

Equal Rights

VOL. XI, No. 49
FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY,
JANUARY 17, 1925



MARGARET WHITTEMORE

Vice-President of the National Woman's Party, who from Headquarters in Washington is directing the nation-wide campaign for Equal Rights.

Equal Rights



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

Published weekly
at 19 West Chase Street
Baltimore, Md.

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Entered as second-class matter at Postoffice,
Baltimore, Md., under Act March 3, 1870.

Subscription, \$2.00 A Year

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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.

Is Senator Ernst Judicial?

THE attitude of Senator Ernst in persistently refusing to call a hearing for the Equal Rights Amendment before his subcommittee in the Senate raises an interesting question in the minds of the women of the country.

To what extent does the Government belong to the people?

Within whose jurisdiction is the granting or withholding of hearings on vital measures pending before the national governing bodies?

Has a chairman of a small committee of three men the entire destiny of measures so long as they remain in that committee?

Can the chairman of the said small committee express his own views to the point of having a full hearing against a measure and refuse the advocates of such a measure the right to have support of said measure presented before this subcommittee?

The question is by no means a light one, when a measure is held in the keeping of a hostile antagonist with the full power to decide the destinies of such a measure as that which provides for Equal Rights between all the men and women in the United States. The very name "Judiciary" indicates a fair, impartial attitude, and when a member in charge of vital questions fails to represent this judicial justice, one feels inclined to believe that such a member should not be placed, perhaps, in a position which constantly requires these characteristics.

Don't Be A Cipher

A GENERATION ago, when the war between science and religion was at its fiercest, a great scientist surprised the public with the statement that "Science and religion should be friends, not enemies." "God's truths are made manifest in their supreme form in nature," he maintained, and in this simple statement the members of the National Woman's Party may find a profound lesson. Every material object in nature from the smallest unicellular organism to the highest peak in the Himalayas is made up of an inconceivably great multitude of infinitesimal particles. Taken alone they are so small that no one of them is visible to the human eye, even under the microscope; but taken together they constitute all that part of the natural universe that we can apprehend. The snow-capped peak, the broad bosom of the sea, the wisest scion of the human race all are divisible and indivisible into so monstrous a number of component atoms that the mind is incompetent to reckon its sum.

In the same way a great movement is composed of vast numbers of individuals, no one of whom taken alone perhaps would count at all, but who, taken together, constitute an invincible tide. There is no more baneful error than for a woman to suppose that because she "can do so little" for Equal Rights she may as well do nothing at all. If you can do no more than write a postal to one member of the House or Senate Judiciary Committee, do that. If you can write them all, so much the better, but at least *do not be a cipher in the movement you believe in*. The one thing nature loathes is a vacuum, and no one with will-power need be it.

It is the little things in large numbers that make the big as much in Equal Rights as in Mount Everest. Which brings us to the rather personal question, "Just how many of the members of the Judiciary Committee have you written to this week urging them to report the Lucretia Mott Amendment favorably?" Lest we forget, the list appears in last week's issue.

More To Be Pitied

ON another page of this issue we reprint in full a vitriolic attack on Equal Rights and the Woman's Party that appeared in the editorial columns of the *Chicago Journal of Commerce and La Salle Street Journal*. We do this not because the article in question is worth printing on its own merits, but because it is so perfect an example of the root of the opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. The entire editorial can be summed up in one word—ignorance.

It is clear that the unfortunate man who composed the editorial knew no more about the "unimportant disabilities to which women are now liable under various laws" than he did of "all the special privileges with which the law now endows the weaker sex."

He refers to his sensitive ears. May it not be that the sensitive spot is a little higher up and is within, not outside, his cranial cavity?

Women's Position in Ireland

HOW the story of the legendary Queen Maeve of Ireland shows that the women of ancient Ireland, before the advent of Christianity, held superior rights to those accorded women in the Middle Ages, and how modern Irish women have again won something near equality, was told by Maria Teresa Haden, professor of Irish history at the National University, Dublin, at the first meeting of the New Year, held at National Woman's Party Headquarters on January 6 under the auspices of the District of Columbia Branch of the Woman's Party.

Queen Maeve, according to the legend, freely chose her husband. She was not bartered, nor was her husband chosen by her parents. She considered courage necessary in the man who was to be the king consort, because she was a courageous woman, and could not have as a husband a man lacking that quality.

She had a right to hold her property separate from her husband's property, for the story tells how they had an accounting to see who was the richest in treasure. The story tells how their gold and silver, their fine robes, their sheep and horses were equal, but when they came to count their cattle it was found that the king had a bull more valuable than any Queen Maeve owned. Whereupon, she set out to search Ireland for a bull which would equal her husband's in value. From this story it would seem that the husband in ancient Ireland had no title in his wife's possessions.

IN all the legends of this period women freely went about in public, entertained men and were entertained by them, and in every way participated equally in human activities with the men.

The first appearance of a discrimination against women was the prohibition against their inheriting land. This provision was made because the land was considered as primarily owned by the state and held in trust by the men who used it. It was feared that a woman might marry a man from some other state or some other country, and that thus a foreigner might obtain a foothold on Irish land. Later this law was amended to permit women to inherit land under certain conditions.

Under the Gaelic law a wife of equal dowry had a right to retain her dowry and a fair share of the community property in case of divorce. The fosterage fee, however, was higher for girls, and it was required that girls sent out for fosterage be given different kinds of training, par-

ticularly in the household arts, from the kind given boys.

Coming to modern times, passing over the period when women were subjected in Ireland as elsewhere, we find that the first petition for suffrage for women was sent to Parliament in the late fifties. The early work for woman's suffrage in Ireland was led by Mrs. Anna Maria Haslam and her husband, Thomas Haslam, members of the Society of Friends. They worked for sixty years for freedom for women. Mrs. Haslam died in November, 1922, at the age of more than ninety-three years, having lived to see suffrage come to Irish women. Her husband, however, died a few months before women were given parliamentary suffrage.

IN the 1890's municipal suffrage was given to women householders in Ireland. This meant that women who owned their houses, or who owned the furnishings of their apartments, could vote for municipal offices.

During this period the Woman's Suffrage bill was introduced into every Parliament, but was always talked or laughed down. When the militant suffragists began their work, however, the subject ceased to be a laughing matter, and the militants were a very powerful factor in obtaining suffrage for women. Dr. Haden told of the severe punishment meted out to women for their militant activities, comparable to the time when American women were jailed for freedom. A woman who broke glass worth about ten dollars was given two months' imprisonment. At the same time a woman of comfortable means who had let her two children die of hunger and exposure to the cold was given six weeks' imprisonment for her offense.

THE Women's Franchise Bill of 1919 gave women the right to vote, but set the age at which they could vote nine years higher than the age for men—though the marriage age for women is lower on the theory that women develop earlier. Under this English bill women vote at thirty, while the men vote at twenty-one.

In the early days of suffrage as many as 90 per cent. of the enfranchised women took advantage of their opportunity to use the ballot. The percentage has fallen recently, however.

The Constitution of the Irish Free State gives, in Article III, "equal rights to all citizens," but in a second draft the word *political* was inserted before *rights*. Although the time was short, a petition

was drafted, many signatures obtained, and the petition rushed to the drafters of the document. After considerable argument the word was removed and the equal rights principle became a part of the Constitution of the Irish Free State. Under it women vote at the age of twenty-one, as men do.

The constitution is so new that it is not yet certain how it will be interpreted. It is thought, however, that property rights, divorce rights, guardianship rights, etc., will be equal.

FOUR instances have occurred where men and women have not equal rights. One is in the case of the scholarships awarded to boys and girls to permit them to leave the primary schools, which do not prepare for admission to the universities, and enter the secondary schools to prepare for college. The sum allotted for the girls is less than that allotted for the boys, although it costs a girl just as much to live in the schools as it costs the boys. Furthermore, this discrimination against the girls will make it much harder than it already is for peasant girls to obtain permission from their parents to leave home to attend the schools. It is already hard, because the parents are less willing to have the girls leave home than the boys, because the girls are more useful in housework and other work than the boys are.

The second instance is in the higher civil service, which admits citizens to service in the ministries and such positions. Several women applied to take the first examinations announced after the constitution was adopted. They were told that only men were eligible, since the constitution said "citizens or sons of citizens." One young woman fought the case, declaring that she was not a son of a citizen, but was herself a citizen. The order for the examinations was immediately cancelled, and another order issued, the announcement for which specifically stated that only men were eligible. The women are making a test case and are asking that the government be inhibited from holding the examination until the case is settled. The best legal opinion in Ireland says that it is probable that the women will win the case.

The third case is that of the women postoffice employes, who must retire at an earlier age than men retire, and are in general paid less and given less promotion.

The fourth case is that of jury service. Against the opposition of the women's societies a measure was passed allowing women to be exempt from jury service

simply upon their request. The result was that two-thirds of the women asked exemption. One of the papers said that this large number of exemptions proved that women should be granted the privilege of exemption on request. Dr. Haden wrote to the paper, pointing out that nobody wants to serve on juries, and that if men were permitted exemption on request, not two-thirds of them, but 90 per cent. of them would request it.

"Women have made remarkable advances in Ireland in my own day," Dr.

Haden concluded. "When I was a girl there were no women in the universities, though by the time I was ready to enter the university they were being admitted. There were no women in banks. There were no women in public offices. Today women are taking an active part in public life. Ireland sent a woman to the League of Nations as an authority on factories and labor."

Dr. Haden was the only woman sent as a delegate from Britain to the Anglo-American Historical Conference, held in

conjunction with the American Historical Association in Richmond, Va., during the Christmas holidays.

Lucy Branham presided at the meeting and announced the program of the series of open weekly meetings to be held by the District of Columbia Branch. Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, chairman of the Homemakers' Council of the National Woman's Party, was hostess, and poured tea for a large number of women and a few men who listened to Dr. Haden's illuminating address.

Mrs. Matthews Addresses Headquarters Meeting

By Ruby A. Black

IN spite of the snowstorm, the drawing-room of the National Woman's Party was filled Sunday afternoon when Burnita Shelton Matthews, Chairman of the Legal Research Department of the National Woman's Party, explained the Woman's Party program already initiated in State Legislatures. Other measures will be later undertaken in other States, and perhaps in the States where work has already begun. The following measures are to be pushed by the various State branches of the Woman's Party:

Texas—A bill allowing married women to make contracts; an equal guardianship measure, and an equal divorce measure, the present divorce law permitting a man to get a divorce on the grounds of a single act of infidelity on the part of the wife, when the wife can get a divorce only if her husband deserts her to live with some other woman in open relationship.

Colorado—A constitutional amendment to make women eligible for jury service.

Idaho—A jury service measure.

Delaware—A measure to allow the mother and the father equal inheritance rights in the personal property of deceased children, the last Legislature having passed a measure giving them equal inheritance rights in the real estate of deceased children.

Iowa—An amendment to the State Constitution to permit women to serve in the State Legislature.

Rhode Island—Measures to give mothers equal rights with fathers in the guardianship of children and the services and earnings of minor children; a jury service bill and an equal pay for teachers bill.

Massachusetts—A bill giving women teachers equal pay with men teachers.

Michigan—A bill giving the mother and father equal rights in the services and earnings of minor children; a measure giving the husband and wife equal rights to the income and profit of property jointly owned, and a law removing the common-law disabilities of women.

New Jersey—An equal pay for teachers bill.

RESOLUTION sent by the District of Columbia Branch at its Sunday meeting to the Senate Judiciary Committee:

"Whereas the Equal Rights Amendment is now in the Senate Judiciary Committee, sub-committee, of which Senator Ernst of Kentucky is chairman, and

"Whereas the opponents of this measure had a full hearing before the committee in the spring, and

"Whereas the Woman's Party has been trying ever since to have a time appointed for a hearing in favor of the measure; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this meeting call upon Senator Ernst to appoint a time for a hearing and specify that the 26th day of January is the date most convenient for the Woman's Party; and be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be sent to Senator Cummins, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and to Senator Ernst."

California—A general equal rights measure similar to the Wisconsin Equal Rights Act.

Georgia—A measure giving the wife right to her own earnings and services.

New Mexico and Nevada—A measure giving married women equal rights with

their husbands to will away half of their community property.

New York—Repeal of the law prohibiting women from working at night in certain occupations.

In connection with the New York "No Night Work Law," Mrs. Matthews told the story behind the case on which the United States Supreme Court upheld the law. A woman, whose husband had gone to the war, worked as a waitress from 6 o'clock to midnight because she felt these hours left her free during the day so that she could take care of her two children. She put the children to bed and went to work at 6 o'clock. Her employer understood her position and kept her on at night. He was arrested and fined, and the decision was upheld by the Supreme Court. This mother now cannot work while her children sleep, but must work in the daytime.

Mrs. Matthews urged the need of a Federal Amendment, both because of the difficulty and expense of removing discriminations against women by separate statutes in every State and because such laws removing unjust discriminations are continually in danger of being repealed. Mrs. Matthews gave as example the repeal of the excellent illegitimacy law in North Dakota and the current movement to repeal the New York State law giving women teachers equal pay with men, and the movement in the United States Congress to repeal the Cable Act, giving American women the right to retain their citizenship when they marry.

Margaret Whittemore, who presided at the meeting, told of the hostility of Senator Ernst, before whose subcommittee the Equal Rights Amendment now is, and of his refusal to grant a hearing to the advocates of the measure. The meeting adopted a resolution demanding a hearing on the measure. Caroline F. Wilson presented the resolution to Senator Cummins, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Opinion of an Expert

AMY WREN, Brooklyn attorney, who had just been sworn in as Deputy Attorney-General of the State of New York, in a newspaper interview immediately following her induction into office pointed out vividly the hardships wrought on working women by legislation designed to "protect" them.

"Uplift gets lovely jobs for the uplifters. That's about all I can see to it. * * * If they only knew what they were doing! But they never do. I ought to love them. They get me jobs. I am counsel for the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Women's League. It was formed when the welfare legislation that these kind-hearted uplifters worked for was put through. When so much was done for the poor, hard-working sister in industry, she almost lost her job. It cost the B.-M. T. women \$3000 to undo the good that was done for them and to have part of that beneficent legislation repealed!

"If the bill the uplifters worked for had been kept, it would have been impossible for the railroads to hire women. As conditions are now, they can't be conductors.

Oh, no! That's unwomanly, and one gets around \$40 a week for it—but they can be ticket agents—that's very lady-like and, besides, it only brings a salary in the twenties. That certainly would not wreck anyone's health! * * *

AS far as I can see, if a debutante can dance all night without injuring the chances of the future generations for health and all that, there's no reason why they shouldn't be allowed to work all night if they wish.

"A waitress can't wait on table after 10 at night, but there's nothing to hinder a woman from scrubbing office floors into the wee sma' hours if she desires. She has perfect liberty to do that. In fact, she has liberty to do almost all the dirty jobs. But when she gets into pleasant work—then the uplifters get busy. And the big-hearted men's labor unions, too.

"They can't bear to see sister working too hard or holding down jobs they would like to have. As the B.-M. T. women said, 'When we were working twelve hours a day for about twelve cents an hour, no one cared a darn, but when we get to the

point where we have some equality with men, the reformers get together and disqualify us.'

"And that is the truth of the matter. They act as disqualifiers of women. If men were protected by welfare legislation, too, the women would not object, but until both men and women are equally protected, it is stupid to think one is permanently helping the race."

MISS WREN is the second to hold the position of Deputy Attorney General. She succeeds Jeanette Brill. Her work will be with the State Industrial Commission, handling workmen's compensation insurance.

Miss Wren was graduated from the Brooklyn Law School and admitted to the bar in 1908. She worked while a student at law school, and had before that been in the publishing and the advertising business. She is president of the Women's Press Club of New York City, president of the Brooklyn Women's Bar Association, and chairman of the Legal Department of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs.

News From The Field

ENTHUSIASM and interest have made it possible for the District of Columbia Branch of the National Woman's Party to transform its series of bi-monthly meetings at National Headquarters into a series of weekly meetings. The program of the National Woman's Party and the way in which equal rights measures have worked out in the eight countries which already have the equal rights principle in their constitutions are the two subjects to which the meetings are devoted. Ireland and Russia are on the program the first month. The campaign in the forty State legislatures and in Congress and economic equality for women are the subjects of the first meetings devoted to the party program.

On Sunday, January 18, Jessica Granville Smith, formerly relief worker with the American Friends' Service Commission in Russia, will talk on "Women in Russia." Emma Wold, legal research secretary of the National Woman's Party, will preside.

On January 25 Doris Stevens, vice-president of the National Woman's Party, will speak on "Economic and Industrial Equality." Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, chairman of the Homemakers' Council, will preside.

The meetings are open to the public. They are held every Sunday at 4.30 P. M.

REMOVAL of discrimination in law against women is one of the principles advocated by Governor Al Smith of New York in his inaugural message.

Rhode Island Introduces Bills

REPUBLICAN leaders in the Rhode Island Legislature have introduced the following Equal Rights measures, drafted by the National Woman's Party: A measure providing for jury service by women; an equal pay for teachers bill, and an equal guardianship bill. Mrs. Fred S. Flanner, as legislative chairman of the Rhode Island branch of the National Woman's Party, obtained the introduction of these measures.

Conference Held in California

THE California branch of the National Woman's Party held a conference on January 10 to discuss the Equal Rights measures to be introduced in the California Legislature. The California branch, of which Genevieve Allen is State organizer, is expected to sponsor a general Equal Rights measure for California drafted along the lines of the Wisconsin Equal Rights Act.

Woodbury High Holds Debate

MRS. RUTH M. BILLIKOPF, chairman of the Pennsylvania branch of the National Woman's Party, calls attention to an excellent method of interesting the rising generation in Equal Rights.

"I am enclosing a report," she writes, "of a debate which was recently held at one of our high schools. Mrs. Du Bois, one of the teachers at the school, came to see me about a month ago to get material and to secure a speaker to address the senior class. Mrs. Dornblum very kindly consented to present our side so that the seniors might have material for working up the debate. The result seems quite satisfactory." The topic of the debate was: "Resolved, That the Equal Rights Amendment Should Be Adopted Into Our Federal Constitution."

The seniors chose the affirmative and the juniors the negative side, and the report reads: "After all had been said, the judges decided that the Amendment should be adopted into our Constitution."

The debate was held in the school auditorium before a large number of enthusiastic students. The value of educational work of this kind cannot be overestimated. Other communities please copy!

From The Press

The Feminist Amendment

Chicago Journal of Commerce and La Salle Street Journal.
December 17.

support the so-called Equal Rights Amendment. If Senator Cummins has done that, we wonder what Iowa will think of it.

Making a rough guess, we should say that there are a hundred reasons why every member of Congress should oppose this amendment. The first is that the amendment hasn't any sense to it. The second is that the amendment will not help any member of Congress back home. The other 98 will be supplied when necessary. If there is a crying out loud for this trailer to the Constitution, the sound has strangely failed to reach our sensitive ears.

The amendment would stretch out a rough hand and sweep out of the way all the unimportant disabilities to which women are now liable under various laws. And while doing that it would also endanger all the special privileges with which the law now endows the physically weaker sex. Are there special laws here and there which favor women? Are their hours of work limited in one State, and are they prevented from engaging in certain unhealthy occupations or processes in another State? Well, all these safeguards, all these protections which have been created because of woman's inherent physical differences from man and her physical weaknesses—all these privileges will be endangered in order that the handful of radical feminists who call themselves the Woman's Party may feel the glow that comes of the possession of Equal Rights!

Where does the demand for the misnamed "Equal Rights" Amendment come from? Not from the women who are benefiting by the present legislation relating to the employment of women in industry! Their representatives have protested earnestly against compliance with the vehement demands of the well-to-do women who are making a hobby of the Woman's Party.

The women of America, according to the feminist leaders, demand the approval of the proposed amendment. The women of America do nothing of the kind. A clear majority of American women don't even know such an amendment has been proposed.

There is not a Senator, there is not a Congressman, who cannot coolly ignore the heated demands of the Woman's Party without being in the slightest dan-

THE National Woman's Party issues a statement declaring that Senator Cummins, who is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has promised to sup-

ger back home. The case of Senator Cummins is an example. Does any man who has a close acquaintance with the people of Iowa really believe they want to have the feminist amendment win? No, Senator Cummins won't make any votes that way; and if he considers the amendment solely upon its merits, he should perceive its perniciousness.

It is always easy to overestimate the power of a vocal minority, and especially is this so when the minority consists of women; and still more especially when they are women of social standing. We have never known of an instance in which a politician who disregarded the importunities of such women ever lived to regret it. They are not representative of the women of America. They represent nothing except their own restless desire to prove they're just as good as men. And inasmuch as everybody recognizes that anyhow, why prove it?

Influence of Women in Politics Is Good

Dr. Frank Crane in the Baltimore News,
January 5.

In England, Lady Astor, the Duchess of Athol and Mrs. Hilton Philipson were returned to office.

In the United States, "Ma" Ferguson was elected Governor of Texas, another woman was chosen Governor of Wyoming, and Mrs. Knapp was returned to the office of Secretary of State in New York.

The influence of women in politics is a good one. Women are conservative, but with a tendency toward progression. Lady Astor says that it is alarming that the election in England swept so many reactionary Conservatives into Parliament. "Reactionary Conservatives," she says, "or, rather, the die-hards, are always against women. Still, so many Conservatives have been returned that I am hoping they will be able to help against the Reactionaries."

Women are naturally Conservatives. They do not have the adventurous spirit of men, and are more inclined to conserve what we have than to go after things that we have not. When a woman becomes a Communist, or Socialist, or Anarchist, she is usually more violent than a man. The trouble is that such things are not in accordance with her nature.

The business of law-making and governing is rapidly passing into the hands of women. They are adapted for the discharge of such duties. Government in the last analysis is but a species of house-

keeping, and woman is the natural housekeeper.

Far from looking upon the advent of women into politics as a revolutionary thing, it is rather to be viewed as evolutionary. More and more they are going to come into Government until finally the most of Government shall pass into their hands.

Woman will never succeed in business, or the creative arts, for those are things that require initiative and adventure; but for governing and law-making she is admirably adapted.

The perfect Government should have a perfect balance between Conservatism and Liberalism. And that balance is maintained better by women than by men.

Two Million Dollar Fund Treasurer's Report

SHELDON JACKSON, *Treasurer*
NETTIE TRAIL: *C. P. A., Auditor.*

RECEIPTS of National Headquarters, December 7, 1912, to January 1, 1925, \$1,284,202.38.

Contributions, membership receipts and other receipts, January 1, 1925, to January 10, 1925.

Mrs. Kate Campbell Robertson, D. C.	\$30.00
Per New Jersey Branch	5.00
Miss Lavinia L. Dock, Pa.	5.00
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.	25.00
Mrs. Anne T. Renshaw, D. C.	10.00
Miss Eleanor Brannan, N. Y.	410.00
Mrs. J. M. Stoddard, N. Y.	5.00
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Rent of rooms at Headquarters	107.00

Total receipts, January 1, 1925, to January 10, 1925.....\$805.00
Total receipts, December 7, 1912, to January 10, 1925.....\$1,285,007.38

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