

wanted action and audacity. It wanted leadership from the top to tell it with assurance which way to turn. The criticism of Wall Street on Main Street she interpreted as "the death of a dogma"—that money is itself omnipotent.

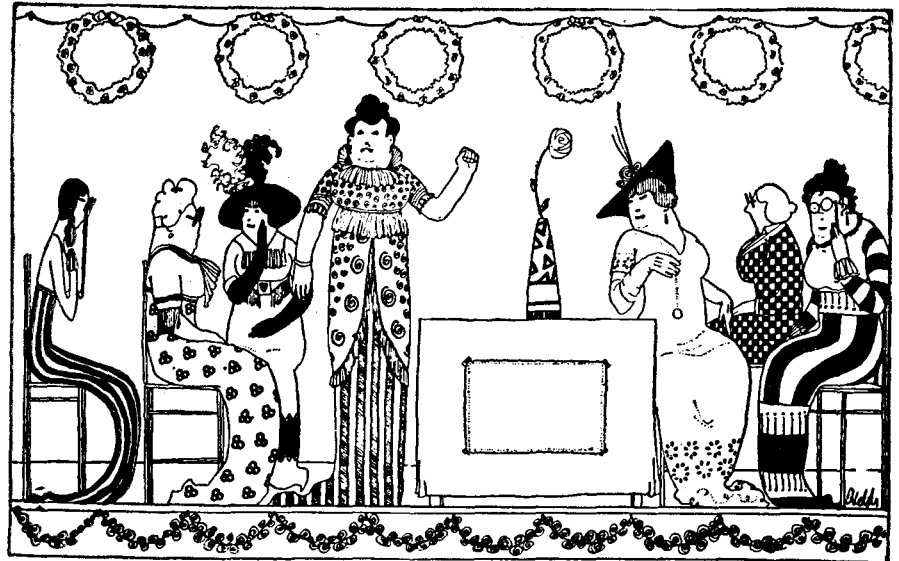
By September 1932 she interpreted the public's mood as one of revolt against inaction. And she described candidate Roosevelt as a man with "a singular zest for the adventure of life," as a man with gusto who believed in humanizing government.

In February 1933, Mrs. McCormick stressed that Roosevelt's conception of statesmanship was "to simplify government and give the citizen a clear sense of direction." Roosevelt, she felt, meant the return of the political mind to the White House.

In her writings over the next several years she pointed out that Roosevelt was non-theoretical, a trial-and-error person who felt free to try anything or reject anything. She stressed his genius at interpreting popular movements and his capacity to rise to great demands. Touring the nation in the autumn of 1934 she described how the face of the nation was changing as the result of TVA, PWA, and the various relief projects. But more important, she wrote, was that the New Deal was forcing Americans to look at America in a searching manner. After describing how Roosevelt's actions sometimes were confused and inconsistent, with real insight she added that "he would be the first to claim that the New Deal is a Right-Left march toward a new center." Pointing out in 1936 that Roosevelt was neither a revolutionary nor a crusader she predicted that he would go as far as he could with popular support on the path of experiment and reform. His historic role, she sensed, was "to shape and characterize a transition which nothing can stop."

During the war Mrs. McCormick still found Roosevelt the self-assured Happy Warrior. Small and short-sighted he sometimes was, she wrote in April 1945, "but in large issues, and especially in world affairs, he was a man of clear vision."

These selections from Mrs. McCormick's writings take the reader through twenty hectic years—years of feverish stock market speculation, grim Depression, the excitement and exhilaration of the New Deal, and the years of war when America emerged as the leader of the allied coalition. Helpful editorial material has been furnished in a useful but unobtrusive fashion. The vividness and sensitivity of Mrs. McCormick's writings, as James Reston points out in his introduction, "gave to her reporting the dimension of wisdom and prophecy."



—By John Held, Jr. in *Judge* (1912), collected in "Cartoon Cavalcade" (Simon and Schuster).

THE ONLY WAY

Speaker: "The only way we can gain woman's suffrage is by making our appeal through our charm, our grace, and our beauty."

The Feminine Touch in Politics

"The Lady and the Vote," by **Marion K. Sanders** (Houghton Mifflin, 172 pp. \$2.95), is a woman politician's analysis of the role of her sex in American politics today. Our reviewer is *Bess Furman* of The New York Times's *Washington staff*.

By *Bess Furman*

THE *Lady and the Vote* is a highly personalized and often hilarious approach to politics. Its author, Marion Sanders, is the brave woman Democrat who ran against the firmly entrenched Rep. Katherine St. George, New York Republican, in the Eisenhower year of 1952. Mrs. Sanders is also quite a writer, with a background of having been one of the United States Government's top propagandists in World War II and after. She was, in fact, editor of the Russian-language magazine *Amerika*.

Far along in her text Mrs. Sanders advances this thesis: "A woman who has run for office has contracted an incurable case of political fever. She is a solid gain to the party's work force." Whether or not this actually is axiomatic, it happened to her with quotable results:

- President Eisenhower habitually gives Republican ladies a fatherly pat on their moral and spiritual values.
- When a politician is on the sidelines quaintness sets in rapidly. Exceptions are Tom Dewey and Harry Truman, whose wind and speed are

so far as anyone can see unimpaired.

- Contrary to popular belief, a great deal more contented cackling than hair-pulling goes on at hen parties.

- Since the election of a married woman to state or national office often involves the uprooting of a valued male there is a chronic shortage of good female candidates.

- The standard posture of the female politician is defensive. We plant one foot high above grubby political practices and the other on a rock inscribed, "In our aspirations and capacities we are identical with men." No wonder our stance is wobbly.

This last-quoted passage is her pithy summary. That theme runs as an uneasy thread through her text. But she never quite grapples with "The Lady and the Vote" in the style of which she so obviously is master.

As it is, women about to do campaign battle will find Mrs. Sanders's book plum-filled with the fruits of four years of practical politics—a bit more palatable, of course, to women Democrats than to women Republicans, though she gives many specific instances from both parties.

She classifies women politicians as Grand Dames, Great Battle Axes, Lesser Battle Axes, Yes Women, Operators, and Ardent Amateurs. She lists herself with the Lesser Battle Axes. To the "Yes Women" she concedes about half the present political place of women, including those in high appointed office. These are the women, she says, who "were frightened in infancy by a man with a big

cigar in his mouth and still quiver in his presence." Eternal verity for them, she continues, is "THE WORD he enunciates." And she adds, "They are cheerful, contented, and generally tongue-tied."

However, Mrs. Sanders sees hope for diminishing the number of the Yes Women in the break-up of the old petty patronage political machines and the inrush of the Ardent Amateurs. She quotes the complaint of a "vintage Yes Woman": "I'm real worried. Even the City Court is hiring from the Civil Service. I just don't know how I am going to take care of my girls."

She classifies men politicians, too, and sees a light-gleam in the new attitude of some of the Working Pros—"The smart ones know there are votes in those coffee hours." Indeed, she records, New York's Carmine G. De Sapio took "the invidious prefix 'co-' off the women leaders in that state's assembly districts, terming them "Leaders, Female" and "Leaders, Male."

Mrs. Sanders debunks "The Dinner" as a party fund-raising device, at least for Democrats. She pays high tribute to the husbands of women in politics, from the early suffragists on down, including her own, the Hon. Dr. Theodore M. Sanders. She even lets him speak his piece in her book. His conclusion: "I'm glad I have only one wife to give to my party."

But she brushes only lightly with the psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists who currently make newspaper and magazine copy by bemoaning women's so-called loss of the female role. Yet she gives clear indication of how well she could take the subject on completely. She comments that Caesar's wife has been worrying about her reputation for centuries, and says, "Now, in addition, we worry about our adjustment, our 'femaleness,' our neurotic dissimilarity to those ever-suckling Polynesians so beloved of Margaret Mead."

Noting that the spectacular records made by the early suffrage leaders "have been strangely elided from our history books," Mrs. Sanders valiantly fills that void, supplying present-day women voters with their historic background. She traces women's status "Up from Coverture"—defined as a situation in which "the very being or legal existence of women is suspended, or at least incorporated into that of her husband, under whose wing or protection or cover she performs everything." She describes the bitter disappointment of the early suffragists when their efforts won the vote for the Negro but not for themselves.

"From this disappointment the leaders of the movement never fully recovered," she says. "It sowed the seeds

of the gnawing distrust of men in general and politicians in particular which was to keep their successors out of politics' main currents long after the vote was won." She calls for an end of this old male-female guerilla warfare in newly-vitalized political parties.

However, when chronicling the suffrage victory, she skips on her silver skates clear across the chasm which developed between the women themselves at the moment of a victory finally won by Alice Paul's Congress-harassing and White House-picketing tactics. Miss Paul did come to Washington as lobbyist for the cohorts of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt. But she had barely got going when they diluted their suffrage amendment to call only for compulsory referendums in the states. So Miss Paul formed her own aggressive National Women's Party, which has been a gnat-sized political group stinging Congress ever since. Gathering enough lobbying momentum, it may one day even win the Equal Rights Amendment. And such of Mrs. Catt's cohorts who didn't go on back home organized themselves into the National League of Women Voters. These historical facts may also have some bearing on the slow seepage of women leaders into the two great political parties. A few more decades of balloting may show whether women are progressing, starting again at scratch, or are still way back of the eight ball.

CATHOLICS AND THE PRESIDENCY: Did Al Smith lose to Herbert Hoover in 1928 because he was a Roman Catholic? Reams have been written on that campaign, but the first solid study has now been done by Edmund A. Moore in "A Catholic Runs for President" (Ronald Press, \$3.50). Mr. Moore, chairman of the University of Connecticut's history department, has dug into the activities of Governor Smith's opponents in and out of Congress, in and outside of both parties. It isn't a pleasant picture, especially the examples of what might be called fringe-group pamphleteering.

This study of what the author calls "the campaign within the campaign" is of interest to all those who wonder if it is possible for a Catholic to be a successful Presidential candidate. Yet 1928 did by no means prove that a Catholic could not be elected. Al Smith, four times governor of New York State, and a first-rate one at that, had burdens which would probably have been too heavy for any Democratic conditiate to bear in that year. He was a Tammany man, a "wet" when to many voters being against Prohibition was like being for sin, and the nation was in a boom period.

The year 1928 just wasn't a Democratic year. It is unlikely that even the "Champ," F. D. Roosevelt, who barely made the grade as governor of New York that year, would have beaten Hoover had he been a candidate instead of Smith. Had Al Smith been a Protestant he could not have successfully bucked the Republican tide.

All this does not lessen the importance of Mr. Moore's book, however, for studies of this sort are most useful in helping prevent the excesses of electioneering in at least one area: the judgement of a man's fitness for the Presidency on the basis of his religion.

—L. L. L. GOLDEN.

THE JEWISH VOTE: In analyses of elections political scientists are beginning to catch up with professional politicians. Until very recently not enough attention was paid by academicians to ethnic voting. The stress was on pocketbook voting. Since Samuel Lubell published "The Future of American Politics" others have begun to make special investigations into how American racial and religious groups vote. In "The Political Behavior of American Jews" (Free Press, \$4) Lawrence H. Fuchs, assistant professor of American politics at Brandeis University, has made a worthy contribution in this field.

He points out that being Jewish sometimes influences one's political attitudes and behavior. In that sense there is a Jewish vote, says Mr. Fuchs, just as there is an Irish, Polish, Armenian, and even Baptist and Episcopalian vote. Through the years the preponderance of Jews, according to the author, has switched from party to party. After Jefferson, Americans of Jewish faith supported Lincoln, Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and were largely Republican. The beginning of a change came in Wilson's period, although the Democrats did not make their full break-through until the years of F. D. R.

The trend as a whole has had reverse eddies in all periods. It was, however, the rise of Hitler and the interventionist policies of F. D. R. coming together which lined up Jewish voters pretty solidly. President Eisenhower has begun to swing that same vote toward the Republican party. If he should accelerate that move it will be one more crack in the F. D. R. coalition that historians will be able to credit to the man who wasn't supposed to be a politician at all.

Other books like Mr. Fuchs's on other ethnic groups would do a great deal to bring political scientists up to the level of the political managers' knowledge of the American voter.

—L. L. L. G.