power, for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, so we now look to the Republican Party for the submission of the Equal Rights Amendment to the State Legislatures before the Sixty-ninth Congress ends.

Today, in far greater degree than in 1913, the idea of party responsibility in government is established in the United States. The political party which has a President in the White House, a majority in the Senate and in the House, is now commonly styled the "party in power," and to that party credit or blame is given for the legislation it enacts. When the Woman's Party (then called the Congressional Union) declared in 1913 that the Democrats should be held responsible for their disposal of the suffrage amendment, the idea of party responsibility, especially for legislation of importance to women, was so new that precious effort and much energy was wasted on years of discussion of this point among suffragists themselves. The truth of the idea and the wisdom of the policy was finally proved by success. Suffrage experience should prevent such waste in the Equal Rights campaign. Today we assert and certainly need no argument to establish that the majority party is responsible for action or inaction on the Equal Rights Amendment.

IN the Sixty-ninth Congress which opened on December 7 the Republican Party is in power. A Republican President is in the White House. In the Senate, with a membership of 96, there are 56 Republicans, 39 Democrats and 1 Third Party member—thus giving to the Republicans a majority of 16. In the House, with a membership of 435, there are 247 Republicans, 183 Democrats and 5 Third Party representatives, making a majority of 59 for the Republicans. In short, the Republicans are in a position to give immediate and effective support to the Equal Rights Amendment. Therefore, to this party, which boasts of its traditions of winning greater liberty for oppressed peoples, is given the opportunity of freeing women from ancient subjection and giving them complete equality with men in the laws and customs of our land.

THE declaration of Equal Rights will be written sooner or later into our National Constitution. This is inevitable. We must make the Republicans see that the party which uses its power to establish Equal Rights will be able to point with pride to an unsurpassed achievement and will provide itself with an unequalled piece of campaign material—always an important consideration among political parties—which will bring to it strength and prestige.

A certain measure of Republican support has already been given to the Amendment. It is sponsored by Senator Curtis, Republican leader in the Senate and one of the most powerful men in his party, who introduced the measure in the Senate on December 8, the second day of the session. The Chairman of the Judiciary Committee to which the resolution was referred is Senator Cummins, another powerful Republican who in unequivocal terms has declared himself a friend of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The task now before all women who desire the passage of the Amendment in the present session is to impress the opportunity and responsibility of the Republicans upon President Coolidge, the head of the party, and upon national party leaders in such a way that these men who control party programs can no longer ignore and must finally support the Equal Rights Amendment.

The National Woman's Party, just as it unceasingly demanded of the Democrats the passage of the National Suffrage Amendment, when that party controlled our national Government, will now constantly urge upon the Republican Party, while that party is in power, its responsibility for the Equal Rights Amendment. As this policy brought success in the suffrage fight, so we believe it will win in the campaign for Equal Rights. The time of accomplishment depends upon the intensity of our work. As Congress opens, we call upon the members of the Woman's Party and upon every believer in woman's equality to place the freedom of women above all other considerations and to give the best of themselves to work for this cause. If this is done, the Republican Party must give its support to our measure and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by the present session of Congress is assured.

The Man Who Introduced the Equal Rights Amendment

READERS of Equal Rights will be interested in the article in *Collier's*, October 3, 1925 issue, by William Allen White, on Senator Curtis, who introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate. Senator Curtis bore the brunt of the fight in the United States Senate for the suffrage amendment and has always been a strong advocate of measures for the advancement of women. He says himself that two of the most important decisions in his life were due to women. These decisions are referred to in this article. It reads in part:

"Since 1919, when Woodrow Wilson lost the leadership of the world and of his own country, America has been led, if not governed, by the United States Senate. President Wilson, broken in health, struggled tragically to hold his leadership. Presidents Harding and Coolidge have striven as impotently if not so tragically to keep the hollow forms of leadership in the White House.

"President Harding came from the Senate. He was nominated by a senatorial cabal which controlled the Republican National Convention of 1920. Out of courtesy the Senate let him save his Presidential face. In return for the senatorial kindness he allowed the Senate to entrench itself in power. Two senatorial blocs formed under him and continued to function under Coolidge for the first two years of his term—the agrarian bloc and the so-called irreconcilables; one bipartisan, the other for the most part Republican.

"When President Coolidge came to the White House the Senate entente was broken. By resolution the Senate demanded changes in the President's cabinet. Two members, Denby and Daugherty, left under senatorial pressure. The Senate then refused to confirm the appointment of Charles B. Warren to a place in the cabinet. The blocs were unchecked.

"Entering his first elective term President Coolidge found the Senate organized, not against him, but quite independently of him. His pious determination to be merely a constitutional President made his tremendous majority a movie victory, for the Senate leads the Congress and the Congress defies the President and so rules the land.

"Now the Senate leadership is nominally and actually in the hands of Charles Curtis of Kansas, a Senator of the United States since 1907, barring a lapse of two years when he fell among the Rooseveltian Philistines.

"Charles Curtis came to Congress in 1893, and spent fourteen years in the House of Representatives before coming to the Senate. He was elected to his first

office, county attorney of Shawnee County, Kansas, in 1884, and barring six years of 'rest from his loved employ' has been in office for forty years.

"Curtis, considered as a product of blood and habitat, is fairly inevitable as a leader. In his veins are three potent strains of inheritance—Indian, French, and New England.

Unto Her a Son Is Born

By Sara Bard Field

She flung her soul across the Vast,
A ball of spark and mire.
When it came to rest at last,
Heaven was on fire.

IN the early part of the nineteenth century Curtis' great-grandfather, a Frenchman living near St. Louis, married the daughter of White Plume, a Kaw Indian chief. She was the granddaughter of Chief Pawhuskie of the Osage tribe. Julie Conville, the daughter of this Indian woman, married Louis Pappan, a French trader near St. Louis in the middle of the century and the Pappans moved with the Kaw Indians to their reservation in Kansas. Senator Curtis' grandmother, Julie Conville Pappan, had an Indian allotment—a farm near North Topeka, Kansas, where Curtis was born, the child of Ellen Pappan and Captain O. A. Curtis.

Now the Curtises were from Indiana out of New England—old New England. His grandmother, Pamela Hubbard, came with her New England conscience from New Hampshire and her people, the Hubbards, came from Massachusetts, where they appeared in 1621. Ten years later the Curtises landed in New York. With the adventurers of freedom who rushed into Kansas in the mid-fifties came in '56 O. A. Curtis, who married the Indian girl Ellen Pappan, went to the Civil War and returned a brave soldier and a captain after the war of the sixties was over.

"No mere political happen-so is this man Curtis. The scion of two Indian chieftains of more than local fame was probably going to be a leader of his fellows.

"The grandson of a Frenchman was

going to have a certain charm and romantic flare in his life. And that Hubbard blood doomed him inexorably to a life-term servitude of details—dry, hard details that under his imagination were bound to take some definite shape in a constructive form.

"THE French and Indians got him first. His early career was romantic. His mother died when he was three years old and he went to the Kaw reservation sixty miles west of Topeka with his grandmother, Julie Pappan, who was living with her mother's people—reservation Indians. The illimitable prairie was there; hunting was a part of the child's daily life. Dogs and horses were the companions of babyhood and boyhood, and at eight Charles Curtis was a jockey, riding races at the fairs. At ten he had a name in the State and at twelve he was a figure in his part of the world; a lithe, handsome, blackhaired, black-eyed boy, the Indian jockey—'ol' Cap Curtis' boy."

After the Cheyenne Indian raid in 1868, Charles Curtis went back to his father's people and lived with his father's parents—in Topeka, Kansas. When the government sent the Kaw Indians from Morris County, Kansas, to the Indian Territory—where now Oklahoma is—the little Curtis boy desired to go with his grandmother Pappan.

"He joined the tribal hegira. But the first trek out of Topeka Julie Pappan came to him late at night and told him to go back—and he did so. He walked to Topeka. In the winter he went to school; in the summer and fall he followed the races. When he was sixteen years old he had a winter contract for riding—a good one, worth more money to him than his father could have made. But again a wise woman's voice spoke to him—his Curtis grandmother, Pamela Hubbard Curtis of New Hampshire, persuaded him to quit the track and go to school. So he went through the grades of the common school and began life on his own.

"The New England blood was forever calling him, and in the livery stable he spent his spare hours with his books. He got a job as a reporter on a North Topeka paper and in his late teens went about writing and soliciting subscribers.

"Thus he began to use his brains to promote his career. He found that he could remember names and faces. He knew the names of men and women all over Shawnee County who were to be his assets when he entered politics. Also here is where he got his first windfall—the inheritance from the Convilles and Pap-

pans, his blessed gift as a handshaker, the indefinable thing called charm which binds men to one forever. His more favored enemies referred to him as 'the Injun,' or being sarcastic, 'the Noble Red Man of the Forest,' or for short, 'Lo!' Be that as it may, he has never lost a friend or trusted an enemy in all his long and rising career.

"How curiously different are the lines of these two lives, that of Curtis the plainsman, and Coolidge the Green Mountaineer; lives that were to come together so closely in the third decade of the new century and to carry with them such power for good or evil in the history of mankind. Curtis, the little Indian jockey with his fantastic jockey clothes, was riding races the year Coolidge was born, driving a bus, studying between hours in the livery stable as Coolidge was coddled, a sheltered, shy and rather lonely child.

"SO with his French and Indian inheritance Curtis entered life. At nineteen he began studying law in Topeka and when twenty-one he was admitted to the bar. He went into local politics. He was, of course, an organization man and a Republican by inheritance. He appeared at the city and county conventions with the names of hundreds of farmers at his tongue's tip.

"He was a handsome lad in that day—slight, with the jockey's lighthness, with affectionate, black, caressing eyes hard to forget; with a fine, olive skin, and a haymow of black hair and a curling black mustache. Add to that a gentle, ingratiating voice and an easy flow of innocuous conversation unimpeded by pestiferous ideas, and you have a creature God sent into politics. The North Topeka folks called him 'Our Charley.' So when he was twenty-four years old he was elected prosecuting attorney of Shawnee County—the county which contained the capital of the State of Kansas.

"Four years before young Curtis was made prosecuting attorney, in 1880, Kansas had adopted prohibition. Young Curtis, whose fame as a jockey was still fresh in the minds of his fellow citizens, was elected by the wets. They did not question him. They took it for granted that he was with them. And then the day after his elevation to office he went to work on the open saloons of Topeka with all the energy of a crusader. The wets had forgotten about Pamela Hubbard and the New England conscience!

"Curtis closed the saloons of Topeka. He was triumphantly re-elected. At twenty-eight he retired from office and became a criminal lawyer with an assured practice. He made money; his law office was busy. Every fall he went out campaigning for the Republicans.

"It was in the spring of 1892, when

Calvin Coolidge was a scrawny freshman stepping on his feet at Amherst, that they nominated 'Our Charley' for Congress at the Fourth District Convention in the little town opera house at Emporia.

"Early in his congressional career Congressman Curtis discovered an important fact about the politics of his day: that ward and precinct caucuses are controlled by persons who have the greatest interest in controlling these meetings. Caucuses control delegates to county conventions, and county conventions control delegates to district and State conventions, and they all control nominations of political parties. Those, therefore, who control caucuses control nominations, and those who control nominations rule the land.

"In Congressman Curtis' district control lay with the railroads, the Santa Fe, the Missouri-Pacific, and the Rock Island. In Topeka the Santa Fe shopmen and the Santa Fe office people, working with the Rock Island employees, appearing in the party caucuses could control a minority of the Shawnee County convention sufficiently large to dominate it. In Atchison the Missouri-Pacific employees held the strategic position. In Horton the Rock Island men dominated. Thus all over America the railroads and the organized industries controlled politics.

"Being a practical man with a good brain Curtis went to the sources of control. He made friends with this railroad vote. Later as he came to know his way around in Washington he made friends with those who controlled the Kansas railroad attorneys, and so became entrenched in power. He was undefeatable in conventions by reason of his accurate knowledge of the forces that dominate men, and at the polls he commanded majorities because of the charm of his personality—the palaver of him—and because he had personal relations with all his district.

"IN Kansas, in those days of the first decade of our century, his enemies charged that Curtis was not a statesman but an errand boy: an errand boy for place hunters, an errand boy for the railroads, and errand boy for the old soldier who was sadly marching into the sunset. But Curtis has his side. To understand that side is to understand the man who almost next to the President of the United States, is influencing the course of our country.

"Curtis' mind is factual. If he had gone to college he would have been a scientist. He never has cared particularly for money. He cares less for theories of life. 'Jobs please friends' is a simple statement of fact. 'Friends help in elections' is another simple statement. There was that end, the Kansas end. The Washington end ran thus: Men give jobs to

friends. To get patronage be friendly. Make friends and serve Kansas; let the reformers go rave. So Curtis became messenger for those who had favors to give. He profited not one penny for himself. He was an honest agent.

"Speaker Reed early discovered how Curtis could be trusted. Reed used Curtis. And Curtis became Mercury for Cannon. Cabinet members trusted Curtis. He did not lie; he did not steal; he did not blab. He never stopped working until the job which he had in hand was done, and always it was someone else's job. His commission was slight—just jobs for his friends. Three times has he been offered a federal judgeship by grateful Presidents and declined.

"NOW as to his friends: they also were subjects of scurrilous comment by his political enemies. His political enemies charged that Curtis' friends were the scum of creation, that he never picked men of parts and consequence. Deducting the customary 75 per cent for political exaggeration, these statements also are capable of fairly accurate demonstration. But here again Curtis has his side. It is this: His friends have all died poor.

"His senatorial career has been most interesting. It was, of course, a replica of his earlier career.

"During the fourteen years in the House, Curtis had met and worked with a majority of the men whom he met in the Senate. He learned in the House of Representatives that if he wanted a measure adopted, one of the poorest ways to get it adopted was to introduce it; one of the best ways was to let a member of a committee that naturally would be in charge of the measure introduce it, then to play upon that member's vanity, to run errands for that member and other members of the committee, until he had a majority of the committee under obligations to Curtis, and then to steer his godchild through the rapids of parliamentary procedure until the measure became a law.

"When he went to the Senate he had one chairmanship, the Committee on Indian Depredation. In the next session of Congress he slipped into the Appropriations Committee and into the Committee on the Five Civilized Tribes. Session after session he kept growing into power in committees where there was direct power over government rather than over legislation.

"Major issues mean little to Curtis. The very fact that he has been in Congress a third of a century and has sponsored no pet measures of national importance makes it possible for him to take such measures as the gods provide and wrangle them through the Senate much as a horseman cuts his pony out of a herd."