

FRANCES PERKINS

1933 - 1944

RE: SUNSHINE

150
/

March 27, 1933

Dear Frances:-

I am really very sorry for this little man. I knew his wife and she died and now he apparently has nobody.

He does speak several languages but beyond that I know little or nothing about him except that he seems a nice sort of person.

If he could be used as an interpreter or translator anywhere, even at a very small salary, I would be grateful—but only on his merits.

Very cordially yours,

(Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt)

Miss Frances Perkins
Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

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March 27, 1933

Dear Mr. Sunshine:-

I have written to Miss Perkins
asking her to do what she can for you.

With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt)

Mr. Leon Sunshine
45 East 50th Street
New York City

100
May 8, 1933

Dear Frances:

I have a note from Clara Hyde, in which she encloses a copy of a letter to you. We did try to use Clara Hyde in the campaign, but it seemed that she had a difficult time getting along with people. Perhaps you could find something where she would not have to work with people as she does not seem able to cooperate. I do feel sorry for her and know that she needs a job very desperately. You, of course, are a better judge than I of what can be done for her.

Always affectionately,

Miss Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

NEW YORK, N.Y.

317 West 45th St.

April 22, 1933

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:-

If you are not too overwhelmed by the additional demands made on you just at this time, would you take a moment to say a word for me to Secretary Perkins. I am asking her for a job as you will see by the copy of letter enclosed.

If you feel that you would like to comply with my request and can consistently do it, I would appreciate a word very much.

Sincerely,

Caro Hyde

May 24, 1933

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free

Dear Eleanor:

I have your letter of May eighth about Clara Hyde, and will try to think of something for her. With all the lay-offs that are being planned, it is a difficult situation.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Dill

Mrs. Roosevelt

The White House

100

May 17, 1933

Dear Frances:

I am enclosing this telegram
which has come to me. Will you please
tell me if there is anything I can
say to them?

Affectionately,

Miss Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Telegram from

W. J. Hoar

Assistant Secy

with out of office hours

100.
May 18, 1936

Dear Frances:

Mrs. Pennybacker is most anxious that you should go to Chatauqua this summer, and this is just a line to tell you that I think perhaps your message is very much needed for that particular group of people, so if you can do it without too much exhaustion I think it would be a good thing.

With much love,

Affectionately,

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May 20, 1933

Dear Frances:

Would you have somebody in your Department look up the history of the Child Labor Amendment? I am writing an article about it and would like the exact wording of it, its present status, the number of states which have ratified it, and anything else which you think I ought to know.

I hate asking you to do this, but hope you will find someone in your Department who is not too busy.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington
D. C.

S:R

100
May 22, 1933

Dear Frances:

I am passing this on to you.

Will you let me know what to answer?

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Frances Perkins,
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

S-H

May 22, 1933.

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My dear Frances:

I am proposing Marion Dickerman for membership in the Cosmopolitan Club and I wonder if you would be willing to second her. If so, will you write a letter to Mrs. Whitney Sheppardson, Chairman of the Membership Committee?

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

S:R

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May 26, 1938

Dear Frances:

I am sending you some papers
which were left for me by Miss Hughes.
Is there any chance that anything can be
done for her?

Affectionately,

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May 27, 1933.

Dear Eleanor:

I am sending you some material on
the Child Labor Amendment as requested in your
note of May 20th.

Sincerely,

Maxwell D. Hayes

Mrs. Roosevelt,
The White House.

May 25, 1933.

Memorandum re: Proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The proposal for the Child Labor Amendment was the result of the action of the United States Supreme Court in declaring unconstitutional two Federal child labor laws, which had been enacted in an attempt to establish a Federal minimum, below which no State might fall in protection of its children from exploitation by unscrupulous employers. These laws had been moderate in their terms, setting up as a standard a minimum age of 14 for children in factories and of 16 for children in mines and quarries, with an 8-hour day and a night-work prohibition for children between 14 and 16 in factories. The most active opposition to the amendment came from the Southern Textile Bulletin and National Manufacturers' Association, which immediately after the passage of the amendment by Congress, began a campaign of misrepresentation in all the States, particularly in the rural districts, resulting in rejection by a large number when the legislatures met in 1925. Arkansas ratified in the summer of 1924; Arizona, California, and Wisconsin, in 1925; Montana, in 1927; and Colorado, in 1931. In the fall of 1932 the increasing unemployment and the growth of sweatshops in which children were employed under unbelievably bad conditions brought the child labor question again to the fore. Everywhere child welfare organizations, labor departments, and school people were urging that children be kept in school, that jobs be conserved for heads of families.

The situation was so serious as to cause a demand on the part of fair employers of labor and of all organizations interested in children that some standards be set up to stop the downward trend. Efforts were made in many States to strengthen the child labor standards, and agitation for the ratification of the amendment began. The following States have ratified this year, as many as in the whole eight years since the amendment was proposed:

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| Michigan | Ohio | North Dakota |
| New Hampshire | Oregon | Washington |

Every one of these States reversed a previous unfavorable vote.

The amendment has passed the House in West Virginia, and is still before the legislatures in Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Texas. It was introduced this year in Alabama, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wyoming, also, but the legislatures adjourned without action. In Minnesota the amendment passed the House but the legislature adjourned before action by the Senate. There will be an attempt to introduce the amendment in Connecticut before the close of the session. The fact that national legislation is needed is emphasized by the failure of the States to advance standards this year in spite of the efforts which have been made in this direction. Forty-five State legislatures were in session, of which the majority have now adjourned. Utah stands out

as the only State to enact a complete new child labor bill. It raised the minimum age for work during school hours to 16, fixed an 8-hour day and 44-hour week for minors under 18, and provided double compensation for minors injured while illegally employed. Efforts were made in over half the States to improve their child labor laws, but the large majority were of no avail.

The text of the Amendment is given in the enclosed article by Grace Abbott, reprinted from the North American Review for December, 1924. This article also gives some background material for the amendment.

Attached are the proceedings and recommendations of a child labor conference of representatives of national organizations called by the Children's Bureau last December. They indicate the strength of the movement for the elimination of child labor.

It is interesting to note the change in attitude toward the amendment which the present exploitation of child workers and existing economic conditions have brought about. The manufacturing interests were almost unanimously opposed to the amendment in 1924; this year they have shown little opposition and the textile manufacturers in Massachusetts have even come out in favor of ratification. Another change in front which is of great significance as far as the passage of the amendment is concerned is the withdrawal of Cardinal O'Connell from the ranks of the opposition. In 1924 when the amendment was before the people in Massachusetts on a referendum vote the Cardinal addressed a letter to the priests of his diocese directing them to request their parishioners to register and vote against the amendment on election day. Now

however, the last issue of the Pilot, the official organ of his diocese, contains a two-column "Manifesto" on the amendment. This, he has told the supporters, is the same as giving his approval.

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT-I

BY GRACE ABBOTT

Chief of Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor

Congress has submitted to the States a joint resolution adopted by more than the requisite two-thirds majority, proposing a twentieth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The text of the proposed Amendment is as follows:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

Before the reasons why this amendment is now before the States for action are discussed, its form and scope should perhaps be noted. It will be seen at once that, unlike the Prohibition and Suffrage Amendments, this proposed Amendment contains no prohibition and no regulation. It does not limit the authority of Congress to the occupations and the age and hour standards which would be written into a statute at this time. We do not know what changes a hundred years will bring. We do know that if we were to undertake to prophesy what these changes are to be, we would be sure to be wrong. It is, of course, for this reason that the powers granted through the Amendment should be general in scope and not limited to immediate needs. Under its power to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, Congress was first concerned with a commerce that moved on the stage coach, the pony express, the sailing vessel, and the rowboat. There are parts of the country in which all these are used today, but it is with the regulation of the railroad and the steamboat that Congress has been concerned in the last fifty years, and in the next fifty it may be the motor truck, the motor boat, and the air-

plane that will claim its attention. The general form in which the proposed Amendment is stated, then, gives to Congress the power to meet changing conditions by new regulations. Section 2 makes it clear that, whatever these changes may be, the co-operation of the United States with the States in the eradication of child labor is the object sought.

The proposed Amendment has a long history behind it. There is no subject on which opinions have changed more in the last hundred years than child labor, as a re-reading of Alexander Hamilton's Report on Manufactures shows. The first child labor laws were, it is true, passed during the period before the Civil War. But as they were not enforced, they were so many dead letters on the statute books. Fifty years ago only six States had established a minimum age for factory work. In four of these—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Vermont—a ten-year age minimum had been adopted. Rhode Island had a twelve-year minimum for factories; Pennsylvania had a thirteen-year age minimum for textile mills, but employment in the mines at twelve years of age was authorized. The hours children might work were regulated in fourteen States as follows: California permitted no more than an eight-hour day for wards and apprentices—other children were not so protected; nine States or territories—Connecticut, Dakota Territory, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Vermont—had a ten-hour law; Massachusetts had a sixty-hour week for children; Rhode Island had an eleven-hour day for children under fifteen, and Georgia prohibited a longer day than sunrise to sunset for white persons under twenty-one years of age; Wisconsin's laws were so contradictory in terms that it is hard to say what they did prohibit. Only one State (Rhode Island) prohibited night work.

During the last fifty years the struggle to protect children by State action from industrial exploitation has been continuous. In the period from 1880 to 1916, when the first Federal law was passed, a new conception of the obligation of public protection of children was finding general recognition in this and other countries. While the ideal of equal opportunity for all children was accepted more rapidly in the United States than in other coun-

tries, it encountered many difficulties in actual realization. Effective barriers to the premature employment of children were erected in some States; in others the barriers were authorized in legislative enactment but were never set up because administrative machinery was not provided. In some States both law and enforcement were wholly inadequate, and in consequence a demand for Federal action developed.

In 1906 the first child labor bills were introduced in Congress. At that time Senator Beveridge of Indiana and Representative Herbert Parsons of New York sought by Federal legislation to "prevent the employment of children in factories and mines," and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts sponsored a measure designed to "prohibit the employment of children in the manufacture or production of articles intended for interstate commerce". Almost ten years later (September 1, 1916) the first Federal child labor law was adopted. Under its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, Congress sought in this measure to close the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to the products of child labor. On June 3, 1918, after the law had been in operation nine months and three days, the United States Supreme Court in a five to four decision held that the law was not a legitimate exercise of the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce and was therefore unconstitutional.

Following this decision, Congress enacted on February 24, 1919, as a part of the revenue act of 1918, a provision for a tax of ten per cent. of the annual net profits of certain enumerated establishments which employed children in violation of the age and hour standards laid down in the act.

The child labor tax law became operative on April 25, 1919, and was in effect until May 15, 1922, when the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Bailey v. The Drexel Furniture Company* held that it was not a valid exercise of Congress's right to lay and collect taxes. Only one judge dissented from this opinion. It was, therefore, clearly established that either the policy of Federal assistance in eliminating child labor must be abandoned, or the Constitution must be amended so as to give to Congress the power which it was believed to have when these two acts were passed.

At the time that these laws were enacted, Congress believed it

had the authority through these general grants of power to reach the employment of children in any and all occupations and children of any age. The occupation, age, and hour standards which it set up represented, therefore, its conclusions as to the minimum Federal standard which should be established. In effect both these laws prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in mills, canneries, workshops, factories, and manufacturing establishments; established an eight-hour day, and prohibited night work for children between fourteen and sixteen employed in such establishments; and prohibited the employment of children under sixteen in mines and quarries.

During this period—1906 to 1916—the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act, the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act, the White Slave Law, and a number of other less known measures providing for Federal assistance in solving "local" problems which had become national in scope, were passed by Congress. The child labor law presented, therefore, no new administrative problems, and, it was believed at the time, no new constitutional difficulties.

Although absolute uniformity in child labor legislation was not sought through the two Federal child labor laws, an increasing number of people had come to be concerned not only with what happened to the children of a single State but with what happened to all American children. The Census of 1910 showed 557,797 children between the ages of ten and sixteen years employed in non-agricultural pursuits. In 1880 there were 396,504 so employed. Thus in spite of all the effort to secure adequate State legislation during these thirty years, the number of children engaged in non-agricultural work in 1910 was considerably greater than in 1880, and the percentage in such employment of all the children of the given ages was only one per cent. less. In justice to the children and to the future of the United States, it was urged that all American children should be protected against premature employment, excessive hours, and hazardous occupations. The facts showed that a very considerable proportion of American children were not so protected. Through years of work with State legislatures, advocates of a Federal law had learned that manufacturers always appeared at the sessions and objected to further protection for the children of the State because it gave

what they considered unfair advantage to the industries of other States in which a lower value was placed on childhood. This argument may not always have been sincere, but it was accepted so frequently as a reason for postponing action even in States whose standards were low that Federal action seemed necessary in fairness to the children and to manufacturers in all the States.

Although the reasons for a Federal law and a Constitutional Amendment to make a Federal law possible are the same, there are a few people who have favored the use of the power if it already existed but who have questioned the wisdom of granting it to Congress. Moreover, it was seven years after President Wilson went in person to the Senate to urge the adoption of the first law and five years after the tax law was passed on his recommendation, that President Coolidge reported to Congress that an Amendment to the Constitution was necessary for the protection of children. Since many changes may have occurred during that period, a new examination of the reasons or necessity for national action is, perhaps, needed.

Two questions should be considered with reference to the Amendment: What facts are there from which its significance in terms of the welfare of children can be determined? Does it do violence to the American theory of government?

There are those who are raising the whole question of whether any kind of child labor law, State or national, is necessary or desirable. They are talking of the opportunities which come to children only if they go to work at eight years of age, of the right of the parent, or, more correctly, the employer plus the parent, to decide whether a child shall or shall not work at any age or hour or occupation. There are those who urge that the cost of widowhood and orphanage must be borne by little children. There are some few who seek to enlist followers under the black flag of a business morality that should long ago have been outlawed. They ask only, "Is child labor profitable?"

These questions and objections have been raised whenever child labor or compulsory school laws have been considered by any State legislature during the past seventy-five years. They are as pertinent in the discussion of a State law as of a national law. In this brief discussion the objections to child labor which are widely

known will not be restated. The question is not "Shall child labor be eliminated?" Nor is it a choice between the alternatives of State and Federal action. Under the terms of the proposed Amendment the question is whether we shall make it possible for the Federal Government to cooperate with the States in the eradication of child labor.

To decide whether there is need for national action we need to know the character and the effectiveness of our State child labor legislation, and in what numbers, in what parts of the country, and under what conditions, children are now employed.

First, as to the numbers of working children: The decennial census is our only source of information for the United States as a whole. For the purposes of this discussion it does not give an adequate picture for several reasons: (1) Working children under ten years of age were not enumerated. Their numbers, it is to be hoped, are not large, but the serious effects of their employment make even small numbers important. Investigations made by the Children's Bureau of work in canneries and of industrial home work indicate that in some sections the number of working children under ten years of age is not inconsiderable. These investigations were made by the Children's Bureau during the period from 1918 to 1920, but there is no evidence of improvement since that time. On the contrary, investigations made during the last year in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania by the State departments of labor indicate widespread employment of very young children in tenement home work. (2) The census was taken in 1920 when the Federal law restricted the employment of children under fourteen in mills and factories, and of children under sixteen years in mines and quarries. The full effect of the Federal law is, therefore, imbedded in the census, and the reduction between 1910 and 1920 in the number of children gainfully employed in manufacturing and mining operations in certain States is largely due to the Federal law since held unconstitutional. (3) The census was taken in January, when many of the child employing industries are not so active as at other times. (4) It is altogether probable that most of those engaged in tenement home work were not counted by the enumerators as employed. Nevertheless, the census showed more than a million

(1,060,858) children between ten and sixteen years of age gainfully employed, and nearly half a million (413,549) employed in non-agricultural industries.

Although evidence of exploitation of children in certain kinds of agriculture is not lacking, it is generally believed that a better enforcement of school laws will reduce interference with school attendance, which is the most serious evil in rural child labor. As the employment of children in agriculture is usually on the home farm and is seasonal and out of doors, it is much less objectionable than employment in mines and factories. Moreover, many of the farm children merely help their fathers with the farm work just as the girls help their mothers with the housework. If not too arduous, such work is, of course, valuable to boys and girls for the training it gives and the sense of responsibility which it develops. Therefore those who have advocated the Amendment have been especially concerned with the child employed in non-agricultural occupations.

As to the number of children ten to sixteen years of age which the Census of 1920 reported as gainfully employed in non-agricultural pursuits, it was smaller than in 1910 but larger than in 1880. In 1920, it should be remembered, the Federal law was discouraging by a prohibitive tax the employment of children under fourteen in mills and factories, and the Federal eight-hour day made it more difficult and less profitable than formerly to employ them in mills which operated on a ten- or eleven-hour schedule. The census figures for 1920 show that the textile mills were then employing 54,649 child operatives; iron and steel mills, 12,904; clothing factories and sweatshops, 11,757; lumber mills and furniture factories, 10,585; shoe factories, 7,545; coal mines, 5,850. Child servants and waiters were reported to the number of 41,586. Messengers, bundle wrappers, and office boys and girls numbered 48,028; sales boys and sales girls in stores, 30,370; other child clerks, 22,521. Newsboys numbered 20,706, and there were 147,048 children between ten and sixteen in other miscellaneous occupations.

These children were not employed in any one section of the country. According to the 1920 census the proportion of the total child population ten to fifteen years of age, inclusive, "em-

employed in gainful occupations," ranged from three per cent. in the three Pacific Coast States to seventeen per cent. in the East South Central States, comprising Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

In Mississippi more than one-fourth of all the children ten to fifteen years of age were at work; in Alabama and in South Carolina, twenty-four per cent.; in Georgia, twenty-one per cent.; and in Arkansas, nineteen per cent. Of the New England States, Rhode Island had the largest proportion of children from ten to fifteen years of age, thirteen per cent., "employed in gainful occupations." Except in the South, no other State had so large a percentage of employed children as this.

What numbers are now employed and what is their geographical distribution it is not possible to say. At the time the second Federal child labor law was declared unconstitutional, we were suffering from a serious industrial depression during which several millions of men and women and thousands of children who had previously left school for work were unemployed. Reports as to the number of work permits granted in 1923 in some thirty-four cities indicate that this reduction in the number of employed children was only temporary. With the revival of industry, the children were re-employed in large numbers, so that the problem in some centers has increased rather than decreased.

Those who have read of Lord Shaftesbury's struggle for the child workers of England in the recently published biography by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, will remember that he encountered more opposition in his attempt to reduce the hours of work for the children who were legally employed than he did in raising the age at which their employment should receive legal sanction. This is true in the United States today, and explains much of the opposition which the amendment is meeting. After the minimum age of employment is fixed, there remains the equally important question of the conditions of work for those who are allowed to enter industry. There is not only the problem of preventing too great a strain during the adolescent period because of too long hours; there is also the problem of occupations which may be reasonably safe for men and women but are extremely hazardous for young persons. More progress has been made in writing fourteen years

into the statutes as a minimum age for employment, with all kinds of exemptions and exceptions to be sure, than in protecting adolescent boys and girls from the strain of the ten- or eleven-hour day. Since Congress indicated in the two Federal laws it enacted that it believes in the eight-hour day for factory children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, it is from the States in which children of fourteen and fifteen are still legally working long hours that opposition is to be expected.

A recent analysis of work accidents to minors in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Jersey made by the Children's Bureau gives fresh evidence of the need for discrimination in deciding which occupations should be closed to all those who have not reached what we call "years of discretion". In this investigation facts concerning minors to whom compensation had been paid were obtained from the files of the State industrial commissions and accident boards. This meant that in Wisconsin records of accidents which had caused disability of more than seven days' duration were included, and in Massachusetts and New Jersey, records of those which had caused disability of more than ten days' duration. Within twelve months¹ in these three States there were 7,478 such accidents to minors under twenty-one years of age, 496 to children under sixteen, 2,039 to children of sixteen or seventeen, and 4,943 to minors of eighteen, nineteen, or twenty. Thirty-eight minors died from their injuries, and 920 were partly disabled for life.

An analysis of the causes of the accidents in the only State (Wisconsin) where comparative figures could be obtained, showed that nearly twice as many of the injuries to minors as to adults were due to machinery. Each of the States studied had attempted to protect its child workers by prohibiting the employment of children under sixteen years of age in certain occupations, chiefly in the operation of the more dangerous machines. Wisconsin and Massachusetts also prohibited some kinds of employment for children under eighteen years, but operation of many of the dangerous machines was permitted to children of sixteen and seventeen. The effect of the special protection accorded children of

¹In Wisconsin and New Jersey the period covered was the year July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1920; in Massachusetts it was the year July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1922.

fourteen to sixteen years and the need for its extension to children up to eighteen are seen in the proportions of accidents due to machinery among the children of the different age groups.

In each of the three States a larger percentage of the accidents to children sixteen and seventeen years of age was due to power-working machinery than of the accidents either to children fourteen and fifteen (the protected group) or to those eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old, in spite of the fact that a greater proportion of the minors of eighteen and over are employed in the more dangerous occupations.

Because they are too young to appreciate the risks involved either to themselves or to others, boys and girls will not observe as carefully as adults the precautions necessary for self-protection in industries in which there is danger of industrial poisoning or accidents due to power-working machinery. There are new industrial hazards each year, followed only too slowly by new safety devices, and no safety engineer has been able to give to persons under eighteen that appreciation of risk and steadiness of purpose which make daily caution possible. Practically all of the States have enacted some legislation looking toward protection against hazards of this sort, but in many of the laws there are serious and obvious omissions.

Whether, in the event the amendment is adopted, Congress will ever undertake to prohibit persons under eighteen from work involving exposure to poisonous gas or dangerous moving machinery, cannot be foretold. Congress has been slow to utilize its powers. It was not until more than ninety years after the adoption of the Constitution that it passed a general law regulating immigration; it did not make it possible to fix freight rates until even later; and the machinery through which the "Pittsburg Plus" decision became possible was not provided until more than 120 years had passed.

As to the present status of State legislation: It varies so in the occupations to which it extends, in the exemptions and exceptions which are made, in the age, hour, educational, and physical standards, that general statements with reference to the protection afforded children by State laws are impossible.

Using as a standard the laws which Congress attempted to set

up in 1916 and 1919, we find that only eighteen of the forty-eight States have as high or higher standards in the regulation of factory work. Nine States have no law prohibiting all children under fourteen from working in both factories and stores. Twenty-three States with a fourteen-year minimum age limit have weakened their laws by permitting exemptions under which children not yet fourteen may work. Thirty-five States allow children to go to work without a common-school education. Nineteen States do not make physical fitness for work a condition of employment. Eleven States allow children under sixteen to work from nine to eleven hours a day; one State does not regulate in any way daily hours of labor of children. Four States do not protect children under sixteen from night work. Exceptions and administrative loop holes further complicate the difficulty of making any general statements. The only conclusion that can be reached is that a few States have excellent laws which are well enforced, some have poor legislative standards poorly enforced, and there are States at every point between these two extremes.

To summarize: The number of young children employed is still very large. Their employment is not confined to any one section of the country nor to any one part of a single State. Although the States in the various parts of the country have enacted child labor laws, those laws have been uneven and inadequate, sometimes because of successful opposition to the enactment of a law, and sometimes because of successful opposition to the effective enforcement of the law.

During recent years through the medium of the "draft conventions" agreed to at the International Labor Conferences of the League of Nations, most of the civilized world has made international agreements with reference to minimum age, night work, hours of work, and certain hazardous occupations. The United States has, thus far, elected not to enter into any of these agreements. Are we also to say that in the face of a real national need we shall not have even a national standard? There are political objections. Someone suggests that the foundations of the Republic will be shattered if it is made possible for the nation to protect its children from industrial exploitation. Americans believe in local self-government. On the other hand, we have learned

from experience that there are some subjects which need national action. The list was a very short one in the Articles of Confederation. It was made longer in the Constitution, and has since been increased by amendment.

Our history accounts in large measure for our belief in local responsibility. In the field of social service—the care of the poor, the aged, the children, the helpless generally—the tradition of local control came not from our Federal form of government but by inheritance from England of the theory of parish responsibility for the poor of each parish. Although local responsibility in this field has behind it much sound political reasoning, it has frequently furnished the explanation of neglect and of shameful incompetence and inefficiency in the United States as well as in England.

The struggle for State coöperation with the local units in the care of the dependent and defective has been won in principle. We do not today hear people saying that the abandonment of a county insane asylum, a county jail, or a county poorhouse is a direct blow at the foundation principle of local responsibility in government. It was, however, exactly so denounced when Dorothea Dix began her agitation for State and National provision for the insane. Nowhere was this feeling of the importance of local government stronger than in Massachusetts, where Miss Dix began her work. But in the face of the facts which she presented, political theories had to give way, and Massachusetts took the first steps toward State care of the insane.

In recent years, although the movement for local control has decreased State authority in many fields, our State Governments have assumed increasing responsibility in the field of social welfare. In the last few years State administrative machinery has been greatly improved, so that these new responsibilities are being more successfully met. State provision for dependent children by institutional or family-home care, by payment of some part of the cost of mothers' pensions, by the licensing and supervision of private agencies, by standardization of probation service, by assistance in the organization of county welfare boards and coöperation with such boards—these are only a few of the many examples that might be cited. The tendency in education has been along

the same lines, and in the health field the States have been compelled to take the leadership.

A new and genuine appreciation of the importance of serving rural as well as urban communities has given added impetus to this whole movement for the assumption of leadership by the State. No one sees any other method by which county-wide work can be initiated and carried on in the less populous and less wealthy counties. Even with taxation involving a sacrifice entirely out of proportion to that borne by the richer communities, some counties find that the burden of adequate provision for the children's education, health, etc., is too heavy to bear.

When it comes to the function of the National Government, there are new complications. The old theory that matters of national interest should be the function of the Federal Government and those which are purely local should be locally settled, is still unquestionably the rule to follow. But what is national, what is State, and what is purely local, becomes a question of fact rather than of political theory or political tradition. Those who are opposed to the particular undertaking under discussion can always be counted upon to talk much about the fundamental political principles involved and very little about the end which is sought. But there are a few who favor the object sought, to whom the political changes seem so dangerous as to warrant opposition. Reference has already been made to the fact that there were those who prophesied the fall of the Republic when it was proposed that new types of work should be taken over by the State and when the authority of local government was to be in any degree curtailed, just as they do when a proposal to increase or develop national functions is made.

Although within the boundaries of the States local feeling has been as strong as State feeling, and geographic, economic, and social differences between different sections of the same State are as striking and as fundamental as the differences between any two States, this local community feeling has never been associated with a great struggle, and it finds expression in no familiar maxim which passes for thought and judgment.

Recently it has been found that some employers have managed to dodge behind State lines, escape the penalties of a child labor

law, and yet employ children. For example, an investigation of home work by children made in Jersey City last year disclosed the fact that more than a thousand children, the great majority of whom were under the age of fourteen, were doing sweat-shop work in their homes under dangerously insanitary conditions. It was brought out in the testimony given in connection with the State's investigation that a considerable amount of the tenement home work done by the New Jersey children was distributed from factories in neighboring States. Thus, New York manufacturers, who were sending their work to Jersey City to escape the New York regulations against tenement home work, were not subject to the penalties imposed by the New Jersey laws.

Geographical relationship and economic and social conditions have all greatly changed in recent years. The most remote State may be nearer Washington in means of communication and transportation than Buffalo was to Albany or Boston to Springfield at the time the Constitution was adopted. Economic lines of development everywhere cross the arbitrary boundaries of the State. The industrial district of which New York City is the center crosses the boundaries of four States; that of Chicago, three States; while in the industrial districts of St. Louis, Philadelphia, and many other cities, two States are included. The State in which a large and an increasing number of men and women sleep and vote is not the State in which they work. We have come to recognize that local transportation problems of these and many other cities cannot be settled in either a single city or a single State.

What about Federal coöperation with the State to control child labor? Is this a dangerous leap into the dark? Fortunately not. We know how Congress would act if given this power, because it has already twice acted in the belief that it had the power. We know what the problems of administration were and to what extent Federal and State coöperation was found possible. The cost of administration—less than \$150,000—is a matter of record, not of speculation. Resolutions adopted by the State officers charged with the enforcement of State laws at the conventions of the Association of Governmental Labor Officials in 1918, 1923, and 1924, indicate that these officials found that a

Federal law brought increased respect for State laws. The statute books show that State initiative was not paralyzed by Federal action; on the contrary, the progress made by States with lower standards and those with higher standards than the Federal law was greater during the time the Federal laws were in effect than either immediately before their enactment or since the second law was declared unconstitutional.

That the welfare of children is a matter of more than local concern no one would challenge, since the future citizenship of the Nation as well as of the individual State is always involved. States individually are unable to protect their children or their industries against unfair competition. Industrial districts, in industrial opposition to better standards for working children, have recognized no State lines. Hence the conclusion of the President and Congress that children need the help of both State and Nation.

In most countries the sense of responsibility toward children has quickened since the War. In many countries which suffered more than we did, the losses have enhanced the importance of children. Individually and as a Nation we have made our concern what has been happening to the children of Germany, Russia, and Austria, as well as to those of Belgium and Japan. Americans cannot know that children anywhere are suffering and not help to relieve them. Here are American children, hundreds of thousands of them, not protected as our reason and our affection tell us they should be. The amendment raises the question whether we shall make national action for their relief possible.

GRACE ABBOTT.

SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON
PRESENT DAY CHILD LABOR PROBLEMS1. Is the old child-labor problem still with us?

Current reports of work certificate issuing officers and factory inspectors all indicate that the numbers of working children, already much reduced according to the 1930 Census, have still further declined roughly in proportion to the decline in general employment.

2. Is there a new child-labor problem?

Frances Perkins and Joseph M. Tone, Commissioners of Labor of New York and Connecticut, respectively; Beatrice McConnell of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor; Edward F. McGrady of the American Federation of Labor; Courtenay Dinwiddie of the National Child Labor Committee, and others testified to the appearance of a new variation of the old sweat-shop, with unbelievably low wages and long hours for children as well as for adults. A relentless pressure on labor standards was pictured. (See attached reports on present child labor situation.)

3. Is this the time to eliminate child labor?

The agreement was unanimous that in this economic crisis every available job should be given to an adult and that in the interest of both child and adult, legislation to this end should be enacted this winter.

4. What new State standards are needed?

- a. 16 years the basic minimum age for employment.
 - b. 16 and 17 years the "regulated" period.
 - Hours - shorter than for adults but not to exceed 8 per day.
 - Wage - minimum wage law for those under 18.
 - Safety - extra compensation for injured minors illegally employed; age minima higher than 16 for hazardous occupations.
- (See attached report of Committee on Hazardous Occupations.)

5. Is State enforcement machinery adequate?

Bureaus of Women and Children in State Labor Departments should be established or strengthened as an aid in enforcement of law and in education of public opinion.

6. How can we care for the children not allowed to work?

The obvious place for these children is in school. The school budgets must be maintained to take care of them. The conference pledged itself to special assistance to the schools in this emergency.

7. Can we work together for children?

Conferences of State representatives of the various organizations and agencies in attendance were planned to map out State programs. Prompt and resourceful action by each agency is necessary to meet the emergency.

EMERGENCY CHILD LABOR PROGRAM

Recommended by the Conference as especially needed at this time because of the widespread unemployment among adults and the developing pressure upon long established labor standards:

(1) Age and hour regulations.

- (a) A basic 16-year minimum for all gainful employment, with certain exemptions of carefully selected occupations for the 14 and 15 year old group outside of school hours, and with some suitable provision for the group not able to profit by the ordinary school program up to the age of 16. (In view of new types of child employment, the occupations covered by legislation need special consideration so as to make certain that all employed children are given protection.)
- (b) Maximum hours of labor for minors under 18 shorter than the prevailing hours of adults and in no case more than 8 per day.

(2) Hazardous occupations.

- (a) Eighteen year minimum as recommended by the Advisory Committee on Employment of Minors in Hazardous Occupations.
- (b) Provision for payment of double compensation in case of minors under 18 illegally employed, the employer to be personally liable for the additional amount.

(3) Minimum wage. Mandatory minimum wage legislation for minors under 18.

To make these standards effective, adequate provision for administration was urged, the following measures being specifically mentioned:

- (1) Establishment of bureaus of women and children in State departments of labor, and the strengthening of such bureaus where already established.
- (2) Registration of business firms with the State labor departments, to facilitate inspection.

It was agreed that acceptance of these standards necessitates serious consideration of school problems. The following resolution on this subject was passed:

We recognize that the schools of the nation are now facing the greatest crisis in their history due to increased enrollments and drastically reduced budgets. We are deeply concerned over the effect of the present economic situation upon the schools; and we call upon the organizations here represented to lend their efforts to the end that school budgets will provide the types and amount of education adapted to the needs of all children.

REPORTS ON THE PRESENT CHILD-LABOR SITUATION

Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner, stressed the fact that the jobs at present open to boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age offer practically nothing worthwhile from the standpoint either of training or earnings. Quoting figures of the Division of Junior Placement of the New York State Department of Labor for September and October, 1932, she stated that 35 per cent of the jobs now open to children under 16 years of age are for housework, for which the hours are long, and the pay rarely more than \$2.50 a week; 19 per cent are factory jobs of a monotonous nature, such as folding and packing; 17 per cent are for temporary work, of about a week's duration, such as distributing circulars or addressing envelopes.

"For boys, one of the objectionable developments during the depression period is the growth of commission jobs. Always precarious from the occupation standpoint, they are in certain cases very close to fraud. Some firms, which sell by house to house canvassing, seek children to sell their goods, first coaching them in 'hard luck' stories about sickness and unemployment in the family. Sometimes the story is supplied by the employer—such as that of a father in the hospital for six months and nine children at home—sometimes the child is left to his own ingenuity to invent a tale which will appeal to the buyer's sympathies.

"So far as factory jobs for adolescents are concerned, one of the greatest difficulties is the increase of very low paid piece work. One order which came to a junior office recently called for girls to 'clean' men's pants in a men's clothing shop. This consists of cutting basting threads and sponging grease spots which may have occurred during the sewing. During the first few weeks the employer paid a salary of \$7 a week. From then on, however, payment was by the piece, at the rate of 1/2 cent for each pair of pants cleaned. According to the girls placed on this work, it takes about five minutes to clean a pair of pants. This means an hourly rate of six cents. In a 48-hour week, providing work comes in steadily, the net earnings would be \$2.88." Of a group of 125 children found illegally employed in New York State, one-half of those working full time received less than \$5 a week. Some were earning as little as 35 cents a day. In a toy factory the highest wage was \$6 a week.

Miss Perkins pointed out that recently there has been a positive increase in the number of children injured while at work at the same time that the total number of accidents for adults has been decreasing—an indication, apparently, that children are taking adults' jobs.

She spoke of the increasing proportion of employed children who were working in violation of law, particularly in mercantile establishments. She deplored the growing carelessness on the part of some employers in obeying the law and the tendency shown by parents, teachers, and social workers to wink at illegal employment. On the other hand, the growing number of complaints of violation showed the growing consciousness on the part of the community of the provisions of the law. The continuation schools, she said, had been a great aid in this educational work.

Miss Perkins continued, "Frequently of late employers charged with violations of the child labor law have plead to us that the child was hired because no other member of his family had a job and only the child's earnings stood between the family and destitution. I do not question that this is often true. But I do question the social wisdom of settling upon the shoulders of adolescents the burden of pulling us through the depression. I also question the complete veracity of an employer who claims that his motive in hiring adolescents is to help the child's family. Such child labor is not really intended to help the family. It is primarily a search for the cheapest possible labor.

"It would be better during this depression to keep children under 16 out of employment entirely and to acknowledge a social responsibility for the maintenance of families dependent upon them. Thus we would at least have taken a burden from those least able to bear it and we might also reduce to a considerable extent the postponed costs which the present exploitation of adolescent workers is piling up against the future.

"To countenance child labor at a time like this is to sanction extending the depression into the lives of the next generation. With innumerable adults unemployed there is no need for children in industry today."

Joseph M. Tone, Commissioner of Labor of the State of Connecticut, stated that "Child Labor and fearfully low wages characterize the sweat shops in the clothing industry operating in the State of Connecticut."

Employers have been known to punch the time cards of their employees, thus showing a legal number of hours, while the employees, including minors, worked overtime. Cases were found in which children worked 80 hours or more a week.

Publicity is an important measure in dealing with these violations, according to Mr. Tone. Courts have imposed insignificant fines. He favors a law providing for jail sentences.

"According to the U. S. Women's Bureau study of the sewing trades in Connecticut made in the fall of 1931, 23 of 57 contract shops prefer very young workers. Since July, 1932, the State Board of Education reports 1,656 regular working certificates issued to children under sixteen. Of this number 546 had obtained employment in manufacturing concerns. From recent experience with sweat shop industries in Connecticut, it is safe to assume that the majority of these children have found \$2 or \$3 a week jobs in shops of this kind." Mr. Tone sketched the general working conditions which were similar to those found by factory inspectors fifty years ago.

"Recently a prominent welfare worker stated that many deserving workers were being deprived of city work because one or two of their children were employed in one of the sewing shops earning just enough to prevent further aid from the city in the way of employment for the father. The social consequences of such a situation are obvious."

Beatrice McConnell, Director of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Women and Children, said that although child labor has decreased in Pennsylvania, apparently it has not decreased as rapidly as adult labor. Economic pressure is driving many young children out of school into industry. In some districts in Pennsylvania more children are employed now than ever before. Continuation schools are being opened where previously there were not a sufficient number of employed children to require their establishment. In a recent survey of 150 plants manufacturing clothing in Pennsylvania, 75 employed 14 and 15 year old children. Eight hundred children of these ages were found working in manufacturing processes. In one factory 53 per cent of the total working force was made up of children under 18. In some plants more than 25 per cent were under 16. In the clothing factories in one county one-fourth of the total work force was composed of children under 16. Wages were very low. Forty-four per cent of the children were getting less than \$3 a week, and more than three-fourths were getting less than \$5. Only 5 children out of a total of 800 earned as much as \$10. Fifty-one hours a week was the usual working week. The textile industry showed a smaller proportion of children under 16 at work.

A recent survey indicated that industrial home work in Pennsylvania was almost as prevalent during the depression as in previous years. There was a marked increase in the violations of both the child labor and the woman's hours laws in connection with this home work.

In the State as a whole, 75 per cent of all the violations of the labor law were of the laws affecting the employment of women and children. The general breakdown in industrial standards was all too evident.

Maud Swett, Field Director of the Department of Women and Child Labor of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, reported that the minimum wage law and the extra compensation law for illegally employed minors has been of great aid in preventing the employment of children in Wisconsin. Six dollars and forty cents for a 40-hour week is the beginning minimum wage for children of 14 years. Very few jobs are open for girls and boys under 10; boys caddy and girls do domestic work, but very little factory work is available. The greatest difficulty in enforcement has developed in connection with the minimum wage rate as applied to domestic service. Many women object to paying the minimum rate for domestic service of \$4.25 with room and board or \$6 with board alone to these young workers. Through the cooperation of the employment agencies a fairly good check is made of illegal employment. Miss Swett pointed out that although the high child labor standards of Wisconsin had been maintained with comparatively little difficulty, she did not know how long they could be maintained in competition with the low standards of the neighboring States.

Anno Davis, Director of the Bureau of Vocational Guidance of the Chicago Board of Education, reported that so far as she knew the new child labor problem had not yet reached Illinois. Child labor in Illinois has been steadily decreasing over a period of years in those occupations covered by the child labor law. She said:

"In Chicago, 5,021 full-time employment certificates were issued in 1924-25; 4,372 were issued in 1928-29 (and for this same year, 1,194 certificates were issued in downstate Illinois); 2,794 in 1929-30; 1,036 in 1930-31, and 746 were issued in 1931-32. In October, 1932, only 220 children were employed in Chicago on regular full-time certificates. Reports from downstate indicate that few children are employed in occupations covered by the child labor law.

"There is a shifting of children from mechanical pursuits and clerical work to street trades and domestic service, which are unregulated. Downstate the situation is practically the same—children being employed in domestic work, on farms, as newsboys, and a few as messengers, in stores and a small number in factories, but for the most part in unregulated occupations.

"This situation does not mean that Illinois has no problem. There are thousands of children of compulsory school age out of school in the State, spending their time in idleness.

"Illinois needs a better organized attendance service and higher age for leaving school, since there will never be the jobs for those 14 to 18 as formerly; a curriculum in the schools to meet the needs of all types of children and especially better provision in the high schools for taking care of that group of boys and girls who would work, if there were opportunity.

"There is urgent need for regulation of such occupations and supervision of children employed in them—as domestic service, farm work, street trades and industrial home work. These are the occupations into which children in Illinois will probably go in increasing numbers, and in which they need greater protection."

Courtenay Dinwiddie, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, pointed out the prevalence of the exploitation of children as given by the labor officials of certain States. He said:

"Widespread abuses of children in sweat shops have been reported in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, where children are employed, often illegally, for as much as 51 hours a week and at wages that frequently run as low as \$1 to \$3 a week. Even from the midwestern beet fields, where it seemed that contract rates for family labor were almost at starvation level, further reductions are reported.

"There is an increase in the number of children engaged in occupations which are least often regulated by the child labor law, such as tenement home work, street trades, and various types of after-school activities. Distressing instances have been uncovered of young children doing tenement home work for pitifully low pay. In 53 cities 1,740 children apparently under 14 were found selling newspapers on the street between 8 and 2 o'clock at night.

"There is a new and startling problem of idleness among children who have left school ostensibly for work, but who are employed only temporarily, if at all, and do not return to school. The harvest from what these idlers at an adventurous age find to do may not be fully reaped for some years to come.

"Children under 16 years belong in school at all times and during a period of widespread adult unemployment most of those under 18 years should also be engaged in furthering their education. For the employed child is taking a job from an adult breadwinner; and the idle child is a menace to society.

"The types of child exploitation which are developing under economic stress to-day are as alien to the better instincts of humanity as in the days when children of 10 and 12 years were employed in mines, glass factories and cotton mills. Now is the time to strengthen our laws and administrative machinery and wipe out the stain of inhuman treatment of children forever from our country.

"Business conditions have reduced the actual number of child laborers. It is more clearly evident than ever before that there is no satisfactory place for immature workers in industry in a machine age. We must make certain that there will not be a resurgence of child labor when industry picks up."

STEERING COMMITTEE

In order to follow up this program the conference authorized the appointment by the chair of an emergency steering committee for 1933. Miss Abbott appointed the following as members of the committee: Courtenay Dinwiddie, Edward F. McGrady, Belle Sherwin, and Milt D. Campbell.

IN ATTENDANCE AT THE CONFERENCE

Representatives of State Departments of Labor.

Beatrice McConnell, Director, Bureau of Women and Children, Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry.
 Frances Perkins, Industrial Commissioner, New York State Department of Labor.
 Maud Swett, Field Director, Woman and Child Labor Department, Wisconsin Industrial Commission.
 Joseph M. Tone, Commissioner, Connecticut Department of Labor and Factory Inspection.

Associations and agencies represented.

American Association of University Women:
 Mrs. Glen Swiggett, Chairman, Legislative Committee.
 American Federation of Labor:
 Edward F. McGrady, Legislative Committeeman
 Florence Thorne
 American Federation of Teachers:
 Selma Borchardt
 American Home Economics Association:
 Alice L. Edwards, Executive Secretary
 American Legion:
 Milt D. Campbell, Chairman, Child Welfare Legislative Program
 Emma C. Puschner, Director, National Child Welfare Division
 Oscar L. Chapman, Colorado Legion
 American Nurses' Association:
 Clara D. Neyes
 American Trade Association Executives:
 Charles J. Brand
 Central Conference of American Rabbis:
 Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Chairman, Social Justice Commission
 Chicago Board of Education:
 Anne S. Davis, Director, Bureau of Vocational Guidance
 Council of Women for Home Missions:
 Edith E. Lowry, Secretary, Migrant Work
 Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America:
 Worth M. Tippy, Executive Secretary, Committee on the Church and Social Service

Associations and agencies represented. (Cont'd)

- General Federation of Women's Clubs
Grace Poole, President
Julia H. Jaffray, Chairman, Department of Public Welfare
- International Labour Organization
Leifur Egnasson, Director, Washington Office
- National Association of Manufacturers
Laura Cooke
- National Board, Young Women's Christian Associations
Elizabeth Eastman
- National Catholic Welfare Conference, Department of Social Action
Reverend Edgar Schmiedeler
- National Congress of Parents and Teachers
Mrs. William T. Bannerman, Chairman, Legislative Committee
- National Child Labor Committee
Courtenay Dinwiddie, General Secretary
- National Consumers' League
Lucy R. Mason, General Secretary
- National Council of Catholic Women
Agnes Regan, Executive Secretary
- National Council of Jewish Women
Mrs. Alexander Wolf
- National Education Association
Joy E. Morgan, Editor, The Journal
- National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
Charl Williams
- National Federation of Settlements
Lydia Burkin
- National League of Women Voters
Belle Sherwin, President
Marguerite Wells, Chairman of Legislation
- National Vocational Guidance Association
Mildred E. Lincoln, President
- National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Ella A. Boole, President
Mrs. Alvin T. Sherbine, Director of Child Welfare
- National Women's Trade Union League
Elizabeth Christman, Secretary-Treasurer
- New York Child Labor Committee
George A. Hall, Secretary
- Service Star Legion
Mrs. R. K. Noble, Legislative Chairman
- United States Office of Education
Beac Goodykocntz, Assistant Commissioner of Education.

Personal and
Highly Confidential.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1933.

My dear Eleanor:-

The following are really the heads of important divisions of the NRA, who should get together with the President and General Johnson either in small groups or all at once to tell the President what they see as the danger, defect and important need:

Dr. Alexander Sachs, Chief, Division of Research and Planning
Donald R. Richberg, General Counsel, Legal Division
Dr. Leo Wolman, Chairman, Labor Advisory Board
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Liason Officer, Industrial Advisory Board
Walter C. Teagle, Industrial Advisory Board Board
Gerard Swope, Industrial Advisory Board
Nelson Slater, Deputy Administrator
William H. Davis, Deputy Administrator
Mrs. C. C. Rumsey, Chairman Consumers' Advisory Board or
Mr. Dexter Keezer, Executive Director, Consumers' Advisory Board

There are also four other Deputy Administrators:

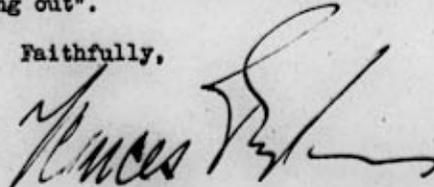
Kenneth M. Simpson
A. D. Whiteside
Malcolm Muir
General C. C. Williams

who really are third rate and whose contributions to a matter of policy would be useless. However, it is almost impossible for you to ask Davis without asking these other four and it might be well for the President to see for himself the quality and character of their minds when focussed upon questions of policy and procedure. The real difficulties that ought to be talked out in a friendly way have to do with policy quite as much as with administration although they are very complicated due to the fact that there is no well defined and understood policy.

The only thing to be avoided is to allow General Johnson to act as spokesman for all of them, but you and the President will have to manage that. It used to be called "drawing out".

Faithfully,

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House.



June 3, 1933

100 JEV

Dear Eleanor:

I am very glad, indeed, to second the nomination of Marion Dickerman and have written a letter to the Cosmopolitan Club, and will stop in and sign the book at the first opportunity.

Sincerely

Charles E. Hughes

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House

Special for lunch

100

June 27, 1933

Dear Frances:

These are food rations which a young man called Ned Washburn, who has been on several Alaska trips, insists are far more nourishing than the army rations or any other rations which have as yet been published. He says the men finished their trips heavier than when they went. It is both economical and easy to carry. He thought they might be used in the reforestation camps where the men are off on several days trips.

I thought you might like to send them to Mr. Fechner. I think the young man would be glad to be seen about them if anyone were interested.

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

S:O

100
June 19, 1933.

Dear Frances:

This is an old friend of Franklin's and mine and a sister of Ruth Morgan. She is very anxious to have you speak at the annual meeting this year.

I am enclosing a copy of her letter, that part at least which I think will interest you.

Whether you go or not, I hope you will get in touch with her because I think she may help you do some good work. She is a republican, but a liberal one.

Affectionately,

Miss Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington
D. C.

S:R

100

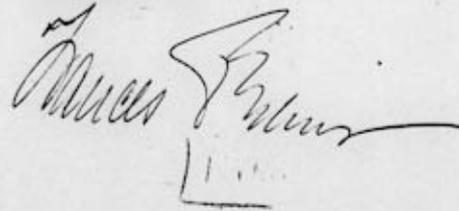
June 27, 1933

Jes

My dear Eleanor:

Replying to your note of June Twenty-sixth enclosing the file for Miss Mary Hughes, may I say that it is difficult to make a definite statement of any opportunities there may be in this Department. I shall be glad to keep her record on file for future consideration.

Affectionately,



Mrs. Roosevelt

The White House

Washington, D. C.

Letter from Elsie Waterbury Morris re: Major Cyril Ransay-Hill

100

August 2, 1933

Dear Frances:

If there is any way of expediting the entrance from Mexico of this young man, I would be very grateful to you if you would do so.

Affectionately

Hon. Frances Perkins
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

100

August 5, 1933

Dear Francis:

Could you get some one in your office to write an article for the Women's Democratic News or perhaps a series of articles on different aspects of the work in your department?

I would like one particularly on the public employment offices and their attitude toward unskilled labor, and I would like one on what the new industrial codes will mean to labor.

In fact, anything you think would be of value to get across to the New York State women.

Very sincerely yours

Wm. Francis Perkins
United States Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

100

August 5, 1933

Dear Frances:

On the face, this seems unfair
but I am sending it to you so that you can
tell me what to say.

Affectionately

Hon. Frances Perkins
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

100

August 24, 1933

Dear Frances:

This woman seems as though she could do something which might be useful. I wonder if you could find something for her or suggest somewhere that she could try.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Mrs. O. R. Whitney
2304 South Ave
Syracuse, N. Y.

100

August 31, 1933.

My dear Frances:

This was given me by a friend
of yours in Morgantown and I want to tell
you I think your friend is doing a per-
fectly grand piece of work.

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington
D. C.

September 24, 1933

100
P

Dear Frances:

Is there anything that can be done to
help nurses who are out of work today?

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Enc: Let from Mrs. M.A. Murphy Stegall
~~20 Chapel Street~~
Saylesville
Rhode Island

Mrs. Dall

Your mother told the writer of
this letter that she would send
it to Mrs. Perkins and I think
it had better go from you
M. B.

August 28th, 1933

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

I was glad to get your letter of July twenty-seventh and while I do not know definitely whether any of the present Codes will help unemployed graduate nurses. I realize the problem is a serious one and I shall refer your letter to Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

With best wishes and the hope that things will be better for you in the very near future, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. A. Murphy Stegall
20 Chapel Street
Saylesville, R. I.

ER:em

September 22, 1933

100

Dear Frances:

has the Department of Labor a list of
employment agencies over the country, that I could give
this woman?

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Enc. Let. from Mrs. Electa L. Mitchell
Belgrade Lakes
Maine

October 27, 1933

My dear Miss McBride:

Because Mrs. Roosevelt is away
I am acknowledging your letter and the
clipping. They will be brought to her
attention when she returns.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Lucia McBride
1763 Mistletoe Drive
Cleveland
Ohio

November 14, 1933

100

Dear Frances:

Mrs. Sinclair Jacobs tells me that she has asked you to speak in Atlanta. If you are going anyway, and can do it, I hope you will. She is a nice girl.

Affectionately,

Honorable Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

100
November 14, 1933

Dear Frances:

I frequently get these nice pleasant little notes that are so disagreeable and I always prefer seeing them and answering them myself to having some one else do it for me.

If you want me to answer, please send it back and I shall be glad to do so.

Affectionately,

Miss Frances Perkins
Secretary to Labor
Washington, D. C.

File

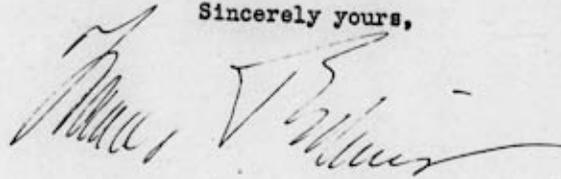
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November 16, 1933.

Dear Eleanor:

I have your note of the 14th. I have heard from Mrs. Sinclair Jacobs and am going to try to do what she asks on my visit to Atlanta. I am only going to be there for two days.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Roosevelt,

The White House.

November 14, 1933.

100

Dear Frances:

I am planning to have our first get-together luncheon on the eleventh of December at one o'clock. You will remember that I suggested we have luncheon together here the first Monday in every month. I am not able to have it the first Monday in December, but hope to have it on the first Monday of each month thereafter, unless something takes me away. I will, of course, let you know in time.

Looking forward very much to seeing you, I am

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor

Above letter written to all Cabinet
Ladies except Mrs. Hull.

Letter to Mrs. Phillips 12/6

November 16, 1933

100

Dear Frances:

Should this go to you or
should it go to General Johnson?

affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Let. from J. Glen Anderson
Attorney
744 Broad St.
Neward NJ

December 12, 1933

100

Dear Frances:

I would love to see these pictures, but I had an idea that it might be well to ask a group of people who are interested, such as Mr. DeLand's Planning Commission, Mr. Conn, etc. are there any people whom you particularly would like to have asked?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Let. from Mr. Alfred Granger
2824 O St.-N.W.

January 27, 1934

100

Dear Frances:

Will you let me know if
there is anything that can be done
about this?

Affectionately,

Honorable Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

DD

February 3, 1934

Dear Frances:

I did write to Ambassador Bingham protesting more about the classifying of Mrs. Kelly and others as Communists, and about his stand on the Child Labor Amendment. He wrote that he did not believe in the Child Labor Amendment and that his people knew that was his policy. I told him of course he was free to believe anything he wanted and that he had the right to his own convictions. I do not know what more we can do with him.

Affectionately,

0

Hon. Frances Perkins

*Copy of
Amb. Bingham's letter
enclosed*

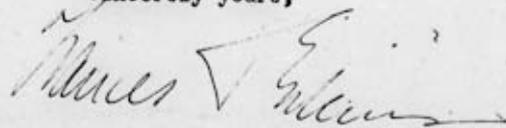
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January 29, 1934

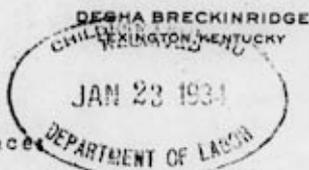
My dear Eleanor:

I am sending you a letter from Desha Breckinridge, and the clipping from the Courier-Journal of Louisville, of January 22nd. Apparently the Courier-Journal stuff is going right on, and it would seem as though Mr. Bingham has not affected the change in policy with regard to the Child Labor Amendment which we hoped he would.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House



January 22, 1934

My dear Grace

Thank you for your letter of the

19th.

I have intended to investigate Edmunds, but have been so busy I have not done so. I am delighted that Charley Ross is going to do it through the Post-Dispatch. Edmunds has flooded the state with copies of a speech delivered by him on November 29. He has written me three or four letters. That speech is apparently the foundation for the editorials in the Courier, some of the editorials in the Courier using whole sentences from the speech and paraphrasing others. Edmunds writes me that Ed Trabue of Louisville is directing the fight against the ratification of the Amendment. I wrote Trabue asking him if this is true, had a letter from him evading the issue and have written him again asking a specific reply. I shall publish this correspondence as soon as he has had a reasonable opportunity to answer my last letter. In that correspondence I tell him that judging by Edmunds' speech he is mendacious and malicious.

The Courier has issued a four page broadside, republishing all the editorials it has had against the Child Labor Amendment, and sent it

Miss Grace Abbott - 2

January 22, 1934

to all the circulation managers. I have been trying to get hold of additional copies but have succeeded in getting hold of only the one sent to our manager. I want it to use before the Legislature if need be. It shows the prime reason for desire to defeat the Amendment - the use of newsboys as carriers.

I enclose an editorial from the Courier of this morning.

I wish I might talk with you. I called Laffoon on the phone this morning. He told me that he had a telegram from Farley and Miss Perkins that he was going to send a message to the Legislature this week enclosing those telegrams. He did not seem as earnest in his purpose as I hoped he would be and thought he would be after the receipt of those message. I have telephoned Mrs. Halleck and Mrs. Settle at Louisville to suggest that they put the pressure on him immediately from there. I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending Barkley by this mail.

I write under a little pressure, as Tom Underwood is away and there are a number of things calling for my attention, but I am, with every good wish,

Affectionately yours,

John Bruce

Miss Grace Abbott
Washington, D. C.

Ask for the Department you desire to
visit in. Before leaving, our books are
sent.

WASHINGTON BUREAU—City and
National. Office of National
Bureau, Washington, D. C.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
The Associated Press is authorized to
publish the following articles in its
publications subject to the usual and
usual terms of publication of news
articles herein and subject to the
usual terms of publication of news
articles herein.

MONDAY, January 21, 1913

FARMERS AND THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Advocates of the Child Labor
Amendment argue that the control of
children, or father of persons under
18 years of age, would not extend to
the farm. But that was not the un-
derstanding of the sponsors of the
Amendment who lobbied the amend-
ment resolution through Congress, nor
was it the understanding of the Con-
gress which passed that resolution.

The chief of these sponsors, Mrs.
Florence Kelley, who drafted the
Amendment, insisted that it must
cover all persons under 18 years of
age, and at her behest both the House
of Representatives and the Senate
repealed down amendments excluding
children on the farm, and it was her
National Child Labor Committee
which issued a statement declaring
"agriculture is the only legitimate
field of work entirely uncontrolled by
legislation; the South, because of its
agricultural character, will lead to
child labor; agriculture employs
three-fifths of the million child
laborers."

Miss Grace Abbott, Mrs. Kelley's
assistant in pushing the Child Labor
resolution through Congress, was
equally determined that in its scope
there should be an exception in favor
of farmers' children. She made that
clear in her appearance before the
House Judiciary Committee, as re-
corded verbatim in the House hearings
before that body. Full power, she
asserted, should be granted Congress
to enforce the Amendment, and to
make any exceptions as to what it
should include "would defeat," she
explained, "the general purpose for
which we are contending." She was
then interrogated by members of the
committee. Thus:

Mr. Montague—You would make
an exception at all?
Miss Abbott—I would make no
exception at all.
Mr. Montague—In the legislation
passed at this time?
Miss Abbott—In the amendment
passed at this time.
Mr. Summers—You would have it
a finished job?
Miss Abbott—Certainly.
Mr. Hiram—There are a number
of forms of amendments before us,
some of them describing absolutely
the age and the manner and the
kind of employment prohibited and
making an absolute prohibition of
that kind of employment of chil-
dren; there are other resolutions
saying that Congress shall have the
power to prohibit, and at what age,
and limiting the details.
Miss Abbott—Yes.
Mr. Hiram—Which one do you
favor?
Miss Abbott—I favor the general
grant of power.
Mr. Hiram—The one I mentioned
last?
Miss Abbott—Yes, the general
grant of power, with the details to
be worked out in the future.
The Chairman—Except so far as
this being a general power, it in-
cludes the power to regulate labor
upon the farms and in agriculture.
Miss Abbott—Yes.
The Chairman—That the power
to do it is proposed here.
Miss Abbott—Yes.
Mr. Montague—You would give
them just as much regulatory power
as to farming as you would as to
mining, or any other work of occu-
pation?
Miss Abbott—Yes, so far as the
power goes.
While she said she was not advo-
cating "at the present time" (that
was ten years ago) the regulation of
farm labor, she declared: "We do not
know what will develop with reference
to agricultural labor in the future at
all; we may have in the next ten years
or the next hundred years a totally
changed situation from what we have
now and certainly I would not like
to attempt to say now, because it
would be sure to be wrong. Conse-
quently, it seems to me a full grant
of power in the Constitution is in
line with the other grant of powers in
the Constitution."

Just how Congress in ten years, or
one hundred years, might be prevented
as to exercise that power, neither
Miss Abbott nor anybody else knows.
Absolutely the only safeguard
against the abuse of this power is in
refuse to invest Congress with such
a power. There is no denying the
words of Henry S. Pritchett, president
of the Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching, when he
says:
Advocates of the measure urge
that Congress will not see the
power abused in a way that
permeates. There can be no
possible assurance of such action.
On the contrary, the same reason-
ing that has brought this bill
forward will continue to urge regu-
lation unless under it. But if this
bill, for rules and regulations made
by a Bureau created in an act of
Congress have been restricted as
expressed in effect to the law
book. An appropriate instrument
of the kind of a Federal Child Labor
Bureau may exercise a dominion
over the behavior of children in
periods of its operation, from which
there is no appeal. It is necessary
and that they be held accountable and

THE COURIER-JOURNAL

development, in entering school at
an earlier age than the age of 18. To
decide as a Federal Bureau in
Washington the power to decide
this question for all such persons
in the United States is unnecessary
and inadvisable.

And it must not be forgotten that
Miss Grace Abbott is the head of
the Federal Children's Bureau, which
would have charge of administering
any child labor enforcement laws
passed by Congress, and that this
bureau would have power to adminis-
ter these laws just as much as it
pleased.

Daniel Webster never spoke more
wisely than when he warned against
trusting any Congress in carrying out
indiscriminate and uncollected powers
in this amendment would confer.

February 24, 1934

My dear Mr. Chisum:

I know Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson and I agree with you as to her capabilities. Would you mind telling me exactly what position she should be appointed to to really help the colored people who are being neglected? Are they being neglected in government relief or is it the charitable work being carried on by the different communities?

Very sincerely yours,

0

Mr. Melvin J. Chisum
733 North 49th Street
Philadelphia

cert 2-24-34

"FOR THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO JOURNALISM"

NATIONAL NEGRO PRESS ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE FIELD SECRETARY
MELVIN J. CHISUM

421 Jackson Avenue removed to:
GLENCOE, ILL. 737 North 40th street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

January 22, 1934.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington,
D. C.

Dear Mrs Roosevelt:

I am taking the liberty to address you about a matter which concerns my people where you can help tremendously. The movement, The Mobilization for Human Needs 1934 campaign is going forward (and this will shock a broadminded Christian lady such as you are) with almost no regard for the colored people in the more than two hundred cities where the work is advancing.

You might never know that the Negro is being almost utterly disregarded and I submit that these too, with all their misfortunes and poverty are human beings and I feel quite certain that your Ladyship will agree.

The exigency of the situation calls for unusual action and I am begging your indulgence with me for suggesting a way out which will achieve the fine result which you and the finer souls amongst the Movement seeks to attain.

A capable, intelligent Negro woman of fine training should be chosen to see to it that the Negro people who should benefit by the above great movement, be not ignored and left out and I make bold Mrs Roosevelt to offer the name of one of the most brilliant women of my race, who, not only has a fine mind but possesses a noble and Christian soul.

If you ever give her a chance to meet you, you will instantly see that she is fitted by both blood and breeding to render the very finest sort of service. Her name and address:

Mrs Alice Dunbar Nelson,
1314 North 57th street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Enclosed is a cutting which reveals what a writer on one of your white newspapers thinks of this excellent lady. With very highest esteem for your ladyship, I beg to be considered,

Your obedient humble servant,

Melvin J. Chisum

The Man About Town

I see by a newspaper announcement that Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson has been appointed on a committee in Philadelphia for the distribution of relief among the unemployed Negroes of that city and adjacent points. I don't know whether she has given up her residence in Wilmington or whether she may be only temporarily absent from "her home town." Her husband, however, holds an official post in Pennsylvania to which he was appointed by Governor Pinchot. I suppose that it is a political job and has to do with the Governor's ambition to sit in the United States Senate.

Mrs. Nelson has been silent so long that I inferred she was engaged in the completion of a novel which she

some time ago informed me had been in the process of incubation several months. In the absence of any notice of its publication I take it that she finds the present conditions of finance throughout the county make it wise to wait for better times before one not well known as an author of fiction ventures the cost of publication.

I am almost confident that Mrs. Nelson's writings will rank well among the good sellers and base my evaluation on a delightful sketch she once did for Every Evening on the "Big Quartermen," held here by Negroes every mid-summer. I do not recall reading any writing that preserved so thoroughly the spirit and color of their theme and those who spoke to me concerning that story declared that it was one of the most faithful characterizations of recent word pictures in our language written. It is still preserved among the clippings and scrap books of local lovers of good "human interest stories."

"Big Quarterly" (of Wilmington) at-

tracted so much interest by readers generally that I have hoped Mrs. Nelson will continue her contributions to literature and I have hoped also that she would turn her pen dramaticward. I believe she could give us a play equal in merit to "Green Pastures" for she is not lacking in ability in that direction, I am sure.

I have it from one of the masters of English, who is a member of the faculty of a leading university, that Mrs. Nelson is especially gifted in her mother tongue and writes with the touch and a sureness of a virtuoso.

I believe that while the country is recovering from " doldrums " Mrs. Nelson could divert us with either a book or a play that would be a welcome contrast to much of both forms of such entertainment to which we submit.

It is scarcely necessary to further identify Mrs. Nelson as the former wife and widow of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the Negro poet, and pride

of his race in the literary field. She taught school here for several years but doubtless found the role of pedagogue rather drab for a Pegasus that saw higher forms of distinction beckoning her.

February 24, 1934

Dear Frances:

Is there any place where
you can use this woman?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins

Let. from
Mrs. C. Goodloe Edgar
1410 29th St.
Washington

100

February 26, 1934

Dear Frances:

Do you know any-
thing about this man's plan?
Should anything be
done about it?

Sincerely yours,

Miss Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Washington,
D. C.

BW

All - Mrs. Lena J. Hissel
100

now at Public A. S. S. S.
Harrison Blvd.

February 27, 1934

100

Dear Frances:

I am enclosing this letter.

Will you let me know if there is anything
that can be done in a situation like this?

Affectionately,

0

Hon. Frances Perkins

Letter from
Thos B. Masterson
39 Park Avenue
Massena, N.Y.

abpt Mrs³ Victoria Pangallo, Massena, N.Y.

March 14, 1934

100

Dear Frances:

Russell Sage College is very anxious to confer an honorary degree on you at their annual commencement exercise in June. The date is Monday, June fourth, at ten-thirty o'clock in the morning.

I am wondering if you would like to come to Hyde Park on the third of June and I would motor you up for this on the fourth. I am enclosing the letter which was sent to me. We will be at Hyde Park at this time.

Affectionately,

Honorable Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

DD

March 24, 1934

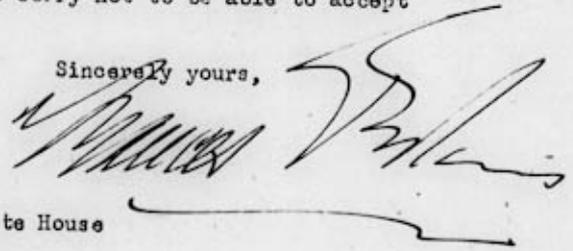
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My dear Eleanor:

Your letter of March 14th extending such a cordial invitation to come to Hyde Park to stay so that I can go to Russell Sage College to have them confer an honorary degree on me has been received and is very much appreciated. I am sorry to say there is every possibility of my being on the Pacific Coast at that time.

I am so sorry not to be able to accept the invitation.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

April 4, 1934

Dear Frances:

Is there anything in the idea
of having a colored woman in the Women's
Bureau, and would it be possible to get
one appointed?

affectionately,

100
S:O

Hon. Frances Perkins

100 2-24

"FOR THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO JOURNALISM"

NATIONAL NEGRO PRESS ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE FIELD SECRETARY
MELVIN J. CHISUM

421 Jackson Avenue Removed to:
GLENCOE, ILL. 737 North 49th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

*Mrs. R. Roosevelt
Attended*

March 20, 1934.

*Released P
- 100 - 100 -
John 1/16
100*

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Replying to your good letter of the 24th ultimo permit me to say, it is fine that you know Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson for thus a lot of time is saved, in that you do not have to find out if or not she is a safe woman to be entrusted with the important assignment of helping to serve her people.

You are good enough to have said to me in your letter: "Would you mind telling me exactly what position she should be appointed to, to really help the colored people who are being neglected?"

It is my idea Mrs. Roosevelt that Mrs. Nelson should be appointed to a position in the Department of Labor to the end that she might be able to assist the splendid Mrs. Perkins in getting through negotiations which would be helpful to the colored people.

*the
Women's Bureau
in the*

Hoping that you will be able to get this appointment through and assuring you that we all hold the greatest faith in you and your great husband, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

Melvin J. Chisum

P.S:

To the end that you may know how I feel toward our great President, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I wrote the President in January,

Chisum.

removed to:

732 North 49th street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

January 16, 1934.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President The United States,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You have done so much toward getting our great country back on its feet that the writer regards you as a ~~miracle~~ worker. In a short ten months you have revitalized the Nation spiritually and you have wrought an economic revolution of historic proportions which has saved our civilization.

When one considers the fact that your score of activities are entirely free from bombast, demagoguery and jingoism, one is not extravagant in saying you are truly good and quite as surely a great president.

We all realize that there is a world of work yet to be done before we will have recovered from the welter of helplessness in which you found our country and its government, but the right thinking people of this Nation, black and white, rich and poor are with you fully and believe in you wholly; we back your policies to the very last man.

The writer desires to commend your stand on lynching in this country, because with you, the writer believes if we are to have an end of this barbaric practice there must be developed a strong and healthy moral sentiment against it rather than legislation.

My prayers and my devotion are yours Mr. President, and I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

April 6, 1934

My dear Eleanor:

I am returning the letter addressed to you by Mrs. C. Goodloe Edgar, together with a copy of the memorandum sent to me by Miss Mary LaDame. Perhaps we will find some other volunteer work that is within her capacity. If so, we will try to use her.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel Nazzari

Mrs. Roosevelt

The White House

EG

1410 TWENTY-NINTH STREET
WASHINGTON, D.C.

My dear Mr. Roosevelt:-

Can I be of service to you, and
to Washington? Several years
ago I was on the Mayor Murphy's
Unemployment Committee in
Detroit. I have known your
brother Mr. G. Hall Roosevelt
Having known Washington, all

my life. (My father, the late
Supt. McComas (now dead -
and on the Bench here) was
during the war, while my
husband was here - if I
I should like to be in
service during these critical
days. Trusting you will
find a united vote for me -
Believe me, sincerely yours
Mary McComas - 1862
(Mrs. C. Goodwin 2 pages)
January the Thirtieth

copy

This is to let you know of the action taken on your memorandum to me concerning Mrs. C. Goodloe Edgar.

I asked Mrs. Edgar to come in to see me. She was here on Tuesday, March 20. At that time she was interested in functioning in connection with the labor situation in Detroit. She has recently been in Detroit and has been trying to communicate a report of her observations there to Mr. William Green, President of the A. F. of L.

The lack of any definite experience in labor problems makes it difficult for me to suggest where in the Department of Labor Mrs. Edgar's services might be used on a voluntary basis. Now would I think it feasible to appoint her to the membership of the Advisory Council of the District of Columbia Public Employment Center.

April 26, 1934

100

Dear Frances:

Can you tell me what the laws are
in Massachusetts covering cases like this?
Will you please return the letter so that I
can answer it?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Let. from Mrs. Mac Buckman
21 Leyland St.
Dorchester
Mass.

April 26, 1934

Dear Madame Secretary:

The name of the colored woman Mrs. Roosevelt had in mind when she wrote you about the piece in the Women's Bureau is Mrs. Alice Lambert Nelson, and her address is 1214 North 57th Street, Philadelphia.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

3:0

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1934

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Replying to your note of April 4th, with reference to the possibility of having a colored woman in the Women's Bureau, may I say there appears to be no real reason for having a negro there for the present. This is largely a research Bureau, as you know, and it does make studies of the negro working woman's problem as well as others; a report on a completed study on negro women workers was made just about three years ago. Miss Anderson tells me there undoubtedly would be some difficulty in having a negro woman do research work for the Bureau, as the work with negro women would largely be confined to the South where employers are white and prejudiced.

There are no vacancies in the Women's Bureau at this time. However, since all positions in this Bureau are under Civil Service, even if there were a vacancy an appointment would have to be made from the Civil Service list, which, of course, might not result in the appointment of a negro woman.

If you have a particular negro woman in mind may I suggest that you send her name to me and any other information you may have? Perhaps something will develop in the future.

For your information may I state that appointment has just been made of Lieutenant Lawrence A. Oxley as Chief of Division of Negro Economics under our Bureau of Labor Statistics, which we hope will result in greater service to the negro workers.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

William D. Phillips

June 18, 1934

100

Dear Frances:

Mary Dreier has written me about her suggestion of Stuart Smith. As I know nothing of this new division or anything that is to be done, I do not feel that I can make any recommendation. I simply wanted you to know that I have always liked Stuart Smith.

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

S:O



NEW YORK WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE
247 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK

ESTABLISHED 1903

TEL. CALEDONIA 5-0884-0885

ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN, PRESIDENT
MARY E. DREIER, VICE-PRESIDENT
MAUD SWARTZ, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. RICHARD S. CHILDS, TREASURER
BERTHA R. PARET, SECRETARY

June
13, 1934

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Eleanor,

Rose Schneiderman and I discussed the new set-up in the Labor Department and were wondering about the personnel that might be useful to the Government in the Information Service which is being created.

In going into the details of the situation we were sure that Ethel Smith would do an excellent piece of work for the Government in this service because of her experience, her knowledge and her association with labor.

I am enclosing to you the letter we wrote to Frances Perkins and which we thought might interest you. We are sure that no mistake would be made and that the service would be enhanced if, by any chance, the appointment fell to Ethel Smith.

Please let me thank you for a very dear little note you sent me.

With affectionate regards,

Lovingly,

Mary D.

BS&AU
18646

I can't speak too highly of Ethel Smith's genuine interest, ability & fine spirit!



NEW YORK WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

247 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK

TEL. CALEDONIA 5-0684-0685

ESTABLISHED 1903

ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN, PRESIDENT
MARY E. DREIER, VICE-PRESIDENT
MAUD SWARTZ, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. RICHARD S. CHILDS, TREASURER
BERTHA R. PARET, SECRETARY

C O P Y

June 11, 1934

Honorable Frances Perkins
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Frances Perkins,

We know how busy you are but we still feel that we must write you on a very personal matter which we hope may be helpful to the Department as well as to the person we have in mind.

We understand the new appropriation carries a division of labor standards - a service including an information service and that the budget has been passed by Congress. We know how important it is to select the right personnel for this division and we would like very much to recommend for your consideration Ethel M. Smith of whom I (Mary) have already written you.

Ethel Smith would be especially qualified in this Department and particularly, perhaps, for the Information Service as her experience for years has been along this line. She conducted a very good information service as legislative and publicity representative of the National Women's Trade Union League and created a great deal of interest throughout the membership and outside.

She held a similar position in her own union - the Federal Employees - which has seceded from the American Federation of Labor and Ethel now belongs to the new organization of Government employees connected with the American Federation of Labor. Her present work is in the Information Service of the Bureau of the Department of Agriculture. However, her whole activities and interest have been in the Labor Movement.

She has contacts with all the leading trade union officials; she is well liked by Mr. Green and writes extremely well and has good judgment. She has been a life long Democrat and supported ardently the administration. To us, it seems that a person with her knowledge and capacity could be of immense use in your Department and we do hope that you will give her favorable consideration.

We cannot tell you how deeply grateful we are for the splendid work you are doing. What an hour! And how grand to think that you are at the head of this most important department of the Government administration.

With love and devotion,

BS&AU
12646

(Signed) Rose Schneiderman

Mary E. Dreier

June 26, 1924

100

Memorandum for Secretary Perkins.

I have just had a letter urging me to add a word to the invitation sent to you to attend the State Fair on September 30. It is possible that I may be there too.

E.R.

100 files

August 29, 1934

Dear Frances: *PERKINS*

I am sending you the paragraph about the sardine business. Can you tell me if there is anything which could be done in this situation?

What about the Aluminium strike? Man's brother worked up in Massachusetts and says that the situation is very bad. Unfortunately, the Union labor organizer who was sent up there was a pretty dreadful person. He got drunk and played around with women and the Union as a result has got a bad name amongst the better class of people. They all believe the Aluminium Company people and think that the Strike is all wrong. Can you have some one give me a little resume, and could you get in touch with the union people and tell them that when they send an organizer to small places they ought to take into consideration the type of man who is sent.

Affectionately,

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

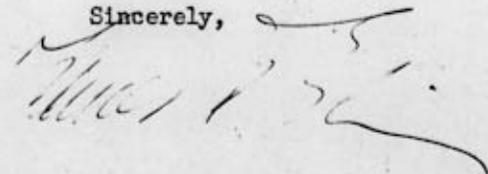
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September 12, 1934.

My dear Eleanor:

Your note of August 29th was received. I am sending you a memorandum prepared for me by Dr. Lubin on the sardine business. The aluminum strike, as you undoubtedly know, has been settled. I am sending you a brief resume on the issues involved which I trust will be useful.

It is too bad the organizer for the union behaved so badly at Massena. I suppose one must expect to find "all sorts of conditions of men" in any situation.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Roosevelt,

The White House.

Letter from Ruth Hill regarding the question of health in the
forthcoming report of the President's Commission on Social
Security.

October 1, 1934

100

Dear Frances:

Is there any foundation
to what this woman says?

Affectionately,

Honorable Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

S:DD

October 24, 1934

Dear Frances:

I am sending you this letter to have investigated the charges this woman makes about money being paid to secure government jobs.

Affectionately,

S:O

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

Letter from E.E. L. Tucker
424 W 22d St.
New York

100-

November 10, 1954

Dear Frances: Perkins

There is a Captain Robert F. Martin who is working under the U.S. Conciliation Bureau, who is anxious for more work. Franklin and I knew him during the war. I do not know how effective he is, but I should be a good man and, anyway, he seems to be hankering for more work than he now has. Will you have him looked into?

Affectionately,

S:O

1100.
17434

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

U.S. CONCILIATION SERVICE

Oct. 24th - 39

Dear Earl:-

I know you have plenty to do, and probably don't find much time to write, but in your last letter you stated if the opportunity presented during your ride or visit with Mrs Roosevelt, you would try to give me a hand with my problems here, so I'm wondering.

Everything is quiet and no one disturbs me, but I'm given absolutely no duty to perform. This I can't understand.

I trust all is well with you

Sincerely
(Cap.) Robert T. Martin

*Noted
8/11
File*

100

November 21, 1934

My dear Mrs. Helm:

Confirming our telephone conversation
may I say that, due to a family situation, it
would be rather inconvenient for Miss Perkins
to come to Mrs. Roosevelt's "At Home" on
December 8th.

Sincerely,

Moses Furstenberg

Mrs. Edith Helm,

Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt,

The White House.

Warm Springs, Georgia,
November 22, 1934.

100

Dear Frances:

I am turning this over to you for your
consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable,
The Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Letter from S.A. Keesal, United Medical Service - Nov. 10
23 Jackson Blvd. Chicago

Enclosing plan for Low Cost Medical Care and hospitalization
already in effect.

November 30, 1954

100

Dear Frances:

I do not feel adequate to
evaluating this gentleman's plan.
Could you have some one go into it
and, if there is anything worth while,
see him?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins

Letter from Chas. W. Lavers, Boston, Mass.

0

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 15, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. SCHEIDER

The President suggests
that Mrs. Roosevelt take this up
with Miss Perkins.

M. A. L.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 2, 1935

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Emily Newell Blair's name
has been suggested for this job.
What do you think about it?

E.N.

MOSE ACRE
CASTINE
MAINE

Dec. 27. 1934

Dear Eleanor -

This letter from Emily Blair
speaks for itself. I don't know why
she would not be good for Mrs.
Rumsey's place. I suppose you will
want someone to popularize the Consumers
Advisory Board. She can talk it up
well. In many ways I should be
glad to see her have it.

I am so glad the candles on the
Xmas trees did not burn you up.

Devotedly

M. A.

It's heavenly here.

On second thought I will send the letter to Frances Perkins for Emily
to give to Mrs. Blair. She will be the leading one - although it seemed to me
it would be better.

December 3, 1935.

Lue

My dear Eleanor:

With reference to the attached letter which was sent to you by Mrs. Pinchot concerning the situation of Mrs. Samuel Gompers, widow of Samuel Gompers, I am enclosing a brief memorandum giving such information as I have been able to secure about her.

The information contained in the memorandum was furnished in strict confidence and on the promise that it would be so regarded.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas V. Blaine

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House.

January 19, 1935

71

Dear Frances:

I have had several people suggested to me for Mary's job - Sue White, Lavinia Angle, and Emily Newell Blair. Mrs. Blair spoke to me herself and she seems to me to be the most logical because she worked with Mary but, of course, I do not know who would be the best one. I am simply passing on these names to you.

Affectionately,

Honorable Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

S:DD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 12, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. ROOSEVELT

I suggest you mention this
to Frances Perkins some day.

F. D. R.



DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN

Jan. 9. 1935

Dear Eleanor -

I am getting doddering without
a secretary. Did I write you that Smily
Blair is praying for Mary Ramsay's
job?

Frances Perkins writes today:

"I think there is something to be said for
Mrs. Blair's application, but since the
whole Committee is being reorganized,
I think it will be necessary to see
what form the Board will take before
any decision can be made as to the
Chairman."

I think Smily would be about as good
as anyone you could get. She would
be able to handle the specialists. They need it
for they see things
in part.

Faithfully
Mo Uy

file

January 23, 1935. *170*

My dear Eleanor:

I have your note of January 19th and
really think that Emily Newell Blair is the
best for the Consumers' Board job.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Mrs. Roosevelt,

The White House.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

70

25WU MO 68 NL 8:16a.m.

San Francisco, Calif. March 25, 1935

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt:

file

Thanks awfully for your warm-hearted support. Dont worry about so-called snub. I did not know about it until it was all over and had become a joke. Nobody here seemed to know who she was. The dinner over-crowded and they turned people away so she could not have been an effective hater. Lots of love. It was grand to read your warm hearted and humorous interpretation. Faithfully.

Francis. Perkins

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

WOMEN'S DIVISION

* NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

DISTRICT 1717

DIRECTOR
MRS. JAMES H. WOLFE
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. JUNE PICKEL
DIRECTOR STUDY GROUPS
MISS HARRIET ELLIOTT

CHAIRMAN
GENERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE
MISS MARY W. DEWSON
HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

May 1. 1935

Dear you are too wonderful.
\$3000 !!! I shall have my photograph
framed and push on the wall of the N. C. L.
by the grateful tongue. I understand
the proviso.

The A. P. man was in yesterday
and he considers your handling
of the adverse publicity on your
making money on the radio - your
waiting until the right moment
etc. ^{to say you never saw the card} just plain masterly.

I think our Albany meeting
is going to be O.K.

Yours too deeply appreciative
to express it in any way
No 14

December 31, 1937

Frances dear:

I am just back or I would write a
note longhand, but I do want to tell you
I am happy for your child and I hope that
the future holds everything for them that
you could wish.

Affectionately,

Miss Frances Perkins
2326 California Street
Washington
D.C.

0

EXCETERA 4600

2526 CALIFORNIA STREET
WASHINGTON D.C.

Dear Eleanor:-
I am going
to announce the
engagement of
Susanna to
David Meredith
Hare at a
small dinner

Tomorrow evening

- The 30th.

I told Mr

2 - & the President

about this

Confidentially

some time ago

& I told you

& he the first

to know that

it is now a

formal engagement.

They are very happy & I hope
faith that it is

going to work out
well for both of us
with love & many

thanks for all you do

many kindnesses
to Susan
faithfully
Lucas Weston

Friday Dec 29th 1937

170
M.C.T.
J
January 28, 1939

Dear Frances

Many thanks for sending me a copy of
your correspondence on the Bridges case. I am
very glad to have the information.

Affectionately,

Honorable Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

0

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1939

Dear Eleanor:

I am sending you this letter which was written by a friendly inquirer about the Bridges case, in the hope that the information contained therein will be of interest to you and perhaps of assistance in understanding the problem involved.

Affectionately,

Harold V. Holt

Enclosure

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

*Thomson
taken to show to the... on trip*

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The following is the correspondence between the Reverend Wilfred Parsons, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School of Georgetown University, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins regarding the Bridges case.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
Washington, D. C.

Graduate School

Office of the Dean

January 16, 1939

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Department of Labor Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madame Secretary:

In the course of a recent visit to several mid-Western cities in which I delivered lectures, I was asked, on more than one occasion, what explained the failure of the Department of Labor to deport Harry Bridges as an undesirable alien unlawfully present in this country. The questioners appeared to believe that because I live in Washington I should know the law and the facts conditioning the Department's attitude in this case.

Both for the information of these inquirers and for my own enlightenment I shall be grateful to you for a statement which I shall be free to repeat to others.

Anticipating, with my sincere thanks, your compliance with this request, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Wilfred Parsons, S.J.

January 19, 1939

The Very Reverend
Wilfred Parsons, S.J.
Dean of the Graduate School, Georgetown University,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Father Parsons:

I am glad to answer your letter of January 16th and its inquiry regarding the Bridges case in which the action of the Labor Department has often been misunderstood. The following are the facts in the case as to its present status and its development.

A week before the Bridges case was to be heard the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals handed down a decision in a case involving the identical allegation—namely, membership in the Communist Party—and in that decision reversed the Department's order of deportation and held that membership in the Communist Party alone was not grounds for deportation of an alien under the law. The alien in this case was named Joseph Strecker and he admitted freely that he was a member of the Communist Party of America and had taken part in its political campaign.

The decision was a surprise to the Department as other Circuit Courts had frequently sustained the Department on deportation on such charges when proven. This constituted a conflict of decisions among the Circuit Courts and, acting under advice of the Department of Justice, the Solicitor of the Department of

Labor and the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, I decided to recommend an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States and asked for a writ of certiorari pointing out this conflict. Under the rules of the Supreme Court a writ would not be granted unless there was a conflict. The Court has, however, granted this writ and review and I therefore believe the action in taking appeal and asking that the law be made clear was the correct action on my part. The case will be argued before the Supreme Court very shortly. The decision will make clear the law as to whether an alien may be deported for being a member of the Communist Party and the Department of Labor will be certain of its ground in dealing with such cases in deportations.

When taking the appeal in the Strecker case it was decided on advice of the Department of Justice and the Solicitor of the Department of Labor to postpone hearings and other action in all pending cases involving this point. This is the usual administrative practice in order to prevent unnecessary expense in conducting litigation which may turn out to be useless after the Court has made its decision in an appeal case. The Bridges case, along with other cases, was postponed—not cancelled—and prompt action will be taken on it as indicated by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Strecker case when it is handed down.

Before Bridges can be deported two matters must be proved by legal evidence: one, that Bridges is a member of the Communist Party, which he has denied, and two, that the Communist Party of America "believes in, teaches and advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States of America by force and violence." Presumably the Supreme Court will clear up the latter.

Under existing law an alien may be deported only for specific reasons enumerated in the various immigration acts. The most important of these may be summarized as follows:

An alien may be deported if he—

- (1) entered without inspection or without a valid visa,
- (2) became a public charge within five years after entry for causes not shown to have arisen subsequent to landing,
- (3) is sentenced to imprisonment for a term of one year or more for the commission of a crime involving moral turpitude within five years after entry or is sentenced more than once to such a term of imprisonment,
- (4) becomes an anarchist,
- (5) advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence,
- (6) is a member of a society or organization which advocates the overthrow of the United States by force and violence, or which circulates written or printed matter advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

The immigration laws do not explicitly refer to Communists, but the above definitions are broad enough to cover Communists or aliens who advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, or belong to an organization which so advocates.

In the matter of the application of this law to the Bridges case I shall review the history of this case.

Bridges, an Australian, entered this country legally at the port of San Francisco in 1920 and has lived here continuously ever since as an alien is permitted by law unless he commits one of the acts specified in the deportation laws.

No complaints about Bridges reached the Department between 1920, when he arrived, and the summer of 1934 during the longshoremen's strike. Investigations after the first complaints came in revealed that he had worked steadily as a longshoreman for eleven years for one firm, had a record for competence, had led a quiet and uneventful life, and had no criminal record in this country. Inquiry of the police in Australia revealed that he came of a reputable family and had no bad record of any kind there.

The original complaints in 1934 came from mostly unidentified sources and said that the writer believed or had heard that Bridges was a Communist. The Immigration Office of San Francisco, the San Francisco police through a special squad, made a searching and independent investigation at that time and again in 1935. No evidence whatever was discovered that Bridges was or had ever been affiliated either with the Communist Party or any other radical organization.

I enclose you a copy of a letter written to a number of persons who inquired about this matter during 1935, 1936 and 1937. It summarizes the Department's entire knowledge of the matter up to the autumn of 1937.

At that time the Department received four affidavits in which the affidavits alleged that they knew Bridges to be a member of the Communist Party. Because previous investigation had indicated the contrary and because the affidavits did not support each other in regard to episodes the Department directed immigration officers to make further investigation and to try to secure a clarification of the line of evidence to be presented. Bridges was also examined under oath, at which time he swore he was not a member of the Communist Party.

Some new affidavits and line of inquiry were developed by investigation and the Department served a warrant on Bridges in March 1936 and set the case down for a hearing.

Before a finding of fact can be made in this or, of course, any other class of case where the only evidence is affidavits, the accused must be given an opportunity to testify and present witnesses in his behalf and cross examination from both sides must be permitted. This is required not only by the rules of the Immigration Service but by the principles of due process laid down by the Courts.

Whatever the decision in regard to Communist Party membership in the Strecker case—Communism has no place in American life.

I am not an expert on communist teaching but the concept of a dictatorship of the proletariat and the contempt for Christian ethics, concepts reiterated in communist literature, are contrary to all my beliefs, devoted as I have always been to the democratic principles of our own Constitution with the protection of individual liberties, freedom of religious worship and freedom of speech guaranteed to us by the Bill of Rights.

I have too much respect for the American people, both native born and foreign born, to fear that they will accept the principles of communism but a sure defense would be a faithful practice by all of us of the principles of religion and the principles of constitutional democracy.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ FRANCES PERKINS

January 21, 1939

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madame Secretary:

I thank you very much for the clear and painstaking explanation which you have given in answer to my query of January 16, 1939, respecting the much discussed question of the status in this country of Harry Bridges, accused of membership in the Communist Party.

Personally, I find this explanation quite convincing, and helpful in following the further progress of the legal issues involved.

May I in conclusion assure you that I heartily welcome your declaration that "Communism has no place in American life" and that its contempt for Christian ethics is contrary to all your beliefs. I thoroughly agree with you that a sure defense against acceptance of its principles would be "a faithful practice of all of us of the principles of religion and the principles of constitutional democracy."

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Wilfred Parsons, S.J.

170
June 30, 1939

My dear Madam Secretary:

Mrs. Roosevelt is glad to have Miss Mary Anderson's memorandum on record in case she is asked to be a sponsor for the Inter-American Women's Congress. She asks me to thank you for sending it to her.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Honorable Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Washington
D.C.

0

am
6-30

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1939

*Thank
Mr. Wagner
for his letter*

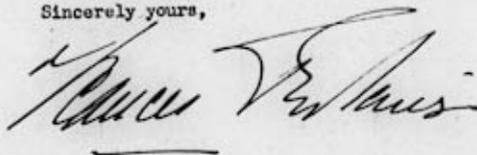
Miss Malvina Thompson
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House.

My dear Miss Thompson:

I am sending you a copy of a memorandum from Miss Mary Anderson of the Women's Bureau with reference to a letter addressed to me by a group calling itself The Inter-American Women's Congress, since in the letter itself there is mention of the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt may be asked to be a sponsor. Miss Anderson's memorandum speaks for itself.

It occurred to me you might like to have the information in it to consider if the invitation should come to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Sincerely yours,



Enclosure

June 19, 1939

To: The Secretary

From: Mary Anderson

Re: Attached letter concerning The Inter-American Women's Congress,
to meet in Mexico, October 1939.

I, too, had a letter asking me to be a sponsor of this Congress, and I have been looking up previous conferences as well as the next.

The women who went to the Lima conference to present the People's Mandate for Peace met after the conference was over to discuss continuation of their efforts and some suggestion was made to organize as a definite group. In due time progress was made toward inviting various persons to be on such a committee, from different countries. After some had accepted however, they withdrew, and rumor has it that they were told this organization was being developed by left wing sympathizers and they decided they didn't want to join. There seems to be some mystery in all this as Mabel Vernon, who was the spokesman at Lima for the People's Mandate, had absolutely no information about this Congress.

Inquiry of the Mexican Embassy brought the information that they had not heard of any such Congress that was to meet in Mexico in October 1939, but that they would make inquiry of their Government; word came back that they knew nothing of such a meeting nor of the organization. Dr. Rowe of the Pan American Union had no information about it, had heard nothing.

It would be my feeling that Government officials in this country would be wise not to accept the Congress' invitation to be a member of their group of patronesses. I think, too, that this group has capitalized on the Inter-American Commission of Women name by choosing their own name so similar in phrase, and I wonder if the list of sponsors named in the letter might not have thought that the two groups were the same organization or related to each other. No one knows, however, whether the list of sponsors in the letter is genuine or whether they might have been sponsors of former meetings and therefore are used in this letter.

Translation of the program accompanying the letter is attached.

See letter from Mrs. M. A. Kopp, 1242 Walnut St., Allentown, Pa.

July 7, 1939

My dear Madam Secretary:

Mrs. Roosevelt has received a letter, wherein it is stated:

"* * * that the women employed in the Penn Sportwear Corp. in Allentown, Pa., owned by one of our 'persecuted friends' are ordered extra time to work to help the 'German refugees', or to pay over a certain amount from their pay envelopes."

Mrs. Roosevelt would appreciate it if you would have the truth of this statement checked.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Honorable Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington, D.C.

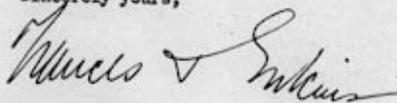
T:DD

July 13, 1939

My dear Miss Thompson:

In response to your letter of July 7th with reference to the collection for German refugees by the Penn Sportwear Corporation in Allentown, Pa., I am sending you a copy of a memorandum by Mr. John K. Steelman, which is self-explanatory.

Sincerely yours,



Miss Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

Attachment

July 13, 1939

To: The Secretary
From: J. E. Steelman
Re: Letter to Mrs. Roosevelt on collections for German refugees

I have checked this situation carefully, and find that complaints similar to that received by Mrs. Roosevelt have come from other manufacturing establishments where the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is organized. A complaint, for example, has just been received by the State Department of Labor of Pennsylvania from an employee at the Quaker Maid Dress Factory, Souderton, Pa., stating that \$1.00 has been deducted from all employees' pay, and that no resolution or vote was taken on the matter. A representative of the Union, it is said, came and made an "unintelligible" speech in which it was stated that they could work on Saturday mornings and have \$1.50 deducted for German refugees, or if they did not prefer to work on Saturday, they could pay \$1.00.

Since this appears to be a violation of the State Law, the matter is now being investigated by the State Department of Labor. A District Representative of the ILOU says that these collections are being made "with the consent of the union members" by action of the Joint Board of the International Union of New York City. He states the collections are being made everywhere the union has contracts. Apparently, however, they are being made only where the manufacturers are agreeable.

This is just another "one of those things", and the individual employee is afraid to talk; also afraid not to sign cards if they are passed around. I doubt if there is anything that can be done, but if so, as for Pennsylvania, it should be done, and will be, by the State Department of Labor, since in that State not even union dues can be collected without the consent of the individual employee.

JES LL

Attachment - letter July 7, 1939 to me from H. Thompson, me to Mrs. Roosevelt

70
November 10, 1939

Dear Frances:

What do you think about this? Can you tell me what the attitude of the Department of Labor is going to be on this question of registration of aliens?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins

+ American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
(Mary Woolley - Alice Stone Blackwell) sending statement to Gen. Fed. of Women's Clubs protesting against their proposal to go on record favoring registration of all aliens.

0

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1939

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am returning herewith the letter you received from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The Department has always been opposed to registration of aliens for a variety of reasons:

1. It is almost-impossible to enforce and it is a great administrative expense.
2. Nothing is accomplished by it as good and worthy alien residents will register voluntarily and others won't and can't be found in the general population without resorting to stool pigeon and spy work, which is costly and demoralizing.
3. There is opportunity for fraud and corruption.
4. It causes inconvenience and even offense to thousands of U. S. citizens by birth or naturalization, who have foreign-sounding names or personal appearance.
5. There are only about three million aliens in the United States and that number is constantly diminishing because
 - (a) There has been almost no immigration for ten years and consequently proportionately higher death rate by old age in this group;
 - (b) There has been a steady naturalization and Americanization of groups here. 160,000 to 180,000 a year are being naturalized and the rate is increasing.

Therefore, the problem created by three million alien residents in a population of 130,215,000 is not now of great significance.

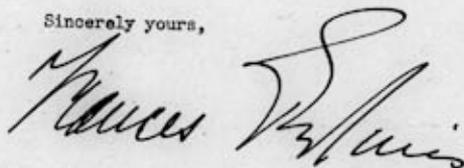
Mrs. Roosevelt

-2-

November 18, 1939

I agree with this position and think you can sign this card if the reasoning in this letter seems sound to you. Personally, I think the registration of one group of people leads to the idea that registration ~~of~~ dossier on every individual would be a good plan. Then where would our comfortable free and easy American way be?

Sincerely yours,



Enclosure

Mrs. Roosevelt

The White House

American Committee for

Protection of Foreign Born



Rev. Herman F. Reising, Chairman . . . Theodore Irwin,
James Waterman Wise, Vice-Chairmen . . . Irving Novick,
Acting Secretary . . . Gifford A. Cochran, Treasurer . . .
Abner Green, Publicity.

79 Fifth Avenue, New York City
ALgonquin 4-2334

Dear Friends:

We are writing to ask you to join with us in a statement which we feel must be sent to the General Federation of Women's Clubs as the result of an announcement in the New York Times of October 29th to the effect that, at their next General Convention, the Chairman of their Department of American Citizenship would propose that the organization go on record favoring the registration of all aliens in the United States.

We are gravely concerned over the prospect of any organization composed of American women going on record favoring a proposal which so greatly threatens our American democratic institutions. We have therefore drafted this statement expressing our stand, and we do hope that you will find it possible to join with us in signing this statement to be sent to the Federation. We feel that this question is of the utmost importance and that our message may have some beneficial effect if we could have your cooperation in this matter.

We are enclosing a mimeographed copy of the newspaper clipping, a copy of the statement we have drafted, and a post-card which we hope you will sign and return to us, signifying thereby your acceptance of the principles expressed and your willingness to sign this statement with us.

Sincerely yours,

Mary E. Woolley
Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Alice Stone Blackwell
Alice Stone Blackwell

uopwa
no. 16

Handwritten notes:
I'd R would like to send P.C.
How do you say registration?

ADVISORY BOARD: Louis Adams, Roger Baldwin, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Haywood Brown, Hon. Emanuel Celler, Nathan Chasin, Winifred L. Chappell, D. Christopherides, David Coudens, Prof. George S. Counts, Prof. Leonard Coville, Anna Dumas, Jerome Davis, Prof. John Dewey, Donald S. Finkle, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Sidney Howard, Isaac Hayes Irwin, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Cyril King, Prof. Robert Morse Lovett, Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, O. M. Orton, Irving Schwab, Isaac Shero, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Oswald Garrison Villard, L. Wallingaer Wood, Charles S. Zimmerman.

from THE NEW YORK TIMES -- Sunday, October 29, 1939

REGISTRATION OF NATION'S ALIENS IS PROPOSED BY CLUB PRESIDENT

Mrs. J. H. Volkmann of the Overseas Unit Holds
Move Would Abate Ills Bared by Dies Inquiry

Registration of aliens in this country is offered as a solution to conditions disclosed by the Dies Committee by Mrs. James Howe Volkmann, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs Overseas. Here in this country after an eighteen-year stay abroad, Mrs. Volkmann has conferred with officials of the General Confederation of Women's Clubs for an exchange of views on questions that concern both memberships.

Following these conferences, she said yesterday that registration of aliens would be recommended to the next general convention in this country by the chairman of the Department of American Citizenship, Mrs. Frederick H. Clausen.

"Our own group, which includes a membership of some 2,000 from clubs in nine European countries," she said, "is making a study of the laws governing registration of foreigners in countries abroad with a view of making recommendations to Washington. It is very apparent from developments in this country that such a step should be taken immediately.

"It would eliminate the present methods being used to combat the evils which nobody denied exist, resulting from foreigners living in this country merely for the purpose of overthrowing the government.

BOTHERSOME BUT WORTHWHILE

"It would likewise serve as a protection to aliens who come here because they know it is the place they want to live. The latter type is no more undesirable than the members of our clubs overseas, most of whom are there because firms have sent their husbands abroad." The work of registering aliens and recording their moves, she added, was "a tremendous bother, but worth it in the end."

Decision to study registration methods was made at the annual convention of the overseas women at London last Spring.

Mrs. Volkmann is a native of Brookline, Massachusetts, and the wife of an American business man who has been for a number of years station in Zurich, Switzerland.

uopwa
no. 16

(To the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.)

The registration of aliens in this country can serve only to add another evil to the many problems confronting the American people. This proposal, if enacted, would serve to spread suspicion and antagonism, confusing and dividing the people at a time when a healthy public atmosphere and unity are essential in any effort to protect the interests of the American people.

The registration of aliens would mean regimentation of the entire population, native as well as foreign-born. If non-citizens will be ordered to carry identification cards, American citizens will have to carry proof of birth or citizenship at all times. It would in effect introduce the European domestic passport system into our American methods of government. The Hon. Frances Perkins, United States Secretary of Labor, has said:

"In considering the adoption of any system of registration, the issue must be squarely faced that it involves a radical departure from the American system and a return to the European and particularly police control of the individual. It would constitute a tremendous step toward the regimentation of citizens."

We are seriously concerned that, in this present period, this proposal may be seized upon by those who seek to whip up an hysteria against the alien similar to the one that prevailed during the last war and resulted in the un-American Palmer raids, which deprived citizens as well as non-citizens of their democratic and constitutional rights.

We sincerely hope that organizations of American women will not allow themselves to become a partner to any such scheme which, in essence, threatens the very foundations of our democratic form of government.

The proposal to register the alien is contrary to the American traditions of hospitality and equality to the immigrant. Not repression, not discrimination, but understanding and friendliness must serve as the basis of any approach we may wish to this problem.

It is our duty as American women, and it is to the ultimate benefit of American society, that we extend help and understanding to our future citizens and that we exercise vigilance to defeat all attacks upon the rights of non-citizens, since such measures threaten as well the entire framework of our social order.

We feel sincerely - and we urge upon all women's organizations - that every effort should be made to enable all non-citizens to become naturalized citizens of the United States.

We can and should work in an American way, through understanding and co-operation, to help the future citizens in our midst, make possible their naturalization and thereby enhance the value of American citizenship and the soundness of our American institutions.

ucfwa
no. 16

January 22, 1940

Dear Frances:

You know that the American Youth Congress is holding a Citizenship Institute here in Washington from February 9 to 12. This will bring young people from all parts of the country.

They will, of course, go up to Congress to see their representatives and they are asking a great many government officials to come and speak to them and to allow them to hold discussions in which they can state their problems. I think it is important that they feel we older people are interested, even though undoubtedly they believe in some things with which we do not agree.

Some 3,000 young people have indicated that they hope to be here, and on account of limited funds the Washington Youth Council is having difficulty in finding free housing space for them. I wonder if you would be interested in taking in some of them and giving them a bed and breakfast for those days, or in sending a contribution for the purpose to me or to the Washington Youth Council at 1701 11th Street N.W. Howard Ennes is the chairman.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

March 19, 1940

Dear Frances:

I showed this letter to the President and he thinks you might be able to do something about this case without his having to do it by executive order.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins

+ Bruce M. Stanley, Tucson, Arizona PO Box 5
About an English woman who came into this country from Canada 10 yrs. ago to enter a sanitarium. Had an accident which delayed her return and brought on illness that has kept her bedridden since. Has an income from England, but this will be discontinued if she changes her citizenship - could not stand a trip back to Toronto. Entering country without papers is constituted a crime and they fear for the questions census takers will ask.

March 20, 1940

7/0

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY PERKINS:

See Mrs. Roosevelt's note:

"Dear Frances, FDR says take up at once with Col. Fleming and N.L.R.B. and move as fast as possible. You may have to get the Att. Gen. Office too. E.R."

+ Lucy R. Mason - about the Hamrick chain of textile mills at Gaffney, S. C. and the violent conditions there.

Bx. 117

September 13, 1940
Hyde Park, New York

70

Dear Frances:

I have received a letter from Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune about a meeting in Washington of the National Council of Negro Women which is to be held October 25 and 26. They want to have their conference in the Conference Room of the Department of Labor and a public meeting Friday night, the 25th, in the Auditorium there. This is a national body and they are going to discuss national problems. Will you let me know if they would be allowed the use of these two rooms?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins

UU

December 13, 1940

170

Dear Frances:

Do you think it would be possible to get an appropriation for the Women's Bureau which would allow them to work specifically in the field of household employment? It is felt that as far as wages and hours are concerned, household employees as a rule are still in the sweat shop class. The Women's Bureau obviously would be the best agency to carry on constructive research in this field, but apparently no funds are available.

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins

DD

Roy M. Swonger, R.D. #3, Harrisburg, Pa. - about labor conditions on a Gov. project at Indiantown Gap, Pa.

February 24, 1941

5/10
PERKINS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF LABOR:

See Mrs. Roosevelt's note:

"Dear Frances - Would you give this to Mr. Meany for investigation and tell him not to give the man's name till he finds out if there exist these conditions? It should be done by an impartial investigator in other words! E.R."

March 4, 1941

70

Dear Frances:

Thank you so much for your letter
about the situation at the University of
Chicago. I shall urge Mr. MacLeish^X to go
there to speak as I think it would be most
helpful.

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins

DS

March 1, 1941

Dear Eleanor:

I read Mary Gilson's letter to you with great interest and I also made some further inquiries about the Chicago situation.

I take it they are having a little campus warfare which is all in the nature of things at college campuses, and particularly at Chicago where they have always done it. There are many ardent pacifists who don't know the difference between peace and pacifism. They will, of course, learn. But I think you are quite right that if Mr. MacLeish could get himself an invitation to lecture or, better still, speak at one of the Sunday morning services at Chicago it might have a very illuminating result. I think that that part of the country is rather slow in understanding the new kind of world we are living in, and of course Mr. Hutchins' speech has reflected what is probably a rather common point of view. I was surprised at him because he has had a world of experience and religious training, but apparently the theme and conception of the sins of the whole world has not sunk into his mind.

With regard to Charlotte Carr, I find it difficult to advise how that should be handled. She is, as you know, a woman of strong emotions and although extremely practical in the administration of matters within her responsibility, may not always think out all the implications and end results of purely ideological positions which she or others take.

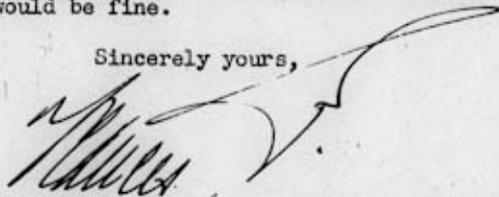
Keogh Sec. General
Send a check to Mr. MacLeish
11-11-41
11-11-41
11-11-41

11-11-41

I should like to talk with her myself about this. I might not be able in any way to change her point of view, but at least my interest would be entirely friendly to her and I might set up a train of thought which would enable her to see how shortsighted it is to take an extreme position at this time. I will make a point of seeing Henrietta Addison, who is one of her closest friends, and see if we can't ask her to put the matter to Charlotte. We must remember, I think, that the Hull House tradition is intensely pacifist following Miss Addam's near martyrdom at the time of the last war and her near sainthood when opinion with regard to war suddenly changed in America.

These are certainly confusing times. I will do the best I can in the matter and I think you could suggest to Mr. MacLeish that if he could get invited out there it would be fine.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Woodrow Wilson", with a large, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

January 31 - 41

Dear Miss Gilson,

Your challenging
talk, your stimulating
social philosophy, your
description of "psychic
income" and your kind-
ness to Ent will not
soon be forgotten on
the north shore.

May I repeat my
thanks to you and
assure you that
you stated infectious-
ly and force fully

what many of us have
long felt to be true?

I wish there were
more voices like yours
crying out against
the smug acceptance
of defeatism.

Cordially yours,
Aunt L. Lebeson
1174 ^{Spruce} Spruce St.
Winnetka, Ill.

(Mrs. Herman Lebeson
1174 Spruce St.
Winnetka, Ill.)

May 17, 1941

70

Dear Frances:

I have been asked again to try
to do something for May Ward in Boston.
She is capable and has been extremely loyal.

Can you help?

Affectionately,

Hon. Frances Perkins
The Sec. of Labor

DD

20

May 21, 1941

Dear Eleanor:

I have your note about Lay Ward. She has been on my mind for a long time.

What would you think of asking Mr. Fahey of Home Owners Loan Corporation if he could avail himself of her services in the Boston area?

Also the Office of Civil Defense might well take advantage of her promotional abilities. (to Quachia)

Then too, it occurs to me that the Office of Government Reports and Harriet Elliott's Division suggest themselves as likely possibilities.

Sincerely,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

"She has no Civil Service status
So emergency agencies are best
2. She will do her best work - Boston area

W
January 22, 1942 *70*

Dear Eleanor:

+ Mary Van Kleeck has sent me a copy of her letter to you of January 16th.

I am sending you a copy of the letter I wrote her the other day and a copy of the one which is going to her today, for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas D. Smith

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

Enclosures

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1942

Miss Mary Van Kleeck
130 East 22nd Street
New York City.

My dear Miss Van Kleeck

Thank you for your letter of January 16th and for sending me copies of your letter and telegram to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Women are in a number of policy-making places, namely, Mary Anderson, in charge of the Women's Bureau, and Thelma McKelvey in charge of women's activities in Hillman's outfit. And, of course, OGD has many women, as you know.

Sincerely yours,

Jsg

January 17, 1942

Miss Mary Van Kleek
Room 630, 130 East 22nd Street
New York City

My dear Miss Van Kleek:

In reply to your telegram of the 15th,
may I say that a woman has been selected for
service in connection with the National War Labor
Board and will be named shortly among the public
group of mediators and arbitrators.

I appreciate your interest.

Sincerely yours,

70

March 4, 1942

Dear Madam Secretary:

The rules for admission to Mrs. Roosevelt's press conference have been changed in order to limit the number of women attending, but these do not apply to the women who have come to these conferences as representatives of government press relations bureaus.

Miss Mary Anderson, Mrs. Elisabeth S. Enochs, and Miss Mary Robinson have been accredited from your department heretofore and are entirely acceptable to Mrs. Roosevelt. She will be glad, therefore, to have them attend, or anyone else whom you shall designate.

A new type of admission card will be issued and can be obtained by applying to Mr. Hutchinson of the Secret Service.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Honorable Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D.C.

0

May 8, 1942

70

Dear Frances:

I have learned that Miss Elsie Austin, a young colored attorney, was offered a position in the Solicitors Office of Labor Department by a Mr. Levy of that office; that she was told that all Civil Service formalities had been taken care of; that she was given Opinions to read in order to fit her for the job; that she resigned from her position with the office of the Recorder of Deeds, to take effect on May first; and that on April twenty-third, she was called to the office of Mr. Smith, Personnel Director of the Department and told that there was no job available for her, no money on hand for the employment of another attorney and that the Solicitors office had exceeded its authority in offering to employ her.

It is my understanding that this case now is before Mr. Meecham Walling, Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division, for consideration. I would appreciate it, however, if you could see that Miss Austin is given a fair hearing and everything possible done to right the wrong which has been done -- provided, of course, the facts are as stated above.

Affectionately,

Madam Frances Perkins,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ross T. McIntire } 100
Gen. James C. Magee } 7-21

7/21/42

70
July 15, 1942

Dear Eleanor:

I ran into some friends of mine the other day who are psychiatrists and found them greatly disturbed about the general conditions for medical psychiatric care in the Army and the Navy. Their feeling is that there just *mental* is not adequate provision and that a large number of cases are developing, particularly in the Navy, from men who have been in battle.

At the meeting of the Psychiatric Association in May they passed the enclosed resolution to express their point of view. They asked me to take an interest in the matter. I have spoken to the President about it, but I know that he is overburdened and doesn't get an opportunity to think about this. I thought perhaps you would like to look into. You remember Dr. Parsons, of course, and the other two men on their committee are people of the first water in the profession.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

Enclosure

9
COPY SENT TO:

Dr. Heinrich
Major General InGoue 7-21-42

AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION

May 26, 1942

Dr. Edward A. Strecker
111 N. 49th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Doctors:

At the Ninety-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Once again we are confronted with a national emergency. The country is participating in a world struggle of incalculable forces. It is most alarming to note that the Naval and Army forces are not utilizing the psychiatric facilities of this nation to the fullest extent. These facilities, both for actual military purposes and for civilian or military morale, are being shockingly unappreciated in spite of the lessons learned from the last World War. The most important factor seems to us one of time. We are already far behind production in other fields, in the matter of organization of psychiatric facilities for both the medical necessities and the social organization of the morale of the nation. Therefore, your Committee on Resolutions recommends the appointment of a well-chosen committee with power to act in taking forward representation of this status of affairs."

In conformity with this resolution the Council voted that a Committee consisting of Dr. Arthur H. Ruggles, Dr. Edward A. Strecker and ~~Dr. Frederick W. Parson~~ be appointed to represent the Association in dealing with the Surgeons General and other officials of the Government in matters relating to the use of psychiatry in the war effort; that the Committee be given full discretion and authority to act, to incur necessary expenses and to arrange for such publicity as is deemed desirable; and that the President be given power to add to this Committee or appoint Sub-committees as conditions may demand.

Sincerely yours,

Hinfrid Overholser, M. D.
Secretary-Treasurer

72
December 14, 1942

Honorable Frances Perkins
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam Secretary:

Since our brief discussion of the future of the Workers Service Program at the dinner for Mr. Harold Butler, events have been moving fast. You probably know that both the National Labor Conventions endorsed a proposal for a new Labor Extension Service under the sponsorship of some Federal Agency. I am enclosing copies of these two resolutions. The Work Projects Administration is about to be liquidated just at a time when there are more requests than ever from organized labor for a continuation of activities conducted under the Workers Service Program.

Before taking further action on these numerous requests for a more permanent program of this type I should like to discuss this whole matter with you. I am going to New York for three days but expect to be back by Thursday of this week. I shall appreciate it if you can give me an appointment after that day whenever it is convenient for you.

If it were possible to develop a plan under the Labor Department, similar to the Workers Service Program but on a more permanent basis, I know that a great many people both in the labor movement and in Government agencies would think this the best possible solution.

Cordially yours,

Hilda W. Smith
Consultant in Labor Education

Enclosure

Hilda W. Smith:if

February 11, 1944

Dear Frances:

Perkins

I am sending you a copy of my letter
to ~~Rose~~ Schneiderman, as I feel this is something
that should be done.

Affectionately,

70
✓

STATE OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK
80 Centre St.ALBANY
State Office Bldg.ROCHESTER
70 Exchange St.UTICA
106 Foster Bldg.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SYRACUSE
214 So. Warren St.BUFFALO
State Office Bldg.BINGHAMTON
502 Press Bldg.

write *ack 2-11*
February 9, 1944

Dearest Eleanor,

I am so sorry I had to run away on Friday but I had arranged for a Bond Rally of one of the large divisions of the Department for 4 o'clock and I had to be on the spot. Your cousin, Captain M. D. Robinson, was one of the speakers. I told him that I had just left you and he was very pleased. He lauded you to the skies and said he thought you were the greatest woman we have in our country. I amended his statement and said I thought you were the greatest woman in the world and he agreed with me. Of course, he said he doesn't always agree with you and I told him disagreement is natural, no one person is infallible and we do have different points of view.

Before he left he said something about the coming election and what did I think. I said that if the President decides to run there is no question that he will be elected. He seemed a bit stunned at that and all he could say was, "Really, do you think he will run?" And I said I had no knowledge that he would run -- all I knew was that if he did, he would be elected.

I should have written you on Monday and thanked you for the opportunity you gave to us to be at the meeting on Friday, but I was unable to get hold of Blanch Freedman because she was ill. She told me this morning how magnificently you handled the Equal Righters. I was greatly amused to see all the old hellcats there. I must say time has made its stamp on their faces and on their beings. I could have laughed outright when Belle Sherwin told you with tears in her voice how the Equal Rights Amendment would bring the millennium not only to women, but men as well. Well, they met their master in you.

I want to clear up a little misunderstanding which worries Elisabeth Christman terribly. When you called the League office Elisabeth Christman was at a meeting of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. Right after you hung up Mary Anderson called and Florence Barnes relayed to Mary your message to Elisabeth, something which she never should have done. Mary Anderson, greatly perturbed about it, went to Frances Perkins and Frances then called you and, as we have it, told you that she had spoken to Elisabeth Christman,

IN REPLY PLEASE ADDRESS WRITER

which really is not the fact. Elisabeth neither saw nor spoke to the Secretary or spoke to Mary Anderson, because right after she got the message from Florence Barnes she did discuss the matter with the other members of the committee and they suggested that she call the White House and see whether a conference with you would be possible. However, when she called on Friday she was told by Malvina that you were not available and after that she found out what had happened.

I am telling you this unbeknown to Elisabeth because I don't think she would want me to say this to you, but she does want to come and explain it to you herself if you will give her an opportunity. Please don't say anything about my writing to you on this.

Take care of yourself darling. With fondest love,

Affectionately,

Rus

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

February 21, 1944

707

Dear Frances:

Many thanks for your letter of February 18. I am glad to hear that you have already initiated in the Department a survey of the state laws which discriminate against women and I shall be interested to see the reports.

Affectionately, .

Hon. Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor

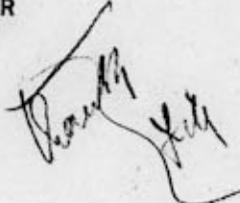
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ack
1-21

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1944



Dear Eleanor:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of February 11 to Rose Schneiderman. I agree with you about it, and you will be interested to know that we have already initiated in the Department of Labor a survey of the laws in the various States that do discriminate against women. I will send you reports on the material from time to time, and I agree that you are right that we should organize methods of amending or repealing such laws as are truly discriminatory.

I think we have to be careful about coming to the conclusion that women have recently become more related to Trade Unions. It is, of course, true that their membership in Trade Unions shows a great increase during this wartime emergency when they have been employed in aircraft factories, shipyards, automobile factories, etc., where the union had previously established a closed shop contract. That means that in such cases a woman upon employment is obliged to join the union, and one does not know the extent to which they are either active in the union or are considered. As a matter of fact, the total number of women employed in these industries is relatively small. Of the 16 million women now at work for wages the great bulk of them are still in the laundries, bakeries, restaurants, mercantile establishments, and small intra-state industries in which, for the most part, there are few, if any, Trade Unions and not much effort being made to organize. In metal working plants where the unions are strong the women are members of the union, at least for the time they are there. It is doubtful if many of them who have been taken into the unions in this war period will retain their permanent membership. Under the seniority rules the men who were first on the jobs will be the last to be let out, and the women who are in almost every case the new employees in the industry will be the first to go. This is only proper and is in line with the union rules. So I don't think that the post-war period will have many women in shipyards or automobile factories or aircraft industries or steel works, and it would be unrealistic to suppose that their employment in less well organized industries would be fully protected by union agreements.

There are one or two laws which are discriminatory against women but which affect such a handful of people as to be of small value. One of them has a provision that forbids the employment of women on grinding operations in the State of New York. This law was passed 30 or 40 years ago when tuberculosis or grinder's rot was the almost certain end of any girl working as a grinder. Since that time the provisions for ventilation

in grinding operations have been vastly improved so that grinder's rot or tuberculosis among grinders is no longer a common hazard. To that extent the law may be regarded as discriminatory only in principle, since the Commissioner of Labor ruled, when I was in that post, that wet grinding might be permitted for women even if the letter of the law required that dry grinding should not. As a matter of fact, not more than 20 or 30 women ever applied for such work. It is not the best work for women to do, nor is it the work women want to do. In other words, the discrimination is more theoretical than real. I am going to send you some more material on this.

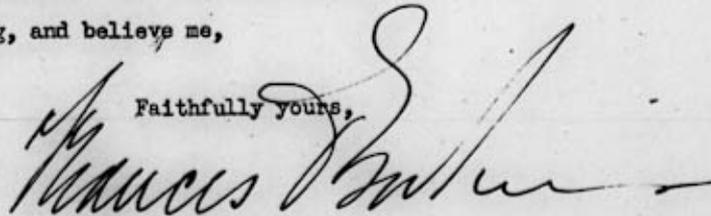
We must still remember that the great bulk of women in industry are women who work for a few years only in the period between school and marriage, and we cannot forget that historically this group has always been very easy to exploit, and I believe it would be exploited now except for the fact that we have good, sensible, sound laws on the subject.

Did you, by any chance, read the New York Times comment on Mr. Wallace's speech? These so-called industrial protection laws have become a part of our social climate. The provisions for seats for women in factories and mercantile establishments, the requirements of law for suitable, sufficient and sanitary facilities for women, the minimum wage laws of the States which put a floor under the latter's wages in intra-state industry still daily prove their usefulness and necessity in maintaining that social climate which makes it possible for women to go out to work in industry, earn a good living, bring home wages enough to pay rent for a decent room and decent food that will keep them in health, and so make their contribution to wartime or peacetime production.

Lots of people have lots of rights. Women have lots of rights as well. Most of us don't know and never do know how to force the recognition of those rights upon others. Even if we have the right to be educated if the community doesn't provide the schools in which we can be educated, it is most unlikely that we shall be able to assert that right and most impractical to try. And so it is, I feel, about this social legislation, certainly the laws, which control the conditions under which people earn their living, and particularly women for whom industrial plant systems and habits were not primarily designed, are still most useful.

Thank you for sticking, and believe me,

Faithfully yours,



Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

March 5, 1944

70

Dear Frances:

Thank you very much for the list of
women. It is a good list and I am glad to
have it at hand.

Sincerely yours,

Hon. Frances Perkins

0

Mrs. Roscoe Anderson
456 Baker Avenue
Webster Grove, Mo.

Active in St. Louis League of Women Voters
Missouri League of Women Voters
National League of Women Voters
(1943--reappointed on Board)
Also supporter of progressive legislation.

Mrs. Dorothy Kirchwey Brown (Mrs. Larue)
78 Revere St.,
Cambridge, Mass.

In her fifties. During the 20's was a member of the National Board of League of Women Voters and very active in support of the Sheppard-Towner Act. Formerly chairman, Department of Child Welfare, National League of Women Voters.
Democrat.

Mrs. Edith Valet Cook
Room 302, State Armory
Broad Street
Hartford, Conn.

Lawyer and community worker.
Active in Connecticut League of Women Voters.
Child Welfare Federation of Connecticut.
Formerly on National Board, National League of Women Voters.
1943--Chairman, Committee on Children in Wartime, Connecticut War Council

Mrs. Mary T. Denman
519 Smithfield St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

In her early 40's. Lawyer; has been in State Legislature.
For years has done active county organization work for Public Charities Aid Ass'n; Western representative of Public Charities Aid Ass'n.
Wide contacts with all women's groups and men's associations.
Delightful person with knowledge of social problems and community facilities.

Mrs. Clarency Dykstra
130 N. Prospect Ave.
Madison, Wisc.

Wife of the President of the University of Wisconsin.
Formerly on Board of National League of Women Voters.
Able.

Mrs. Gladys Talbott Edwards
3501 East 46th Ave.,
Denver, Colo.

Farm woman, formerly in North Dakota.
Educational Director, Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

Mrs. Paul Eliel
1215 St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, Calif.

President, San Francisco Center of the California League of Women Voters.
Formerly President of California League of Women Voters.
On Board, National League of Women Voters.
Active work in support of social legislation.

Mrs. Herbert Fisher
100 Huntington Street
Hartford, Conn.

Chairman, Committee on Social Service and
Welfare, Connecticut War Council

Mrs. George Gellhorn
4366 McPherson Street
St. Louis, Mo.

Active in St. Louis League of Women Voters
Missouri League of Women Voters
National League of Women Voters

Able supporter of progressive legislation

*Elizabeth Wagon
Walter
Mother*

March 1, 1944

Dear Eleanor:

You told me sometime ago that you thought we ought to have in our minds lists of women of experience and judgment who were not professional women primarily, but who would be useful and available for service on boards, committees, commissions, Government inquiries, etc., to represent women and the public as well.

I am sending you a list of people whom I know to be able and experienced. It is a short list, but they are all good. I have got a copy of it, but I thought you ought to have it to look at in case you are asked for advice. There are, of course, plenty of others, but this is the first group who come to our minds.

Sincerely yours,

Frances D.

Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House

Enclosure

*Thank her for the list
copy for the
She will have some
conversations*