

tion in Indiana, bootlegging in Kansas, alien labor in the factories, Catholic office-holders where there are any—and also where there are not!—a Jew's defense of unrestricted immigration, high taxes, high railway rates, grafting contractors, parochial schools, the latest local scandal, use of any and every resentment that is handy. The kleagles everywhere get inside the community psychology.

The second point is that opposition is of great value to the Klan, especially illegal or violent opposition. Every such case, and there are many, is used to prove the perversion of Americanism and the domination of officials by Catholics, Jews, or aliens. The fact that a boy was fined \$100 for selling a copy of the "Fiery Cross" was one of the best talking points in the campaign that gave the Klan half a million members in Indiana. The attacks on Klan parades in several places brought swarms of recruits. "If we could have a riot a week, we'd own the country in a year," one Klan organizer told me, and he gave figures to prove it. Almost all Klansmen religiously believe that these attacks were ordered by Catholic priests, a sort of religious persecution, and were also ordered stopped because they failed to check the Klan.

Curiously, this has had a reaction somewhat favorable to the Catholics, for, as one Klan official said, "If they're fools enough to do a thing like that, they can't really be very dangerous." I assured him that I didn't believe the Church was responsible, but do not know yet whether my remark hurt or helped the Klan—assuming that I convinced him.

Thus the evidence seems conclusive that the business of kluxing carries with it not only stimulation of patriotism and of a sense of civic duty, but very grave evils. These include the appeal to and

**THE** next article, "The Lure of the White Masks," will take up the other side of the growth of the Klan, the reasons, aims, and states of mind which lead men to join it. There is one very powerful motive, which does not appear in either the propaganda or the platform of the Klan—the very common passion for removing moles from the eyes of one's neighbors.

stimulation of hatred and prejudice, the circulation of stories some of which are untrue and all of which are calculated to increase class solidarity and National division, and the gathering in of all kinds of riffraff who cannot possibly sympathize with the high aims the Klan professes. The Klan claims that it regenerates and uses such men. Even so, many evils remain; evils which it is nothing less than criminal to foster if the Klan is run for either profit or personal power, as so many believe.

Even if the Klan's own statement of its purposes be accepted, it is still possible to condone these evils on only one ground: that its purposes are high enough, its chance of achieving them good enough, and the incidental reforms it makes important enough to offset the damage it does. This plea has to be made for every organized movement, and the Klan is certainly entitled to whatever benefit it may give. It can also plead in defense the efforts it is making to suppress these evils, and if it should succeed in stamping them out, as it has practically stamped out violence, its position would be immensely strengthened. But there would always remain all the disruptive force implied in its platform of "native, white, Protestant supremacy."

## Women in Politics

By MAYME OBER PEAK

This article is based on a series of interviews with the outstanding women leaders of America. It includes women who are high in the councils of the old parties and women who have refused to affiliate with the great political parties of the past

**W**HERE there's a woman, according to the old theory, there's a triangle. Which seems to hold good in politics. But not in the matter of sex. Women vow that sex shall not enter politics. They vote as citizens, not women. Being women, however, they are naturally argumentative, and are divided in their opinion as to the best way to make their vote count.

Given an outlook beyond the narrow confines of home, women were astonished to find politics so closely allied with other things. It came as a surprise to them to learn that politics meant street laws, ash barrels, speeding laws, the school, the movie, and the playground; that politics, as Kathleen Norris aptly puts it, "was not a mysterious big machine turning vaguely somewhere in space, with no reference to your boys and mine, your little girls and their school, their first beaux and their first babies."

With the realization that the way they

voted would have a profound influence on all these things, came the desire to vote right. And, woefully aware of their lack of political knowledge, the first thing the women undertook was to learn *how to vote right*.

They attended citizenship schools and leagues and joined organizations specializing on women as voting citizens. Which non-partisan training is largely responsible for the woman's vote being the independent unit it is to-day.

A man inherits his politics, voting as his father and grandfather before him. This is not true of a woman. She takes her politics as seriously as her job, and more seriously than her religion. She may be a Presbyterian because her mother is, but she will not be a Democrat because of her father or husband.

She prefers to work out her political salvation, and in doing so has found herself hesitating at the crossroads, before three signposts. These signposts, point-

ing three different ways to reach the main highway, may be represented as follows:

First, the influence exercised by the women executive heads of the two big political parties, the Republicans and Democrats, who argue that the best way to reach the desired goal is by becoming stanch party supporters and working *inside* the parties *with* men.

Second, the League of Women Voters, who urge a period of reflection before becoming identified with either political party and who preach a non-partisan doctrine that enrollment in one party is not confinement for life. They believe in voting by principle instead of party; in placing intelligence and conscience above party loyalty.

Third, the National Woman's Party, which is what its name implies—a separate woman's party working for women *against* men.

This last party, of which Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont is National President and Miss



International

**Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont**

**National President of the National Woman's Party**

Alice Paul, Vice-President, represents the militant suffragists, who, like the Irish, seem to have got the habit. Although they won what they "fit for"—the vote—they claim the vote is all they did get; that the discriminations against women are just what they always were, and that the only way for women to get them removed is to hit men over the head instead of chucking them under the chin.

These militant women call their National headquarters—a group of historic buildings directly across the plaza from the National Capitol, purchased by Mrs. Belmont—the Watch Tower. From this important vantage they keep a watchful eye on happenings in Congress, radioing the news to their followers throughout the country.

Their programme of legislation is now crammed in a capsule known as the "Equal Rights Bill," which demands the granting to women of complete political, legal, and civil equality with men. This is strongly opposed by other women's organizations as too sweeping in its provisions, working in some cases more hardship than benefit.

The Woman's Party, however, brooks no interference. Before drafting the equal rights legislation, State and National, they first consulted lawyers of prominence in all parts of the country and in all phases of law. Satisfied with the legality of the blanket amendment, the National officers of the Woman's Party met in conference and indorsed it, and then began a campaign in its behalf



International

**Mrs. Maud Wood Park**

**President of the League of Women Voters**

among the State Legislatures. In the next election they intend to make the equal rights amendment a paramount political issue, just as they made suffrage a political issue of prime importance in previous elections.

If the powers that be do not come across, it is obvious that the Woman's Party means trouble. They represent a greater potentiality for a third party than any progressive bloc that has ever loomed on the political horizon. Their spokesman and leader frankly admits that they are on the war-path. In a recent public statement Mrs. Belmont declared:

We have a definite goal to reach, and we cannot reach that goal over either the Democratic or the Republican road. For our goal itself is a third party, a permanent political party. Women are one-half the population of this country, and we believe that that half should have its own political organization to stand for its own aspirations and ideals and political beliefs.

If to meet this situation the two principal parties should combine into one and enter the field against the Woman's Party, none would be better pleased than we.

In striking contrast to the militancy of the Woman's Party is the conservatism of the League of Women Voters, who are interested in both the Republican and Democratic parties in a disinterested way. While they do not wait to act upon policies of public interest until a regular party organization has spoken, yet they take no side in partisan politics. They

exploit and explain to the woman what individuals and parties stand for, and determine their National policies independent of party.

The pledge of the League of Women Voters is worth repeating:

Believing in government by the people, for the people, I will do my best:

First: To inform myself about public questions, the principles and policies of political parties, and the qualifications of candidates for office.

Second: To vote according to my conscience in every election at which I am entitled to vote.

Third: To obey the law, even if I am not in sympathy with all its provisions.

Fourth: To support by all fair means the policies I approve.

Fifth: To regard my citizenship as a public trust.

The League has two million members and a hundred-thousand-dollar budget. The President, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, is a leader and organizer of wide experience. Asked for an opinion on woman's progress in learning the political game, she said:

"Everywhere women have to learn the way to bridge the gap between the decision as to what they want and the proper action to take to get it. In politics, just as in every other phase of life, we need a period of reflection before action if we are to make that action effective. No political party can train the new woman voter, because political parties are organized for the success of





(C) Clinedinst, from Keystone

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair  
Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Party



Keystone

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton  
of the Republican National Committee

certain policies and for the election of candidates to carry out those policies.

"Therefore it is impossible to obtain the all-round view of facts and conditions that the new voter is desirous of having before she decides what she wants to do in political parties.

"The woman at twenty-one years is considerably older and gives a more mature consideration to political issues than the average man of that age, who automatically goes into the party of his father before him. Men accept the party ticket as a matter of course. Women haven't that habit. They want to be shown, and are taking a more conscientious view of their obligations.

"I've been in nearly every State in the Union since the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, and have watched women who were not in sympathy with the movement in the earlier day show a growing interest in politics and in education for efficient citizenship. I have found the women primarily interested in their own community problems, convinced that good government begins at home.

"To the mothers' lack of political education in the past can be traced the neglect of political duties by so many men. It is odd that we should ever have expected a boy to grow up regarding the intelligent use of the vote as a sacred duty when his mother's reply to questions about local government was usually: 'Ask father when he comes home.' It is inevitable that the child should grow

up feeling that the questions his mother could not answer were of no importance.

"This condition is changing. Mothers of to-day can answer, and are laying the foundation in the home for political education. They will teach duties of citizenship in the daily home life, and children will grow up with a different attitude toward political obligations when both parents can answer and have mutual interest in the questions put to them.

"The new methods of the women—finding out things for themselves—are making candidates candid. The League of Women Voters has a plan of not only asking the man who is running for office to define his position on public questions, but, after he has been elected, of asking whether he has lived up to his promises.

"I have been present when opposing candidates addressed mass-meetings of women. Their speeches were expositions and explanations, not arguments, each speaker giving the best understanding he could of political questions under discussion. It was an education to the hearers—the dawn of a new kind of campaigning, for which the new voter, who is forming her political beliefs intelligently and is not bound by blind party loyalty, is responsible."

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic party, and one of the founders of the League of Women Voters, thinks the League does a good work in arousing all eligible women to vote in the elections. Yet she believes that she would be a stronger Democrat

to-day if she had not had that non-partisan training.

"The only thing to do," she said to me, "is to come into the parties and make them stand for what they say they stand for. The women's vote offered an opportunity for a restatement of party policies. If women come into a party believing that it stands for certain things and the party has bid for their vote on those things, they will insist upon getting what they are promised.

"I think the tendency toward non-partisanship is a bad thing. If a woman votes for John Jones because she thinks he is a strong individual, she is voting for an individual instead of what he stands for. And when she does this, she believes in government by persons. What she ought to believe in is government by principle.

"The average man is a strong party supporter. Out in Ohio Judge Florence Allen, first woman member of the Supreme Court, ran on a non-partisan judicial ticket, and was elected by the women. The men had nothing against her, but wouldn't vote for her because she appealed to them neither as a Republican nor a Democrat.

"Governments cannot function except through political parties, and political parties cannot function except through strong organization and party loyalty. The organization, however, should be servant, and not master. We ought to have a difference in parties and a difference in fundamental theories of govern-



ment, with the differences clear cut and the division made as heavy as possible instead of as light.

"Whenever a so-called progressive Republican wants to be liberal and progressive, he votes with the Democrats. And whenever a Democrat wants to be a reactionary conservative, he votes with the Republicans.

"Any woman with a good mind can inform herself on the technical questions of politics. But I haven't found that women are more ignorant about politics than men. We got out a booklet on 'What the Woman Voter Should Know,' and had to change it to 'What Voters Should Know.'

"The all-important thing for a woman is to bring an open mind to political questions, to be able to take in both sides and draw her own conclusions. I think the reason Miss Alice Robertson was defeated for re-election to Congress was because she brought a prejudiced mind belonging to another generation. She was non-progressive, unwilling to meet the present demands. She fought all woman's legislation. Women would not have stood for a man who did that, and certainly not for a woman.

"What we need in politics is breadth of vision, honesty, and moral courage. Women will supply these. By nature they are more spiritual than men. Politics makes a special appeal to a man's purse. He is unused to looking at it from any angle so important as that of the business angle. For a woman politics has no material appeal whatever.

"Men like power; they are used to political bosses. Women may have vanity about wanting to be at the head of things, but how far do you think they would get if they attempted to lord it over other women? I think women do better team-work than men, in spite of the belief to the contrary. They expect no political gain, as the men do, and are making every effort to take politics out of the hands of professional politicians. They do their political work as freely and unselfishly as they do their missionary or community work."

Although on the other side of the fence politically, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, of the Republican National Committee, holds about the same opinion as to the importance of party affiliation. Mrs. Upton spent forty years working for suffrage, and is spending the rest of her life working for cleaner politics. She is the old-fashioned type of woman—fat and jolly and motherly—who has old-fashioned ideas about handling men. Beating them over the head with a stick would never be her line of approach.

"How does a government function?" she asked. "By having bricks thrown at

it from the outside? Not much. To make the government function right you've got to get inside of it and give the best that's in you to make it move. And the only way you can give the best that's in you is to work with an organized group.

"It is the duty of every American citizen to make this country the best in the whole world. You make a country good or bad as your government is good or bad, and you make your government through a party.

"Since it is the established principle of the Nation that its Government shall be conducted through the agencies of two major parties, it is incumbent upon citizens to recognize those parties and to exercise their political activities in and through them. And if changes are desired in them, *to make them from the inside*. To support only such party candidates and measures as may occasionally appeal to us would be only a little less illogical than to withhold complete allegiance to the Government itself and to support it only when it particularly pleases us to do so.

"The only way women can interest themselves properly in politics is by joining a party. They should come in and clean house. The political parties need cleaning up; they need to be organized on a better basis. I think women realize that there must be machines in politics, though not in an autocratic sense. Machine literally means organization. Without organization, any sort of community effort fails. So it is in politics. To my mind, the principal function of women in politics is to build the best possible machine for the party and to watch it and improve it all the time.

"As yet women are not inside the political organizations the same as men. The laws of the States provide how the State and county committeemen shall be elected, but many make no provision for women. The men's organization is a regular organization perfected by law, while the women's is voluntary. But this is being changed by the Legislatures, and legal provision is now being made for women in the regular organizations.

"Speaking of women improving party machines," she said, returning to the original topic, "reminds me of a conference I attended not long ago of the New Jersey Republican Woman's Club. This club has a membership of several thousand courageous women who stand for things in their community when they believe they are right even in the face of overwhelming opposition from the majority. On the occasion of my visit the delegates passed a resolution to the effect that they did not believe any change

should be made in the enforcement of the Volstead Act, thus repudiating the action of the Republican Committee and the wets, who had voted for modification.

"I was perfectly enthused at the calm, quiet, and unemotional way in which they took action. They knew it was right to remain dry, and it did not make any difference to them what the machine had said. What those women intend to do is to change the machine, not the law."

Right here Mrs. Upton upset an old tradition. She stated that she had found men more easily swayed by emotion and frothy things than women, more governed by sentiment. "Get up in meeting," she declared, "and talk about home and mother and you'll have every man crying.

"And men are more casual than women," she went on, "more accustomed to gambling and to making snap judgments. In business they form the habit of thinking quickly. They *think* they are going to come out a certain way. But women have to *know*. They don't trust to luck; they have to have their plans laid out much more carefully than men and see further ahead. Women go slower and more cautiously and have a certain kind of sound judgment hitched to their conserving and protecting natures that is going to be a valuable asset in politics."

Both the Democratic and Republican women leaders expressed disappointment that of the three women elected to Congress not one was re-elected, and that the Sixty-eighth Congress will find but one woman—Mrs. Nolan—sitting with the National lawmakers. But they point to the hundreds of women elected to Legislatures as to which way the political winds are blowing.

Says Mrs. Blair: "Women gained even in defeat in the last Congressional election, when there were eighteen women candidates for Congress. It will be easier going next time. That is why we want women to run for Congress, so that there will be less handicap when a strong and worthy woman appears as candidate for any public office."

Mrs. Upton, Republican leader, says: "We can't expect to start from the top in this political game any more than the men do. A perusal of the Congressional Directory will show that most of the men doing our business on the hill started as lawyers and district attorneys, and served in the State Legislatures and in other minor capacities before they came to Washington.

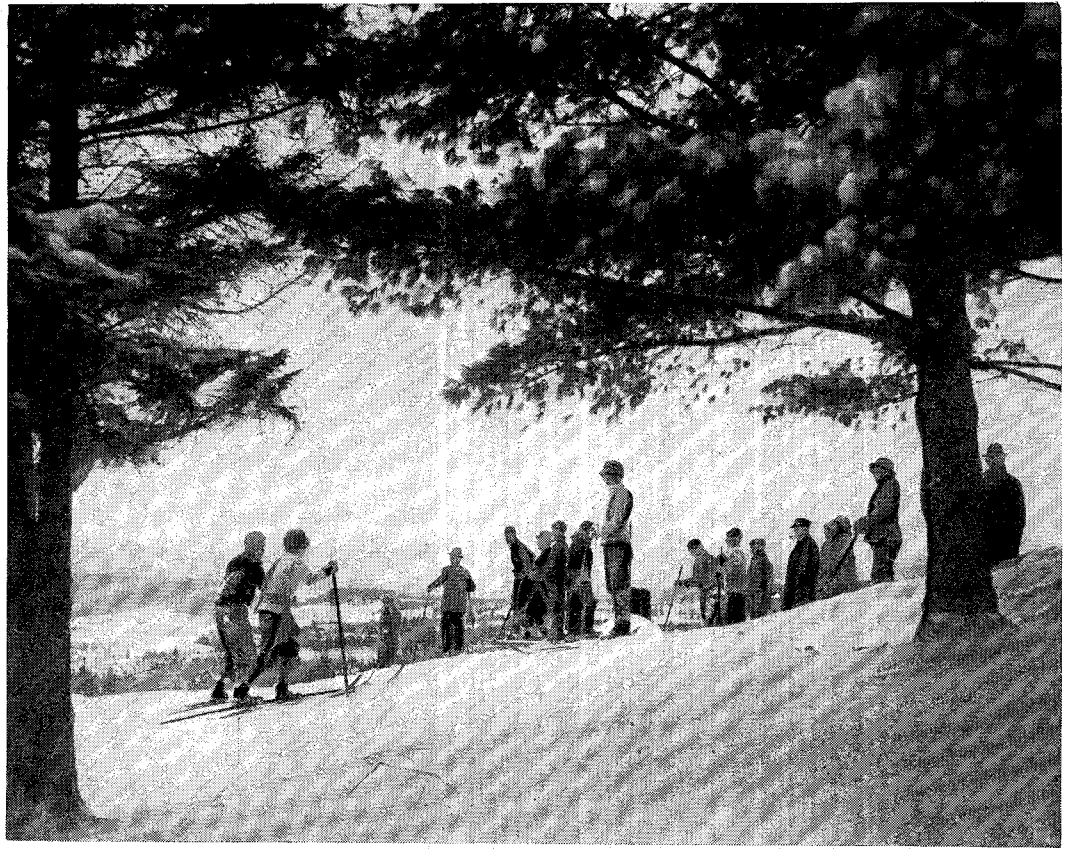
"The political power of women will continue to develop, and the more gradual the growth, the more stable it will be."



# Making the Best of a Mild Winter

## Ski Hill, near Lake Placid, New York

presents this animated scene on any bright winter day, with visitors from all parts of the country coming to enjoy the exhilarating air and the varied sports that Lake Placid offers. Near New York a speculative-minded hotel keeper imported snow from the Adirondacks in order to stage a ski-jumping contest. Eight carloads of melting snowflakes barely sufficed to keep the ski-jumpers out of the mud



P. & A. Photos



Wide World Photos

## Newburgh, New York, has Ice but no Snow

This picture shows young women skaters who competed for the Middle Atlantic outdoor skating contest. Left to right: Caroline M. Breiter, of Bronxville, N. Y.; Alice Heiser, of New York City; Peggy Conaty, of the 181st Street Ice Skating Palace, New York City; Kathleen McRae, of Toronto, Canada; Dorothy V. Jackson, and Elsie C. Muller, both of the Iceland Rink, New York City. Miss Muller won the championship