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The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

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DECEMBER 27, 1924



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See Page 13

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The Child Labor Amendment

Grace Abbott—Florence Kelley—Ethel Smith
Owen R. Lovejoy—Mrs. William L. Putnam

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The Woman Citizen has published articles about new club houses, collected some information about plans for others, and has had many requests for more news of this kind. Women want to know the details, not only of the big ventures, but also of the possibilities of club houses for small groups and in small communities. It would be helpful to us, and other club centers, if you would give us what information you can regarding your plans.



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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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No. 14

OUR OWN DINGBELLS

HERE, how's that? * * * We should really have preferred to use Dingbells for Christmas, but the kind gentleman from Mr. Coolidge's native state who thought of it didn't think in harmony with our schedule. * * * Three jingles for him now! * * * We're worried over Santa Claus. * * * He is being made too accessible by radio, and he talks too much. * * * Even the jingle of his sleighbells and the patter of his reindeers' hoofs won't save him if he uses so many different voices. * * * You see, we have to stress Santa Claus thoughts hard, so we won't absent-mindedly stuff Child Labor tracts into our friends' Christmas stockings. * * * Not a bad thing to do, at that. * * * Sticking your hand out to tell the car behind that you mean to stop isn't, it seems, easy sign language. * * * Anyhow, the old lady who was taking her first ride in a taxi and saw her driver do this repeatedly, didn't get the point. Her patience cracked and finally she said: "Young man, you look after that car of yours and watch where you're going. I'll tell you when it starts raining." * * * We're not quite in touch with the world yet, because our Congressional Record hasn't started coming. We hope when it comes we sha'n't be like the woman who said, oh, yes, she read the newspapers some—"just enough to get confused." * * * We do think the Record ought to carry illustrations. * * * We have come a cropper on Cross Word Puzzles. * * * Not that we do them ourselves; though when a neighbor in a restaurant looks glassy-eyed we're likely to ask how many letters are wanted. * * * No, we haven't time for them, but we admit they are not wholly wasteful. * * * Latin schools taking them up have impressed us. * * * And we have strengthened our vocabulary in mere vicarious puzzling. * * * We keep being impressed by the way the Italians sing in the Chamber of Deputies. The thing has possibilities. * * * Just suppose our own political parties had campaign songs for use at moments of legislative emotion, how it would brighten up proceedings and point the moral. * * * Maybe they could be used during filibusters, too, sung rather softly, to entertain the Senate while the fort is being held. * * * Speaking of married women's jobs, there's Mandy. "Mose," she said, "is yo' sho' yo' didn't marry me fo' mah job?" * * * "Co'se Ah didn't, gal!" answered Mose heartily. "Lawsy, no! Yo' jes' go ahaid an' keep yo' ol' job!" * * * Well, here's good resolutions time again. * * * Lady Astor, the papers say, has decided to be a tactful dove in the House of Commons hereafter. * * * What's yours? * * * Of course one may not keep them, but at least they act as cleats to keep one from slipping back on the steep upward path. * * * With which solemn thought, we leave you to decide whether to give up coffee, to walk two miles a day, to talk less (or more) * * * or to get a lot of subscriptions for the *Citizen* * * * And so, a Happy New Year!

“**K**NOW your country” is as good advice as Know your town, county, or state, meaning not only its government but its size, its resources, its sheer power of acreage still fresh, unspent. This winter page just suggests it—in the range from the deep snowbound winter of New England to the all-year gardens of California; from the bitter cold of glorious northwest mountains to the soft, droopy summeriness of Florida. “God gave us a great continent to work with.”

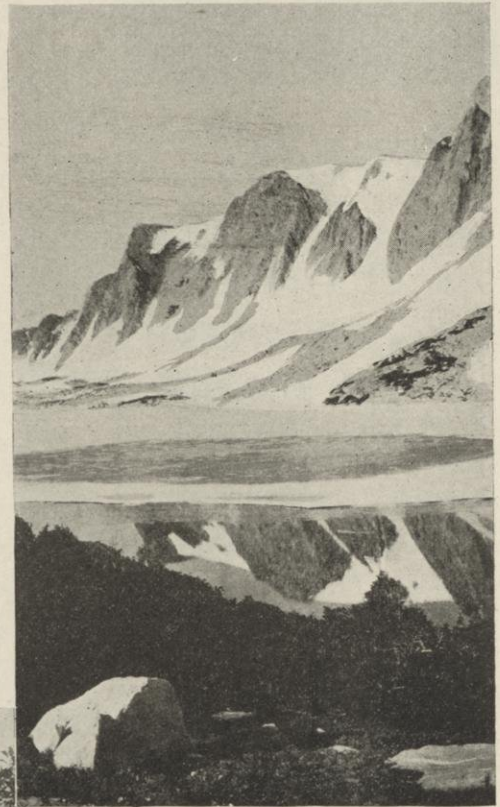


Courtesy of Charles Tuxbury, Windsor, Vt.



Ewing Galloway, N. Y.

*Happy
New
Year*



*Courtesy of
Grace R. Hebard
Laramie, Wyoming*



*Courtesy of
Clyde Line*

BUT noblesse oblige applies to countries as to men. Opportunity means obligation. And America's opportunity lies first in this great size, this matchless physical power—in these, and in the people who can use this richness wisely for humanity or with selfish wastefulness for themselves. “America is worth more than she has, more than she is, more than she has done,” says Dr. Fosdick. “She is worth what she may become.” Looking into the New Year, what shall we resolve for the great unfinished experiment that is America? Perhaps a larger service to a “more cooperative humanity”?

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

DECEMBER 27, 1924

Number 14

News Notes of the Fortnight

In the Interests of Peace

SOUNDLY sensible efforts are being made to allay ugly feelings between Japan and the United States. Secretary Hughes broke a precedent by publicly congratulating the Japanese Government upon the selection of Tsuneo Matsudaira as its ambassador to this country, though usually nothing of the sort occurs before the presentation of credentials; President Coolidge's approval of the course was made known; and the new ambassador made a cordial response.

There was a good deal of excitement in the House of Representatives over the plan to send the fleet into the Pacific next year, and its bearing on the Japanese feeling. A rumor that Premier Kato, of Japan, had declined a visit of the fleet to Japanese waters was denied, with the added statement that no such suggestion had been made anyhow. Representative Fred A. Britten, of Illinois, ingloriously distinguished himself by a proposal for a conference of "white nations" bordering on the Pacific, and was promptly and thoroughly squelched by Congressmen from the Far West, including Hiram Johnson.

All this was mixed up with Big Navy talk, and the claim that our naval strength has fallen far below the ratio fixed by the Washington Conference with respect to Great Britain and Japan. The Big Navy people have, it is admitted, overreached themselves by alarmist talk, and the probable result is that they have killed the possibility of any general investigation to determine the actual status of the Navy in this relation, though data will be sought on the ratio in less obtrusive ways. The Navy appropriation bill introduced by Representative Britten (December 19) and calling for \$101,400,000 for new construction is not expected to pass.

The regular Naval Supply bill of nearly \$300,000,000 for activities already authorized has passed the House and been rushed to the Senate. It provides for the maintenance of the Navy during the coming fiscal year at its present strength of 86,000 enlisted men, a

slight increase in the officer personnel (6,895), a decrease in the marine corps from 19,500 to 18,000 men. For naval aviation there is \$14,800,000, and funds are provided to finish all naval vessels under construction, except the aircraft carriers, *Lexington* and *Saratoga*, and three fleet submarines.

The attitude of disapproval for Big Navy talk and sabre clanking was crystallized by the President in an announcement made in his behalf when a resolution offered by Senator King, of Utah, for an investigation into the condition of the Navy was under discussion in the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. The President went on record as opposed to a special investigation of naval affairs. It is understood that he is positively against any return to competitive building in armaments. Apparently, he deprecates the agitation that has come out of the talk about the 5-5-3 ratio. He believes his information that Japan and Great Britain are living up to the agreement is correct, and sees no need for heavy building on our part.



Deadlock in Germany

THOUGH the elections to the German Parliament were held on December 7, the hope of organizing a government before the holidays was not realized. The moderate and republican parties gained, at the expense of the extremes of right and left, but did not gain enough to give them an effective major-

Childhood days is the theme of Eileen Soper's etchings. Work, play, tragedy—all are portrayed by this youthful artist from a child's viewpoint, and therein lies much of the appeal of "Felix," "The Sampler," "The Broken Gate," "Tragedy" and a host of others.

Miss Soper, who is the daughter of George Soper, the artist and etcher, exhibited for the first time at the Royal Academy in 1921. She was then only fifteen. Since her introduction into art fields, her fame has grown, first through popular appeal of themes and then through merit as an etcher. Serious collectors are watching the young lady with deep interest.

ity. Another coalition government, therefore, is necessary, and so far the different groups have not agreed to work together. The Centrists (Catholics) refuse to join a government with the Nationalists, whose sincerity in regard to the Dawes plan they distrust, while the People's Party group refuses a combination from which the Nationalists are excluded. Foreign Minister Stresemann definitely gave up the task of forming a ministry; and the Socialist leader, representing the strongest party in the Reichstag, may be asked after the holidays to try his hand. The best guess is that when the deadlock breaks the government will be, like the last one, a combination of Democrats, Centrists and People's Party.



The New A. F. of L. Chief

THE death of Samuel Gompers, a founder, and for forty years president, of the American Federation of Labor, occurred on December 13 at San Antonio, Texas, on his way home from Mexico. Mr. Gompers, though he had been in failing health for some time, attended the convention of the Pan American Federation of Labor at Mexico City—and broke down under the strain. The funeral from the Elks Club, in New York, on December 18, the throngs that everywhere lined the course of the cortege, the observances in other parts of the world, made up an extraordinary testimony to the power and influence of the veteran labor leader.

William Green was chosen to succeed Mr. Gompers, filling out his term (expiring January 1, 1926) as president of the A. F. of L. Green was secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. James Duncan, first vice-president of the Federation for thirty years, who desired the presidency, presented his resignation after the Executive Council had concluded the election. Green belongs to the conservative side of the A. F. of L. He is opposed to the formation of a labor party, and was one of the four members of the Execu-

tive Council who opposed ratification of La Follette by the A. F. of L. He also opposes experimentation by the unions in commercial enterprises, and was the only one who voted against the proposal, in the recent convention, for an A. F. of L. labor insurance company. He is of English and Welsh parentage, born in Coshocton, Ohio, and went to work in the mines at sixteen.



Peace by Education

ANOTHER peace award of \$25,000—besides that to Viscount Cecil recorded in the last issue—has been made. It was given to Dr. David Starr Jordan, chancellor emeritus of Leland Stanford University, by Raphael Herman, of Washington, for the best educational plan calculated to maintain world peace. Dr. Jordan's plan recommends a national campaign for education "to teach the new generation what we know about war." He would have books of history tell the truth about war; would revive the Hague Tribunal, and would have as a member of the Cabinet a "Secretary of Peace and Conciliation." Dr. Jordan says, "When we think, war will end."



An Oil Board

AFEDERAL Oil Conservation Board has been formed by the President, to study the situation of the Government with regard to fuel supply and in relation to private oil owners. The Board consists of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior and Commerce. It will be expected to hold conferences with the outstanding producers of petroleum. The commission appointed last March to advise on the best policy to insure the future supply of fuel oil for the Navy will continue to function and the President advises that it sit with the Conservation Board.



Muscle Shoals

THE Muscle Shoals bill (see Mrs. Stokes, page 7) continued to lose friends up to the close of Congress for the holiday recess. Administration leaders have been friendly to it, but after a talk with the President, Senator Smoot, of Utah, indicated he did not think it would go through. Senator Underwood is expected to renew his attack after Christmas.

As originally drafted, the Underwood bill directed the Secretary of War to lease the plant for private operation, and, if that failed, government operation was to be permitted. A few days ago when the private leasing provision came through a hot fight, it was thought the bill might pass. But under bombardment from Senator Norris (Nebraska,

R.), joined by Senator Shipstead (Minnesota, F.-L.), who, like Norris, charged the bill would operate in the interest of Wall Street, support continued to fall away. Senator Norris's claim is that the General Electric will become the lessee of the property and that it is the backbone of a trust which seeks to control the power and electrical industry of the country.

One amendment, adopted December 19, was hailed by the opponents as their triumph. It was Senator Walsh's amendment providing for the interstate regulation of Muscle Shoals power by the Federal Power Commission.



The Council Meeting

THE Council of the League of Nations has concluded its thirty-second session, at Rome. For this meeting the program included about forty subjects. Among other things, the Council accepted the French plan for an International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in Paris. It rejected a German protest against the French school policy in the Saar Valley, which alleged that German schools had been closed and French education forced. The Saar Administration denied the accusations, claiming that 125,000 children attend the German schools and only 5,300 the French schools. Egypt was not officially considered. Consideration of plans for the proposed disarmament conference was postponed until March.

An appeal has just come to the League from Albania, against the revolutionary movements of Jugo-Slavia.

At last the United States is to be represented officially at a League of Nations meeting. This is the Conference on Arms Traffic Control which will meet at Geneva, May 4. Secretary Hughes's prompt note of acceptance was read before the Council.

It was the refusal of the United States to sign the treaty of St. Germain, resulting from an earlier conference on this subject, which made that agreement inoperative. Germany is the latest nation to accept the present invitation.



Lynchings

TWO lynchings blacken the fortnight's record: one at Charleston, Missouri—a Negro, for an alleged attack attempted on a white girl; the other at Nashville, Tennessee—a fifteen-year-old Negro, charged with murdering a Nashville grocer. The young Negro, himself wounded, was taken from his bed in a city hospital. It is said to be the first lynching there in thirty years, and representative citizens have voted to raise \$5,000 to supplement any rewards offered by city or state for the arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

The Debt Puzzle

THE willingness of France to allow the United States to collect damage claims against Germany through a share in payments to the Reparations Commission under the Dawes plan, was not matched by Great Britain. Foreign Secretary Chamberlain's note definitely declined to agree. France, Belgium and Italy admitted the equity, though not the strict legality, of the American claim. Britain apparently denies the claim. Mr. Chamberlain intimates that the Germans had no legal right to make financial promises outside of the Versailles Treaty—as they did to us in the Treaty of Berlin. The discussion between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Hughes is legalistic and difficult, but the conclusion is that Mr. Chamberlain says we have strictly no rights, but maybe an adjustment can be made at the Finance Ministers Conference in January, and Mr. Hughes says our legal right must be recognized before the Conference.

As for the war debt of France to the United States, it is likely she will do nothing further at present, in view of the British objection that France should pay her first. France is negotiating with Britain now, and the offer once made by Bonar Law to reduce the total two-thirds has been renewed by Churchill.



Very Briefly

IN May, 1923, Judge John C. Knox, of the United States District Court, ruled that the limitation of the amount of vinous and spirituous liquors a physician may prescribe was unconstitutional. The decision has been reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals, on a complaint made by Dr. Samuel W. Lambert, of New York.

The Opium Conference at Geneva has adjourned until January 16. The American plan has gained much support since the beginning, but there is a deadlock. The European delegates are going home to ask for new instructions.

The French Chamber has passed the General Amnesty bill, which, among other things, absolves former Premier Caillaux and Louis Malvy, former Minister of the Interior. The Chamber originally acted some time ago, but the amnesty measure was amended by the Senate and returned.

Baron Ago von Maltzan succeeds Dr. Otto Wiedfeldt as German envoy to the United States.

Trotzky, War Minister of Soviet Russia, has practically been banished, though theoretically he has gone to the Crimea for his health. He proved too mild a Red for the three who now rule Russia and besides he criticized them. Still more interesting is the report that Kerensky has been recalled from exile.

—December 23, 1924



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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

December 18, 1924.



CHANGED scene confronted the filled galleries at the impressive memorial services for Woodrow Wilson this week. No such assembly in years was ever without the sharply defined figure of Henry Cabot Lodge. When the Senate body filed in to take its places at the joint session the vacancies of the past few months were startling. And however much one revered the memory of those who had passed, it seemed more natural than queer that some of those who had done more than any others to make miserable the last days of the man honored should be absent from so devotional a memorial exercise.

It is hardly likely that Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, the scholarly president of the University of Virginia, will again talk to so representative and important an assembly, made up not only of the members of the Supreme Court, the President and his Cabinet and the two houses of Congress, but many members of Mr. Wilson's official family, his private secretary, his friends and his family. In the reserved gallery were Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Miss Margaret Wilson, and, near them, Mrs. Coolidge. It was evident on their faces that life had touched all three deeply, particularly Mrs. Coolidge, whose bereavement has been hidden and deep on account of the extraordinary daily demands upon her when she must present, at least, a brave composure.

Memories

Dr. Alderman stood in the spot where Woodrow Wilson had delivered to the nation his decision for war, as well as his proofs of the great conflict within him, when he tried to keep the country out of the bitter struggle. This must have been a cinematic vision to William Jennings Bryan, as he sat there as a former Secretary of State; to Robert Lansing, his successor; to the former

IN CONGRESS

DURING the fortnight it has been more than obvious that this session of Congress will act upon little else than the regular appropriation bills. Following are the important items:

INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE

By Senator Copeland, Democrat, New York, bill increasing pensions for the loss of a hand or arm.

By Senator Wadsworth, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, legislation proposing the sale of thirty-five abandoned army posts and reservations, the proceeds to apply to other army construction work.

By Senator Ball, Republican, Delaware, legislation increasing official salaries, beginning with that of the Vice-President.

By Senator Shepard, Democrat, Texas, bill requiring the Director of the Census to collect and publish marriage and divorce statistics.

By Senator Fess, Ohio, bill for the appointment of a commission to consider constitutional amendments regarding election procedure.

By Senator Cummins, Republican, Ohio, resolution requesting the Director of the Budget to consider the insufficient allotment made to the Interstate Commerce Commission for its valuation work.

By Senator Stanfield, Republican, Oregon, placing in the classified civil service first, second and third class postmasters.

PASSED BY THE SENATE

Resolution requesting the Federal Trade Commission to furnish full information regarding the history of cases against food packers.

Bill held over from last session authorizing the expenditure of \$110,000,000 for construction of light cruisers, gunboats, etc.

Treaties with Canada, France, Panama and The Netherlands designed to aid in the suppression of the liquor traffic.

Legislation ratifying the settlement of war debts with the Republics of Poland and Lithuania.

INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE

By Representative Curry, of California, Republican, bill creating a Department of Aeronautics in the Government.

By Representative Johnson, South Dakota, bill consolidating soldiers' homes and hospitals under the management of Veterans Bureau.

By Representative Kearns, Republican, Ohio, creating a joint Congressional committee to investigate and report a feasible plan for utilization of the Muscle Shoals property.

Secretary of the Treasury, David H. Houston; to Josephus Daniels, as Wilson's Secretary of the Navy, and so along down the line to Joseph T. Tumulty. Yet up in the galleries were men whose memories might have been even more pregnant—Colonel House, whose association with Mr. Wilson ended dramatically with disagreements over policy at Paris, and who through some misunderstanding did not attend Woodrow Wilson's funeral; also Dr. Grayson, who saw his chief through the dark hours following his breakdown; Bernard Baruch, one of his close advisers and associates, and then the Diplomatic Corps, led by the dean, Jules Jusserand, now about to return to France, after these twenty-two years of service. It was, indeed, a changing picture.

Samuel Gompers

The capital is truly almost ready for another set-up. Samuel Gompers now has gone, and the last rites have been paid down at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. Gompers was as much a part of the picture in his way as Senator Lodge and the others were in theirs. He was the rock foundation of the labor movement. The surge and storm in labor politics were not a source of terror and concern to the American people, because of the trust and faith in this leader who had many times proven his level-headed, sane judgment upon vital questions. No one agreed with him all the time; nor did he agree with every one and every policy. But his balance, his open-mindedness and long experience were trusted by the nation. He had the veriest scorn for inefficiency, for pretense, for men who pretended to understand the labor situation and administer it, yet knew little. A Labor Department not versed in labor was to him worse than nothing, and he rigidly avoided contact with it.

The men in the labor movement who were trained by Mr. Gompers to take his place, are far from duplicates of

their revered chief, and it is unlikely that the country will be so fortunate again as to have in this important position of labor leadership a man broad enough to see so many sides of a public question; but the candidates are promising. Young Matthew Woll, who, for many years, has been vice-president of the Federation, is a capable, active, energetic man, characterized somewhat by the impatience and the desire for wholesale accomplishment of reforms that his elder statesman was content to leave to a natural and slower development, but Mr. Woll has been associated with Mr. Gompers in so many public matters that his schooling has been as nearly that of an understudy as could be imagined. James Duncan, of Scotch descent, was close to Mr. Gompers and also is being considered as his successor, as are several others.

Looking to the 69th

There is a considerable undercurrent in Congress in anticipation of the reorganization of the next session. Contest for the speakership of the House already is keen. This week the Illinois delegation held a meeting to consider plans for promoting the candidacy of Representative Martin Madden. On the other hand, the Ohio group has been formulating a program in behalf of Nicholas Longworth. The Ohioans are endeavoring to obtain support for Mr. Longworth in every direction. Although the speakership of the House has lost the power it had during the old Cannon days, when the position was almost that of a political autocrat, nevertheless it is a coveted place and one that exerts a large measure of influence and control over the affairs of Congress. The speaker brings order out of an impossible chaos, and even now has a great deal to say regarding what shall be accomplished at any session, and how close is the co-operation or how defiant the antagonism between Congress and the White House.

The Senate during the past week has been the scene of an attack upon the President by Senator Norris, who accused him of trying to approve legislation which would give capitalists of Wall Street control over the great Muscle Shoals property, and agreeing to a concession far greater than that of the Teapot Dome. There is also not a kindly feeling between Senator Edge, of New Jersey, and the President over the postal salary increase bill, which Senator Edge wants to pass over the President's veto as soon as Muscle Shoals is out of the way. The President needs an old-fashioned go-between, a man who will do everything to bring the President and Congress into as much accord as possible and when not possible, to interpret the views of one to the other. Mr. Coolidge has not the personality to smooth things over, which was President Harding's forte perhaps somewhat

By Representative Cable, Republican, Ohio, joint resolution creating a special commission consisting of Congressional members and three persons to be designated by the President to draft a constitutional amendment to remove doubts from the system of electing President and members of both houses of Congress.

By Representative Britten, Republican, Illinois, bill changing the method of promotion in the Navy and making retirement dependent upon time in grade rather than age.

By Representative Aswell, Louisiana, bill providing for the annual registration of all aliens.

By Representative La Guardia, New York, resolution requesting the Secretary of Labor to report regarding the extent of Mexican emigration to the United States.

By Representative Edmonds, Republican, Pennsylvania, legislation creating a Bureau of Shipping in the Department of Commerce.

By Representative Fish, Republican, New York, proposing an investigation of the activities of the National Disabled Soldiers' League.

By Representative McLeod, of Michigan, legislation creating a fund of \$100,000,000 to aid individuals and corporations engaged in commercial aviation.

PASSED BY THE HOUSE

Agricultural appropriation bill, total \$124,000,000, of which \$80,000,000 would be devoted to road construction.

Bill authorizing Louis Levitt, of Brooklyn, to sue the government for losses amounting to \$620,000 on account of the purchase of government bacon in 1919.

Resolution providing for the printing of 25,000 copies of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial proceedings.

to the disadvantage of issues which needed a clear-cut stand.

The House is going ahead with the regular work on the appropriation bills. The Senate, true to form, has embarked on a long discussion—of the Muscle Shoals project, which was left over at the last session with an agreement that it should come before the Senate and stay there until disposed of at the present session. Debate has been limited, but parliamentarians find one loophole after another by which they can perpetrate interminable debate and block action by amendments designed to kill the bill.

For some time your correspondent has refrained from including in this letter mention of the record of a certain Congressman from Kentucky, John W. Langley, who was convicted May 12 last on a charge of conspiracy in connection with a whiskey deal in 1921. At the last election Representative Langley was returned to Washington for another term in Congress by what was reported to be the largest majority he had ever received, which was then interpreted as a measure of vindication from his own state. It was inferred that this vote showed that Kentucky believed in the conduct of public office as he had exemplified it. The fact that he had been indicted and was awaiting appeal from jail sentence apparently added to his popularity.

But Washington is a small town in

some aspects. The report of the overwhelming vote of confidence in Kentucky had been received here with interest and some amazement. The other day, after hours of indefatigable persistence on the part of a capital newspaper, facts were finally produced from the Police Department showing that Representative Langley had been arrested for staggering into the House of Detention so intoxicated that he thought he was entering his own hotel. According to the account he mistook the guard at the Detention House for his hotel doorman. He was released after paying a fine of ten dollars. His original status was at liberty on a \$5,000 bond pending an appeal from a sentence to serve two years in the Atlanta penitentiary.

There are many aftermaths of election, but none that could be more profitably studied by any group of women voters than why such a situation as this can exist in American politics. The answer undoubtedly has to do with the strength and organization of party machinery, but the picture is not a salubrious one to hold up to young and struggling republics as an example of the workings of an established Republican electorate.

The Connecticut Election

The operation of a machine has shown another significant result lately, although it has no relation to the above, in the recent election to the Senate of Governor-elect Hiram Bingham, of Connecticut, to fill the term of Senator Brandegee, deceased. His opponent, Hamilton Holt, Democrat, running on a liberal and League of Nations platform, was unable to cope with the efficiency methods of the Republican Party machine which operated throughout the rural and town districts of Connecticut and carried many of the cities. Senator Moses, one of the party's chief organizers, had been sitting in Hartford, seeing to it that every branch of the state machinery was brought to bear to save the situation. The machine functioned in spite of the fact that Mr. Bingham had lost considerably in personal prestige on account of the feeling that he should have been content to serve the state of Connecticut, at least for a time, in the position of Governor to which he had been elected. There is no answer to the power wielded by a party machine except that it is inevitable in party government, and that instead of trying to oppose it those who wish to see it function more in accordance with moral convictions, should get into the machine and outnumber those who uphold the less desirable and less ethical policies and candidates.

The National Conference on Street and Highway Safety has just closed one of the most constructive sessions ever

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The Child Labor Amendment

THIS number is devoted to articles on the proposed Child Labor Amendment, which will be brought before the legislatures of forty states this winter. When ratified, it will become the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

First of all, read the exact wording of the proposed amendment:

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.

Then please note, next, that this amendment

does not, as so many people think, prohibit anything. It will empower Congress to pass a suitable law in harmony with its provisions.

The amendment was adopted by the House of Representatives on April 26, 1924; by the Senate June 2, 1924.

It must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states—that is, thirty-six states.

The following legislatures have acted on the amendment:

Arkansas—ratified.

Georgia—refused to ratify.

Louisiana—postponed indefinitely.

North Carolina—refused to ratify.

Massachusetts—held an advisory referendum on election day, and the vote went against the amendment.

The Present Child Labor Evil

By Owen R. Lovejoy

General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

EVERYONE will agree that the employment of children under fourteen years of age in industrial and commercial occupations should be prohibited, and the fact that considerable numbers of such children are still employed in certain states constitutes a serious evil. A less sensational evil, though probably more prevalent and not less real, is the fact that the employment of children from fourteen to eighteen years of age is subject to comparatively little regulation. As a result, such children are frequently employed for long hours in occupations which expose them to risks of industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

The child labor evil has in reality two aspects: one is the employment of children under fourteen years of age, the other is the lack of adequate protection of children from fourteen to eighteen years from long hours and dangerous occupations. In fixing the age limit of the pending Child Labor Amendment at eighteen years, its framers had in mind, not the prohibition of the labor of all persons under eighteen years of age, but merely their protection from dangerous and unhealthy occupations.

It is well to consider in turn both of these phases of the child labor evil, which

the pending amendment is designed to remedy. The problem of the labor of children under fourteen has received the most attention, and therefore is nearer solution. There are still, however, many states which allow children under fourteen to be employed, and even in states which have prohibitory laws on their books there are many violations.



National Child Labor Committee
Beading—a form of tenement homework in Eastern cities

State laws prohibiting the labor of young children are many and varied. While all but two states theoretically prohibit the labor of children under fourteen in factories, seven states allow children to work in stores, and twenty-three states have weakened their laws by permitting exemptions, under which children not yet fourteen may work. The effect of such inadequate laws, added to lax enforcement of good laws, is that large numbers of children under fourteen are employed at the present time. Unfortunately it is impossible to cite figures, for the latest available statistics are those of the 1920 census, which was taken at a time when the second Federal child labor act was in effect. This act applied to children in manufacturing and mechanical industries, so that *it is reasonable to assume that at the present time there are far more laboring children under fourteen than the 49,105 children listed in the census.*

Certain special studies made by the United States Children's Bureau bear out this statement. Inspections were made by the Children's Bureau in November and December, 1922, in textile mills in Georgia. It discovered then that the removal of the safeguards of the Federal law had lowered conditions of employment of children. In Georgia

the standards of the state law are considerably lower than those of the Federal law which had just been declared unconstitutional. Inspections made in thirty-nine representative mills in seventeen localities brought to light violations of the standards of the former Federal law in all except three of the establishments. In these thirty-nine mills there were employed 537 children who were under sixteen years of age at the time of inspection, or had been sixteen during part of the period between the time the child labor tax law was declared unconstitutional and the time of the study. The study disclosed among these children 500 violations of the former Federal standard, of which 84 were violations of age, 466 of the hours of labor, and ten of the night work standards.

No canvass on a larger scale has been made since the Federal law was declared unconstitutional, so that it is impossible to determine exactly the occupations in which children are employed. We know, however, that some of the twelve- and thirteen-year-old children work in factories and stores; but special studies have shown that the younger children are concentrated in a few industries.

Chief among these are the industries which send out work to be done in homes, such as the clothing industry, the artificial flower industry, the hook-and-eye and safety-pin industry, etc. Factories and contractors generally give out such work only to adults, but once it is taken home, the whole family works upon it. A great deal of this homework is very simple, so that a child of four years may be of great assistance. Employers often insist that the work be done at a certain time, so that children are forced to work from the moment they return from school until eleven or

go out on Sunday!" A study made in 1923 by the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare included over 2,000 families engaged in homework, most of whom

Of the 1,060,858 children between ten and sixteen years of age who were reported by the census in 1920 as "gainfully employed," 413,549 were found in mechanical or other non-agricultural occupations, 647,309 in agriculture.

Cotton mills, woolen and worsted mills and silk mills employed 38,975 child operatives; iron and steel mills employed 12,904 clothing factories and sweatshops, 11,757; lumber mills and furniture factories, 10,585; shoe factories, 7,545; coal mines, 5,850. There were child servants and waiters 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 162,722 children in other miscellaneous occupations.

From "The Children's Amendment," compiled by the Women's Committee for The Children's Amendment.

were in New York City. They found 535 children under sixteen, thirteen of whom were under six, engaged in this form of child labor.

Industrial homework in New York is a violation of the state law. New York State attempts, by a most elaborate system, to control child labor in tenement homes, but many New York manufacturers send work to New Jersey and

New York, sending work to New Jersey, could be prosecuted in a Federal court, if children were engaged on his work.

Young child workers are also very prevalent in the oyster and shrimp canning industries. In a study of canneries in nine communities in three states, made by the Children's Bureau in 1919, 544 children under sixteen were found working, 334 of whom were under fourteen and two of whom were under six. Most of the work was found to be wet and dirty. It was done in cold damp sheds. The workers stood around cars of oysters and shrimps and threw the oyster shells and shrimp hulls on the floor. Soon they were standing ankle deep in the wet shells. Oyster shuckers often cut their hands with the knives necessary to cut open the shucks, and shrimp hullers suffered from an alkali in the head of the shrimp, which ate into their hands, making them sore and raw. The work depended upon the catch, so that often children were routed out of bed at any time between three and seven o'clock in the morning.

In these shrimp and oyster canneries, state laws are evaded by the method of allowing children to "help their mothers"; that is, they are not technically employed, and so there is no proof that they work. If an inspector comes around, they are told to run off and hide. Federal inspection would undoubtedly increase the efficiency of law enforcement in the states which have so many shrimp and oyster canneries—Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida. The laws of Florida and Mississippi provide for only one state inspector; that of Louisiana merely states that each city may appoint its own inspectors.

There is no question that the labor of children under fourteen is an evil. It is an evil that still exists in spite of all assertions to the contrary, and it will continue to exist as long as the work of young children is profitable, or is believed to be profitable, unless some drastic step is taken to provide laws without exemptions, and adequate enforcement of those laws.

The second phase of the child labor problem is that of safeguarding older children from the dangers of overwork and of exposure to risk. Problems of this nature have less sensational interest than the work of tiny youngsters, yet they are no less important. Thousands of children who go to work, either because of pressure of poverty or because of a belief that they can no longer be benefited by school, are allowed by the states in which they live to work for hours that are unbelievably long. One state does not regulate in any way the daily hours of children under sixteen, and eleven other states still allow their children of these ages to work from nine to eleven hours a day. In these states

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National Child Labor Committee
Opponents of the Amendment claim that even the work of boys in their cherished 4H Clubs would be stopped by Congress. Friends say, no one ever thought of such a thing.

twelve at night. One girl of thirteen, who, with her sisters aged eleven and eight, finished coats, burst out indignantly to a visitor, "Say, we sew every day and Saturdays, too, till late at night. Sometimes we don't even get a chance to

even to Pennsylvania, so that neither the New York nor the New Jersey nor Pennsylvania laws can reach the offenders. This method of exploiting young workers can never be eliminated without a Federal law. An employer in

The History of Child Labor Laws

By Grace Abbott

Chief of the Children's Bureau

BEGINNING about a hundred years ago, legislative measures aimed to protect children from exploitation as cheap labor have followed, somewhat slowly, the industrial development of the country, and are now found in varying degrees of effectiveness in practically every state. The demand for universal education and the recital of the evils of child labor by early labor leaders and social reformers brought the first legislative efforts to reduce the employment of children. A beginning in such legislation had been made in the New England States, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio before 1860, but the greatest progress was made during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century.

In spite of great diversities in the child labor laws of our forty-eight states, the developing tendencies are clear. In general, the laws set up an age, an educational and a physical standard which a child must attain before he can be employed in a specified list of occupations; they regulate the hours during which he may work during the first few years of employment and prohibit him from certain hazardous occupations. But these laws vary so in the occupations to which they extend, in the exceptions and exemptions which are made in the age, hour, educational and physical standards, that they fit together like the pieces of a crazy quilt, and uneven enforcement adds to the inequality of protection.

As public recognition of the widespread and harmful effects of child labor became more and more general, this great diversity in the child labor laws of the different states and the difficulty of raising standards in one state because of industrial competition with states having lower standards gave rise to the movement for establishing a minimum standard through Federal legislation.

Perhaps the most important of the reasons brought forward for resorting to national legislation in this field were: (1) The slow progress made in the protection of children in states in which an industry was locally so powerful as to prevent the passage of a reasonable child labor law or the enforcement of one after it was passed; (2) conscientious consumers objected to the products of child labor becoming articles of commerce; (3) manufacturers objected to the competition of those who relied

upon the low wages of children as the basis of their profits; (4) industrial districts are not confined by state lines. Children who live in one state work in another and manufacturers have found it possible to dodge behind state laws in giving out tenement homework in a neighboring state. States, therefore, found themselves unable to protect either the children, the consumers or the manufacturers.

This discussion reached Congress in 1906, when Senator Beveridge of Indiana and Representative Parsons of New York introduced bills "to prevent the employment of children in factories and mines," and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts sponsored one "to prohibit the employment of children in the manufac-

President Wilson, became a law. Based on the power of Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, this act closed the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to the products of child labor.* It was to go into effect September 1, 1917.

The measure had met with opposition organized and led by representatives of the Southern textile industries, and as soon as it was passed steps were taken to contest its constitutionality. On August 31, 1917, on the ground that the law was not a valid exercise of the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, an injunction was granted by the United States District Judge of the Western District of North Carolina enjoining the United States Attorney of

Oyster Shuckers. No seats are provided and discomfort increases as the shells accumulate.



From the Children's Bureau

ture or production of articles intended for interstate commerce." Between 1906 and 1916, when the first Federal child labor law was passed, bills for this purpose were introduced in every Congress except one, by Senators and Representatives from different parts of the country.

Most of the measures suggested were for Federal laws, as it was believed that Congress had constitutional authority to meet this national need through some one of its general grants of power. But there were also proposals for constitutional amendments. In 1914 Representative Rogers of Massachusetts proposed an amendment giving Congress power to regulate the employment of persons under twenty-one years of age and of women.

On September 1, 1916, the so-called Keating-Owen bill, sponsored by Representative Keating of Colorado and Senator Owen of Oklahoma and urged by

that district from enforcing the act. The injunction was nominally sought by John Dagenhart, the father of two children affected by the act, and it enjoined the Fidelity Manufacturing Company, of Charlotte, North Carolina, from dismissing John Dagenhart, who was under fourteen years of age, and from curtailing the hours of employment of Reuben Dagenhart, who was between fourteen and sixteen years of age.

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* Specifically, the act prohibited the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of (1) the products of a mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment in which, within 30 days prior to their removal, children under 14 years of age were employed, or children between 14 and 16 years of age were employed more than 8 hours a day, or more than six days a week, or between 7 P.M. and 6 A.M., or (2) the products of a mine or quarry in which children under 16 were employed within 30 days prior to the removal of such products.

Why the Amendment is Dangerous

By Mrs. William Lowell Putnam



HENCE did the Twentieth Amendment receive its heart-compelling title of "The Child Labor Amendment"? A name calculated to lull the mind to sleep in the arms of the heart. If we can keep our minds awake, however, and study it from the standpoint which knowledge of life in general and of our country in particular teaches us to be true, we cannot but see that the name is entirely misleading, for on its face it appears to be a bill for the protection of childhood whereas in reality it is a measure which will go further to injure children than anything which has ever been devised for that purpose. In its inception and in its effect it is wholly contrary to the habits, to the beliefs and to the ideals of this country.

It is utterly un-American. Is it conceivable that Lincoln's character could ever have been developed under a system that forced him to do nothing more of drudgery than is necessitated by playing on a ball team after school hours? Would President Coolidge be the man he is today had he not had his homely chores to do to help his parents? America's strength has always lain in her men and women who grew up in simple surroundings, helping in the family life and learning at home the duty of doing one's share in bearing the family burdens—the happiness of helping. A wholesome regard for duty is a help to every one and no sane person can imagine it to be a hindrance. More children have had their lives made very difficult for them through overcoddling than through overwork.

Congress Always Uses Its Full Powers

There are those who state with a semblance of knowledge (fanciful, of course) that the Congress if given the power would never pass legislation to endanger the authority of parents or the character of children. What has the Congress done or left undone to justify such a statement? The fair assumption is quite contrary to this—it is that the Congress will legislate to the full extent of the power conferred upon it, because it always has done so, and in this case it is particularly probable because of its refusal to confine its power in this amendment within reasonable limits, such as excluding from its jurisdiction young people working for their parents without pay and under perfectly healthy conditions in the household or on the

farm. The fact that so much effort is expended by proponents of this measure in stating that Congress will not use the full power granted it by this amendment makes it obvious that these pleaders are aware that if the citizens of the United States thought Congress would use to the full such great power over the lives, liberty and the right to acquire property of the young people of the country they would naturally be unwilling to grant it such power.

In the attempt to prove their point they often refer to the fact that the

Of course such a question as the Child Labor Amendment has two sides, and the amendment has many sincere opponents. We considered it both fair and helpful to ask one of these to present opposition arguments in this number. Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, of Boston, who consented to write the article, is first vice-president of the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Our Homes and Children. Aside from this official relation to the Child Labor Amendment, Mrs. Putnam is known as national president of the Coolidge Women's Club of America.

Supreme Court safeguards the rights of the people against the encroachments of the Congress, but it seems to be forgotten, when this protection is cited as a safeguard in the present instance, that the duty of the Supreme Court is to see that the Congress passes only legislation which is constitutional and that the object of this amendment is to alter the Constitution so that the most radical legislation in all matters covered by this bill will henceforth be constitutional and consequently removed from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

The paramount issue before the people today is, Shall we tolerate a revolution in our form of government because the bullets used against the Constitution are sugar-coated? The sugar interferes not at all with their efficacy as bullets, but—to those who see only such part of the ammunition as they are intended to see—the deadliness of the missiles is concealed. One of our papers recently made this sapient observation, "About the only way to mislead an American is to appeal to his humanitarianism. It is the surest way to mislead the American woman."

The Constitution, as is well said by one of our ablest constitutional lawyers, is "the living gospel of the liberties of the people; not of the restrictions and restraints upon them, as some would have you believe, but the palladium of those essential rights, liberties—aye! and duties—without which no man's home or living, peace or fireside, right to earn his living or pursue the happiness of his and his'n, is safe from an ambitious ruler, an envious neighbor, or a grasping state." It was framed to preserve our liberties from the encroachments of government. The first, the fourth, the fifth, the ninth and the tenth amendments are all threatened by the proposed Twentieth Amendment—one-half of the first ten amendments without which the Constitution would never have been ratified by the original states. What ground is there for abrogating them?

Perhaps the best proof that there is no valid ground is the fact that the advocates of the bill in their propaganda constantly cite—as still existing—conditions surrounding child labor which every one deplors but which have almost entirely ceased to exist. The states have been taking action to stop the abuse of children with wonderful success during the last few years and, as stated in publications of the Children's Bureau—which is unlikely to have overstated the side of the opponents of the amendment—the states have already remedied most of the objectionable conditions which once existed.

Misstatements of Proponents

The statements generally made about these conditions by the advocates of this amendment often bear little relation to the present facts. We are told pitiful tales of small children working in oyster and shrimp canneries, yet investigation indicates this to have been entirely stopped several years ago. Even the Secretary of Labor makes the mistake of speaking of the employment of five hundred boys under fourteen in coal industries, whereas the National Child Labor Committee, one of the most ardent advocates of the amendment, states, in the issue of its organ for April, 1924, that only five boys under sixteen could be found in one hundred collieries in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. It will surprise most people to learn that according to the census of 1920 only 404 children under fourteen were employed

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Objections, Secret and Public

To the Amendment

By Florence Kelley

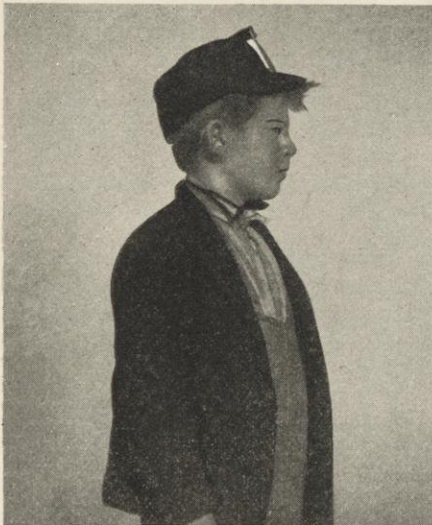
General Secretary, National Consumers' League



HERE are a hundred and more good reasons for a Federal child labor amendment of which the first forty-eight are the states, with their permanent failure to afford the children of our country the equal protection of the law.

THE ORGANIZED OBJECTORS, AND THEIR CHARGE OF BOLSHEVISM

Of the remaining fifty-odd excellent reasons for the particular amendment now awaiting ratification several are made conspicuous by the campaign against it of exploiters of wage-earning



Courtesy of Collier's, The National Weekly
A fourteen-year-old coal breaker boy at a Pennsylvania mine

boys and girls. This unique campaign calls for a few preliminary lines.

About a year ago it became clear that Congress would make a third serious attempt to free children from overwork and night work, from toil in mines, and from crippling and death in industry, this time by a Joint Resolution for an amendment to the Constitution.

In two previous campaigns for Federal laws, while the opponents had been vigorous enemies, they had not gone to extremes. They had relied upon the courts to defend their claims quickly after Congress acted, and they had not been disappointed. Last year, however, they saw that it was now "three times and out," as boys and girls say in their games. They resorted, thereupon, to measures commonly used in political campaigns, but not hitherto applied with the present violence against defenders of toiling children and of the future Republic. It is always to be remembered

that the children of today are the Republic of 1940.

An entirely new strategy was needed. The amendment was to be killed and its proponents disqualified for life. So the first objection publicly raised was the alleged "subversive" nature of the amendment, and the wholesale treasonable character of its friends.

This strategy had previously been tentatively applied to some opponents of war, and to some advocates of minimum wage laws. It has now been used to the utmost to kill, or greatly to delay, the amendment. The notorious Spider Web Chart,* which has in fact never been effectively withdrawn, started, with its accompanying scurrilous ditty, the labeling of proponents of the amendment as Communists, agents of the Bolsheviki, advocates of nationalizing children and destroying homes, as people bent upon centralizing the government, minimizing the states, and increasing taxes to pay myriads of tax-eating bureaucrats.

THE UNAVOWED OBJECTION: LOSS OF PROFIT

While the foregoing are the nominal reasons, publicly alleged and harped upon *ad nauseum*, the real, fundamental, underlying objection of the conductors of this campaign to the Federal amendment and the child labor law that will follow it, is to the threatened loss of their privilege to continue to exploit. They fight the amendment and all its advocates and defenders. They suggest every conceivable objection, however fantastic. The fact has therefore to be incessantly stressed, that no real connection exists between the charges made against the amendment and the motive of the organized opponents. When state bills were pending they clamored for a Federal measure. Now that the amendment is to be ratified to pave the way for permanent Federal legislation they decry it as "dangerous centralization."

The organizations of these opponents are vast. Under varying names they exist in every state. Their funds available for fighting the amendment seem inexhaustible. Their lust for the labor of the little and defenseless became visible soon after cotton mills appeared in New England. This is not merely because the children's labor is cheap directly to their employers, though infinitely costly to the nation. Their es-

sential value to the exploiters comes indirectly. It comes from the permanent, downward pressure of their competition upon the wages of fathers, mothers, and older brothers and sisters. They are everywhere wanted in the textiles to keep down adult wages. Their presence lowers the general standard of the community in which they live.

Nearly fifty years ago, in 1876, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, published with full details official evidence in that foremost textile state, that after wives and children had been drawn into the mills, the earnings of the whole family were no greater than those of the father had previously been. Such ruinous competitors of their normal breadwinners were the children even then. Low wages in the textiles are proverbial, and the textiles have been the chief employers of minors under eighteen years.

INDUSTRY NOT DEPENDENT ON CHILDREN

The two earlier campaigns exploded most of the ammunition formerly available against Federal laws for working children. It is idle to repeat to a public



Photo by Hine, from N. C. L. C.
A six-year-old boy in a New York clothing factory, carrying homework

enlightened by a struggle which has lasted twenty years, that the textile industries would perish if little fingers were not trained to spinning; that hunger and disease would destroy the families of children who went to schools instead of mills; that the streets would be the sole refuge of boys and girls

*See CITIZEN of May 31, 1924.

driven from the safety of steady, ill-paid indoor work.

Schoolhouses, playgrounds and falling tuberculosis death rates are convincing answers to that obsolete twaddle.

THE FARMER'S BOGEY

An early gun in the long battle was the charge of idiocy imputed to Con-

gress by Mr. Bentley Warren, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, last March, and quoted throughout the country by numberless publications, daily and weekly. Mr. Warren prophesied that, immediately following ratification, Congress could pass a bill under which the "New England farmer's boy could not pick blueberries on the hills; the city school-

boy could not sell papers after school; the country boy, white or black, could not work in the cotton, wheat or hay fields of the South or West; the college student even, if under eighteen, could not work to pay his way through college."

As though Congress would not in the
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Who is For? Who Against?

By Ethel M. Smith

Legislative Secretary, National Women's Trade Union League



THE line-up for and against the Child Labor Amendment follows certain well-recognized cleavages of the public mind and thought, as would be expected where a social and economic issue is involved. Allowing, as always, for individual exceptions, the lines fall generally thus:

FOR THE AMENDMENT

Socially-minded groups and individuals support the Child Labor Amendment. There are at least twenty-six national organizations of such character in the list of supporters, and they may be further classified as church organizations, civic and social service organizations and labor organizations. Nineteen of them are women's organizations. The combined membership of the organized support for the amendment runs into many millions of men and women, and these organizations are maintained by membership dues and voluntary contributions. They operate largely through committees of volunteer workers, and have but small paid staffs and small headquarters. The list includes:

American Association of University Women
American Federation of Labor
American Federation of Teachers
American Home Economics Association
American Nurses' Association
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Commission on the Church and Social Service
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Girls' Friendly Society in America
Ladies of the Maccabees
Medical Women's National Association
National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers' League
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Women
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Education Association
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National League of Women Voters

National Union of Evangelical Women
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
National Women's Trade Union League
Service Star Legion
Women's Board of Home Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church
Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South
Young Women's Christian Association (National Board)

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT

Commercial and individualistic groups and organizations, together with self-styled "patriotic" organizations, compose the list of opponents of the Child Labor Amendment, with one exception. They classify, otherwise, as manufacturers, "wets" and anti-suffragists. The list is headed by the National Association of Manufacturers, its member organizations, state branches and allies. The combined membership of these organizations is numerically small, but their financial strength and resources are enormous, and several of them are essentially propaganda bureaus with a professional staff to furnish a stream of "copy" to the press and other large mailing lists. The list of opposing organizations includes:

National Association of Manufacturers and its state branches or members
National Association of Worsted and Woolen Spinners
Southern Textile Manufacturers
American Association of Flint Lime Glass Manufacturers
American Mining Congress
Laundry Owners' National Association
National Grange (but not all state granges)
Moderation League (organized to oppose the Volstead Act)
American Constitutional League ("wet" and anti-suffrage; president, Everett P. Wheeler)
Women's Constitutional League (organized to oppose the Sheppard-Towner Act)
Sentinels of the Republic

The "Sentinels of the Republic," whose membership blank states that "Our aim is to provide a Clearing House for Patriots who seek to rouse the people to the danger of the day," held a "national meeting" in Philadelphia on December 6, which was attended by representatives of the following organizations who spoke against the Child Labor Amendment:

National Association of Manufacturers
Pennsylvania Association of Manufacturers
Moderation League (anti-Volstead Act)
American Constitutional League ("wet" and anti-suffrage)
Constitutional Liberty League ("wet")
Women's Constitutional League (anti-suffrage, anti-Sheppard-Towner act)
National Security League
American Defense Society

Propaganda agencies of the opposing organizations include:

National Committee for Rejection of the Twentieth Amendment, with headquarters in the building with the National Association of Manufacturers in Washington. The Committee is composed of seven manufacturers, with a director who was previously associate editor of *Industrial Progress*, a manufacturers' organ.
Southern Textile Bulletin, published at Charlotte, North Carolina, by David Clark, in the interest of Southern mill owners. This journal has for years opposed child labor legislation, and its editor instigated the suits which resulted in the nullification of the two Federal child labor laws.
New York Commercial, which syndicates to hundreds of newspapers a feature entitled "The Searchlight," by Fred R. Marvin. Russell Whitman, managing editor, announced at the meeting of the "Sentinels of the Republic" in Philadelphia, December 6, that this department of the paper would be devoted from now on to the "showing up" of the "Bolshevistic," "communistic" or "socialistic"
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In the World of Music

By Gertrude Foster Brown



S interpretative artists in music many women are taking high rank, but Wanda Landowska has made for herself a place quite unique. She has recreated the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is making it live for audiences today in even more than its original beauty. She has reconstructed the harpsichord of the time of John Sebastian Bach, with its plucked quills and double keyboard, and uses it with ravishing effect in her concerts. Her playing of Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart and other old masters is a revelation to the modern world of the beauty of the past.

Since early childhood Madame Landowska has devoted herself to a study of ancient music. She has gone more deeply into the research of old manuscripts and into the study of the musical instruments of the classical period in music than perhaps anyone living. A Pole by birth, she lives in Paris, where she has a remarkable collection of old instruments, including a piano once owned by Chopin.

Her first visit to the United States last winter confirmed in this country the reputation she had abroad. Both as a pianist and a harpsichordist she shows herself a brilliant virtuoso, a poetic and gracious personality and a profound scholar.

Another interpretative genius of the first rank is Guiomar Novaes, whose debut as a pianist in New York in 1916, when she was only twenty-one years of age, established her reputation as a mature and extraordinarily gifted artist.

Novaes was born in the mountains of Brazil, the ninth in a family of seventeen children. At fourteen she won a scholarship and was sent by the Brazilian Government to study in



Wanda Landowska

Paris. From the first, she won prizes and honors, and at seventeen began her career as a concert pianist. There are few pianists in the world today who have the beautiful tone, the marvelous technique and the fine musicianship of this Brazilian girl.

Leginska is also a pianist and composer. She has appeared as soloist with the Boston Symphony and other of the best orchestras, and her compositions include string quartettes, and now an opera. She is a modern of the moderns. Her piano playing is tempestuous and her compositions are full of dissonances, but colorful. Her appearance as orchestral conductor will be awaited with much interest. It will be the first time a woman has conducted a major orchestra in New York in many years.



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Mrs. Edward MacDowell

She has just won a \$5,000 Achievement Award. See page 23.

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Madame Novaes is married, and has a little daughter. Her husband is a civil engineer. He accompanied her on her latest concert tour.

It is almost impossible for a woman to get an opportunity to conduct an orchestra. Most conductors arrive by way of the orchestra itself, and in the United States there is a prejudice against women as orchestra players.

For this reason Ethel Leginska is a pioneer. During the fall she has been conducting some of the first-class orchestras abroad—the Berlin



Mme. Novaes



© Elzin.

Ethel Leginska

Editorially Speaking

Shall the People Amend?

DURING the last months of the campaign for the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment and the early months of the campaign for the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment, there were numerous and tempery outbursts from the groups opposing one or both of these amendments. They declared their defeat was due to the method of amending the national Constitution. At that time a plan was publicly discussed whereby the possible ratification of these two amendments might yet be repealed. Probably, in soberer moments, these groups would not have allowed the public to know the plan, but in their delight in having found it, they let the cat out of the bag. Allowing time to elapse so that the connection was not too apparent, Senator Wadsworth became the representative in the Senate to put the plan into operation.

It consists of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which provides that future amendments, after being submitted by Congress, shall be referred to conventions called for the purpose and elected upon the issue of the amendment, or to a popular referendum. It further provides that when thirteen states have voted against an amendment, it shall be declared lost.

The slogan for this amendment is "back to the people"—that sounds democratic, plausible and fair-minded. Anyone is justified in thinking so who does not know that the originators of the amendment are those who, for half a century, used millions of dollars to keep the people from forming an honest opinion and from expressing it when formed. It is clear enough that these financial interests believe they can more easily dupe the people as a whole, than they can dupe the representatives of the people in Congress and the legislatures. Members of Congress and legislatures are usually selected because they can make some claim to superior education, general information and reasoning power. It was because of this superiority that "The Fathers" formulated the plan for amending the Constitution that has stood for one hundred and thirty years. Why change it?

The masses of the people include millions who have small mentality, superficial education and no real opportunity to learn the truth of questions concerning their every-day life. Very many of them are foreign born and have had little or no training in American schools; yet, such persons have votes in a referendum, and enough of them may be induced, as a result of money or promises, or dictation of employers, to defeat any measure.

Were there no question of the direct use of money, it must not be forgotten that there are several new forces which have come into existence with the past few years—the radio, paid newspaper advertising, great billboards, electric signs, announcements between movie films and the circularization of voters. Nowadays any man or any group of men who want to persuade the rank and file of the people to believe an idea employ all these agencies. They say they sell the idea to the people. Whether it be a new kind of chewing-gum, or a candidate for high office, or a vital reform, the same methods are employed. Specialists, very highly trained and very highly paid, take charge of such enterprises. When there is money enough and clever enough publicity agents the people can be fooled into believing almost anything they want them to believe.

In the December *Forum*, Frank Kent, writing on the "Psychology of Voting," declares what all observers must know to be the truth, and that is, that the most winning policy in any kind of a campaign is to "scare 'em." The present Child

Labor campaign is a pat illustration. It has been hard enough work for patient reformers to acquaint a minority of the intelligent people of the country with details of the effort to take children out of factories and mills where they are likely to be made into future charges upon the taxpayers as tuberculars or other dependents and to put them in schools. It is now an easy matter for the rich manufacturers' associations, who can make big appropriations from the profits of child labor, to "scare 'em." Their publicity agents can make lies look like truth and truth look like lies. They can afford to broadcast the misrepresentations by means of well-paid speakers, radios that shout the misrepresentations into the remotest homes of the land and billboards that lie to all who pass.

No longer do two sides of a question have an equal opportunity to persuade the public of the justice of their respective claims. The side with the most money wins. Even money could not persuade the voter if those in charge of the campaign told the truth. They don't. They "scare 'em."

If the Child Labor Amendment is defeated, it will certainly be a long time before there is another amendment. The resort to a Constitutional amendment was not made until it had been proved that Congress could pass no national law that would stand the test of the Supreme Court; therefore, the manufacturers now may well afford to pay for a big and overwhelming campaign because, if they are able to defeat the amendment, they may, undisturbed, scoop in the profits for several years to come, while stupid taxpayers will pay for the casualties, crime, tuberculosis and other evils that result from children being employed in ways that will prevent their normal health and development.

What is now happening to the Child Labor Amendment is likely to happen to every proposal arising in the future, and that is, that money, with its power to buy all the mediums in control in selling ideas to voters, will win, over reformers who have small funds, big ideas and an enormous capacity for sacrifice. The United States is at present faced by an entirely new situation, and until the present power of money to buy votes through its capacity to control these mediums is overcome, such an amendment is the most serious and destructive menace to American liberty of any law that has been proposed for many a day.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



Hope Ahead for Peace

ON the threshold of the seventh year since the Great War ended, there seems, in spite of dark spots on the map, to be hope ahead for world peace. Elihu Root said recently that with such differences in belief and prejudices among nations it is foolish to try to get agreement on many things at first; that a perfect institution is a matter of long, slow development, and the chief thing to be done is to *get a beginning*. And the hope lies in the fact that, as we enter 1925, the beginnings are getting stronger, and there are new beginnings as well. The power of the World Court and the League of Nations is increasing. When the World Court was first formed, it had no compulsory jurisdiction; now many nations have bound themselves to accept its judgment. The Protocol of the League, a potential new force in the work for peace, goes even farther in outlawing war and in imposing obligatory arbitration of disputes between countries. Though it is delayed, many nations, including France, have accepted it, and there is good hope for the principles it lays down. From both within the League and without, the movement for branding war an international crime is

strengthening; and all these agencies for peace are being clarified to the public by constant discussion.

For us here in the United States there is promise too of closer cooperation with other nations. The President has condemned "isolation" as an outworn theory. He has extinguished the big Navy alarmist talk and offered conciliation to Japan. The invitation of the League of Nations for official representation at the Arms Traffic Control Conference next May, has been accepted. The prospect of the United States becoming a member of the World Court is brighter than ever before, for the President commands the allegiance of a majority of the next Congress, and he asks in no uncertain terms for our adherence to the Court.

There really is a good outlook for a happier New Year.



The Price of Child Labor

IT must not be forgotten that census figures do not give an adequate picture of child labor. The important question is that of the child's future and his value to himself and the nation. Does the child laborer have a fair chance in life? Is he likely to have a healthy and well-developed body? Has he sufficient education to give him earning capacity in his later years?

There is no question that child labor and illiteracy go together. The 1920 census gives 19,000,000 children seven to fifteen years old, and 2,260,000 or 11.8 per cent not attending school. The highest percentages of non-school attendance occur in those states which have the highest percentages of children at work. It is admitted that one of the greatest menaces of our democracy is our five million illiterates, of whom over 62 per cent are native-born. This figure counts only those who have had no schooling whatever. Besides these are the millions who have had some small school attendance but who are still near-illiterates.

The selective draft showed that most physical deficiencies have their beginnings in childhood. Thirty-three per cent of the men examined were found deficient, and many of their deficiencies were directly traceable to child labor. There is a loss in actual earning capacity, also, in beginning the working life too early. The United States Bureau of Education publishes a table which shows that the boy who stays in school till eighteen has earned more money by the time he reaches twenty-five than the boy who has started work at fourteen, and the earning power of the first at twenty-five was \$900 a year more than that of the second.

The evidence is overwhelming that child labor is depriving children of their right to a healthy body, to normal development, to education and to earning capacity in later life.



More Evidence

YOU will hear many times in the next few months that child labor is decreasing greatly in amount—so greatly that the states can easily manage what is left. Well, there have been improvements in many places and many occupations during the past dozen years or so—and for this every one with a heart must rejoice. But the census of 1920 showed a million children between ten and fifteen at work, and since that time the check exercised by the Federal tax law has been withdrawn. If there has been decrease, instead of increase, since then, it is yet to be proved. The *New York World*, in February, 1924, published a series of studies of child labor resulting from a 6,000-mile journey of inspection of mills, mines, beet fields, canneries, made by their correspondent, Henry F. Pringle, which claims that, even with allowance for bright spots, "there are many indications that, with the invalidation of the Federal law, the South began to lose in the struggle against the exploitation of children."

There isn't room here to review these articles, but Mr.

Pringle's testimony on the oyster and shrimp canneries of the Gulf states is particularly to the point. This business is peculiarly difficult to inspect, since it has no fixed hours but depends on the time when a load of shrimps or oysters comes in; but Mr. Pringle found it going on. And an ugly kind of work it is, as Mr. Lovejoy makes clear (page 9), and one that effects almost complete divorce from school. According to a county school superintendent, "the law compels but eighty days of school attendance (in Mississippi), and even this provision is vaguely enforced." Mr. Pringle was told by numberless residents in cannery cities that the whistle to announce a "catch" and call the shuckers to work, blew at any hour of day or night—a charge that the canners denied, protesting that they never allowed the whistles to blow *before six A. M.*

Harold Cary's articles in *Collier's*, within the past two years, also add their confirmation of the prevalence of child labor and take further props from the comfortable belief that things are getting better. Besides, how many children are few enough to leave to the slow mercies of state improvements?



Child Labor and States' Rights

THE National Child Labor Amendment is said to interfere with states' rights. It is a sound principle that the National Government should not intervene in state matters except for very serious reason. But here the serious reason exists. When human lives are at stake, ordinary considerations must give way; and this matter concerns the lives and health of the children, who are the country's most precious asset.

A man has the right to be unmolested in his own house, but if his house is on fire, and he is too drunk to rescue his children, his neighbors must go in and get the children out. In some of our states, the powerful interests that control legislation are drunk with greed for profits, and the health and lives of the children are made a sacrifice.

The Federal Government already takes a large hand in state affairs. State roads and bridges are built with the help of Federal money, under the Federal Highway Act. In the Western states, most of the schools were built with the proceeds of Government lands. Federal officers representing the Department of Agriculture inspect perishable foods and supervise the inspection of grading of grain. Federal officers representing the Bureau of Animal Industry supervise the eradication of tuberculosis in herds of cattle and horses. Representatives of the Interstate Commerce Commission see that locomotives are inspected in accordance with its rules, and repair defects, if defects are found. In epidemics, whether among human beings or domestic animals, and in checking the ravages of insect pests, Federal and state authorities have to cooperate.

These cases, it may be said, are not on an exact parallel to the Child Labor Amendment: but the Prohibition Amendment is such a parallel. It was as distinct an interference with states' rights as the Child Labor Amendment can possibly be; yet it was, and is, strongly supported by most of the Southern states.

Every state has a right to protect its own children; yet no state can do this effectively while neighboring states let down their bars. Children in a state with high standards are taken across the border into a state with low standards and put to work there, and then returned to their home state, stunted in body and mind. Child labor can no more be held in by state lines than an epidemic or forest fire. We need a national law to meet a national evil.

No state has an ethical right to let its children's health and lives be sacrificed to a greedy commercialism. Sixty years ago, a nation-wide constitutional amendment was adopted abolishing black slavery. It is just as righteous and necessary to abolish the slavery of white children.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

The Woman Voter

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What New Wind of Doctrine?

IN 1906 the first bills were introduced in Congress to regulate and limit child labor in this country by Federal law.

In the Senate one bill was introduced by Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana and another to the same end by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. In the House Mr. Herbert Parsons of New York introduced a measure with the same purport. These three were recognized as men of ability and soundly conservative views. Their espousal of the Federal control of child labor in the interest of the proper nurture and education of the child meant that they had facts which convinced them that the inequality of opportunity of children in the forty-eight states was so great as to be against the public interest.

In many parts of our country, north, south, east and west, the bodily injury, the mental retardation and even the moral deterioration of child labor was seen and realized as a public danger. Finally, after ten years of discussion and accumulating evidence, Congress, supported by a strong public opinion, passed the first Federal child labor act in 1916.

The states which had equal or substantially equivalent provisions were not affected by this act, but continued to enforce their own laws. They had no complaint, but rather were relieved of the competition of child-employing states. With the states employing young children, especially in the textile mills, where the old family employment system was often found, it was different. They were annoyed. A case was brought before the Supreme Court. In 1918 the Court decided (Justices Holmes, McKenna, Brandeis and Clark dissenting) that the law was unconstitutional. This act had forbidden the transportation in interstate commerce of goods manufactured in establishments where children were illegally employed.

During its brief period of enforcement a majority of the Congress and a large public had come to believe it so useful and fair that an effort to find another way to make Federal legislation effective was at once sought by Congress. After much legal study the second Federal child labor act went into operation in 1919. This act laid a ten per cent tax on the net income for the year of an establishment found to be employing children illegally. After three years of operation the Supreme Court declared this act unconstitutional. Neither decision of the court questioned the good purpose to be served. But it was now plain to constitutional lawyers that the methods by which Federal statutes could restrict child labor

were exhausted. Yet during all the period from 1906 to 1922 the opinion had grown that children have certain rights which *should* be inalienable, rights which belong to them equally as individuals rather than unequally as citizens of one state or another, and that the nation itself must guarantee the basic freedom from toil which defeats normal physical or mental or moral development. Only one way remained—to amend the Constitution.

The strength of opinion in favor of this course is indicated by the fact that at least twenty-five representatives and senators introduced resolutions to submit an amendment. After prolonged hearings the resolution to submit an amendment to the states for ratification was passed in June, 1924, by the required two-thirds majority in both houses, with the approval of many of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the United States, and with extraordinary popular support. This amendment is now before the states.

Of course a certain limited honest opposition of a highly technical and controversial character exists. No question of sound, courageous public policy ever lacks such opposition. It has its use. With that we are not concerned at present.

But new phenomena are appearing which there is neither time nor space to enumerate. One instance should suffice to put on guard those who might be misled by an alarmist, and at times legalistic, propaganda.

The violent storm of opposition which suddenly broke forth in the last weeks of the Presidential campaign is another matter. We see the National Manufacturers' Association, after appearing in vain against the amendment at the Congressional hearings, now attacking its ratification with lavish expenditure and ingenuity and indeed invention. Such an association has astounding influence over the utterances of journals which carry advertising of manufactured articles, as has been too well shown. Massachusetts, with its preferential referendum taken at the time of the Presidential election, is the first state to exhibit the result of this opposition and its allies. One small instance illustrates the disingenuous character of this attack from whatever angle it is made.

The late-defeated Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, after endorsing ratification personally and approving the ratification plank of his state party platform, came out overnight with a statement that it had been brought to his attention that the amendment was "of Bolshevik origin" and he was therefore against it. We may ask who brought it to his attention and with what proof? But he gives no sign.

No, the "origin" was in the minds of conservative statesmen—Beveridge and Lodge—who introduced their bills in 1906 in the Senate of the United States—eleven years before the Russian Revolution. Their well-considered action led inevitably and irrevocably to the proposed amendment.

There is no new wind of doctrine, no intelligent change in public opinion. There has been a disastrous tempest in the once-brave Massachusetts teapot.

This amendment is destined to succeed as surely as democracy is destined to succeed, and is subject to the same attacks and delays on the road. All it needs is time and courage on the part of its supporters.—J. C. L.

COURSE I for every voter is twofold in its projects. On the one hand, it involves a complete understanding of what government may do for individual citizens; on the other, a genuine acceptance of the program of activities women may carry on in government.—Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, vice-president of the *Illinois League*.

The Opening of Congress

ON Monday, December the first, the last session of the Sixty-eighth Congress convened, and on Wednesday, the third, the President delivered to its members his greeting and his message. Departing from the custom established by President Wilson of delivering his message in person to a joint session of both houses, President Coolidge sent his message to be read by the reading clerks in both houses simultaneously.

As was expected, the President emphasized economy and the need for a business administration of the affairs of the Government. But many of the special legislative interests of the League were favorably mentioned for consideration in this report on the state of the Union.

Chief among these was the World Court. When the President advocated adherence to the Court according to the recommendation now before the Senate, some comments in the press professed to be uncertain as to which of the pending proposals he meant. It is generally, and the League believes legitimately, interpreted to mean reference to the Administration's recommendation, the Harding-Hughes proposal, which was endorsed by President Coolidge in his first message to the Congress last year.

The importance of the merit system in the civil service was recognized by the President, who recommended its extension by statute to postmasters of the first, second and third class and the field force of prohibition enforcement, without covering the present staff.

The necessity for consolidation of the welfare work of the District of Columbia was emphasized by the President, and his statement that an improvement would be effected if one commission directed all such work is an endorsement of one of the measures recommended in the League's child welfare program. That is, the creation of a Department of Public Welfare in the District of Columbia.

The two days preceding the President's message had been spent in both houses in the reorganization necessary to getting the work of the Congress under way. The death of three members of the Senate causes changes in committee chairmanships of special interest to the League.

Senator Borah of Idaho succeeds the late Senator Lodge as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, which at the close of the last session had just reported out to the Senate two proposals for adherence of the United States to the World Court. One was the so-called Pepper plan, which a majority of the committee favored, and the other a minority report embodying the Harding-Hughes proposal, which had been endorsed by the Women's World Court Committee with an additional reservation proposed by Senator Walsh of Montana.

The Judiciary Committee is now headed by Senator Cummins of Iowa, succeeding the late Senator Brandegee of Connecticut. The Judiciary Committee has pending before it the so-called Equal Rights Amendment, to which the League in common with twelve other organizations is opposed.

The Education Committee, which has before it the proposal for a department of Education endorsed by the League and embodied in the Sterling-Reed Bill, is now headed by Senator Phipps of Colorado, who succeeds Senator Borah.

As the Congress organized on Capitol Hill, so women's organizations organized last week at the annual meeting of the Woman's Joint Congressional Committee to watch through its sub-committees women's special legislative interests. Mrs. John D. Sherman, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was elected chairman to succeed Mrs. Park, whose absence from Washington necessarily led to her retirement after four years as presiding officer of the Committee. Mrs. Ellis Yost of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was reelected as vice-president, Miss Marian Parkhurst of the National Committee for a Department of Education was elected secretary, and Mrs. Henry T. Baker of the Service Star Legion, treasurer.

At a sub-committee meeting following the general meeting, the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment was discussed and every representative reported on the work being done in the states by women's organizations.

Quantities of false and misleading information are being distributed by the enemies of ratification. Friends of ratification must meet the challenge confident that every objection can be met and that ratification will inevitably come if every League member does her share. Pamphlets are available at League headquarters. The forty-page and six-page pamphlets are being widely used and are as valuable as it was predicted they would be. They have been supplemented by a pamphlet issued by a group of organizations working jointly for ratification. It tells the story of the Massachusetts campaign and can be secured at League headquarters.—M. O.

The Meaning of a Vote

Mrs. Marvin J. Van Wagenen, a member of the Minneapolis League, was the winner of the first prize of \$50 awarded by the Minnesota League and the Minneapolis Tribune for the following letter on "What My Vote Means to My Home."

"MY vote means that I have a share in creating and modifying the conditions affecting my home. In voting on local or state charters and amendments thereto or on laws where the referendum is in force, I participate directly in changing these conditions.

"Through my vote I take part in selecting officials who will provide for an honest and intelligent expenditure of the money which my home contributes in taxes, who will insure the health of my home through providing for milk inspection, pure water, pure food and drug laws, adequate health, quarantine and industrial regulations, cleanliness of streets and garbage removal; who will safeguard my home through wise building regulations and efficient police and fire protection; who will contribute to its wholesomeness through wise provisions for libraries, art galleries, parks and playgrounds and the judicious regulation of places of amusement; who will foster the intellectual life of my home through adequate provisions for initiative-developing and character-building public schools.

"My home life is the richer because of the feeling of responsibility my vote develops in me, just as my home life is enriched by more active participation in open-minded discussions of community, state, national and international affairs."

Getting Together at Geneva

Before Miss Ely sailed for Europe last summer she promised to write a brief article for the benefit of the readers of The Woman Voter. While the National League of Women Voters has taken no position on the League of Nations, its members will be interested in this report by a member of the National Board who had unusual personal opportunity of observation at Geneva.

AN intelligent, useful citizen of New York asked another American who was on his way to Geneva this summer, "Do they keep anyone at Geneva when the League is not meeting?"

One of the most interesting experiences of my life was meeting the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. This permanent body of more than four hundred secretaries, experts and advisers of the League and Labor Bureau are working in this mill all day and all year, and they are the people who create the atmosphere of Geneva of which I had heard so much and which I could not comprehend before I went there. The mill may grind slowly but it grinds exceedingly fine and effectively! It is constantly making big experiments by common consent and appeal of fifty-five nations of the world. These experiments have con-

tributed to a breaking-down of racial and national prejudice and aloofness and have removed stumbling blocks to international good-will which would have seemed entirely impossible five years ago. The Secretariat is made up of people of many nationalities. Dame Rachel Crowdy, English, and head of the Welfare Section, the only woman to be given such a position on the League, told me that during the first years of the League work she quite naturally thought of whether it was a Japanese or a Czech or a Frenchman or a Dane with whom she was going to consult about some problem arising in her section, but that now she practically never thinks of the nationality of the expert.

The Labor Bureau, which is housed in an entirely separate building, has more than twenty nationalities represented on its payroll. Though the machine may be slowed up somewhat while waiting for minds with so many characteristics to understand each other, yet those who are watching this experiment see that in addition to the very real service the Bureau is rendering, good-will and larger understanding are very important results.

Ramsay MacDonald spoke of the magnificent practical work of the Departments, and M. Motta, this year's president, made us all think by asking the Assembly to consider what it would have meant to the world if the League had failed.

With all its other problems, such as minorities, mandates, international co-operation, refugees, opium, and exchange of population, the League is not apt to forget that its chief purpose is to try to discover how war may be prevented. The Protocol is the contribution of this Fifth Assembly. It is very important in studying the Protocol to remind ourselves constantly that the League is after all only the sum of the member nations. Many people seem to think of it as a small central body dictating to the world. The hundred or more delegates of all the nations who prepared and presented the Protocol were members of the First and Third committees, the Legal and Reduction of Armament Committees. Think for a moment how eager most of these nations are to find a practical plan for security—they who have rarely ever known what security is—and then realize the importance of the representatives of all the forty-eight nations at this Assembly coming to an agreement on such a controversial and vital document as the Protocol. When Briand, the practical politician, stood up and in the name of his government announced that France would sign the Protocol without reservations, surely a very important thing happened.

The Protocol in its present form may not be accepted by a majority of the nations, but fifteen have already signed it. Those of us who are eager that something definite and practical shall be provided for the prevention of war should rejoice that this courageous stand has been taken by such a brilliant, well-equipped, thoughtful body of men and women. As Herriot said, "We must make what is *right* mighty, and practical good sense must be combined with the message of love two thousand years old."—GERTRUDE ELY.

State Leagues in Convention

TWO state Leagues, Kentucky and Michigan, have just passed through the stock-taking period—in other words, a state convention. Both convention programs were like the proverbial Christmas stocking, filled to overflowing with "good things." In addition to the usual convention attractions, both Leagues were honored by a visit and stimulating address from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, honorary president of the National League of Women Voters.

Kentucky's third annual convention, over which Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson presided, opened on the morning of November 24 in Louisville and concluded with a mass meeting the night of November 25. Addresses by Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region; Mrs. Solon Jacobs,

former vice-president of the National League of Women Voters; Mrs. John M. Kenny, president of the Tennessee League; Mrs. George R. Longnacker, of Maysville, Kentucky, and Professor S. E. Leland, of the University of Kentucky, presented an imposing array of arguments for League work and woman's increased interest in public affairs. Two addresses by Mrs. Catt—one at a luncheon and the other at an evening meeting, when she discussed "Men, Women and Politics"—proved a delightful treat for delegates and invited guests.

The League is to be congratulated on its selection of Miss Mary E. Sweeny, of Pinegrove, Kentucky, as its president for the next two years. Miss Sweeny, who is a recognized home economics expert and a member of the faculty of the University of Kentucky for some time, is also a former president of the National Home Economics Association. Convention action pledges the League's support of state ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, state tax reform measures and adequate appropriations for the United States Women's Bureau.

Nearly two hundred women from all parts of the state—even as far north as Grindstone City—gathered in Detroit, December 2 and 3, for the fifth annual meeting of the Michigan League, of which Mrs. Craig Miller is president. The convention was opened by a luncheon at which Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight, the energetic president of the Minneapolis League, spoke on "Accomplishments and Methods." Addresses and convention action centered around ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. In her address at the banquet Mrs. Catt especially considered the "powerful interests fighting the Amendment," and Miss Julia C. Lathrop, first vice-president of the National League, gave a scholarly presentation of the arguments for ratification at the closing convention session. Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region, was one of the honor guests at the banquet. Outstanding resolutions adopted favored immediate ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and American entrance into the World Court.

Our National Conventions

AS plans are being whipped into shape for the 1925 convention of the National League of Women Voters in Richmond in April, there is a natural tendency to turn back to the 1924 gathering in Buffalo and reflect upon its success. It will be most gratifying to League members to know that our meeting in Buffalo prompted the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce to write the following letter on December 11 to Miss Hauser:

"With Christmas just around the corner, I want to extend to you and through you to the officers and members of the National League of Women Voters the wishes of this Bureau for a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, as well as the entire community, recognize the high compliment you conferred upon Buffalo in selecting the 'Queen City of the Lakes' as one of your meeting places, and when you desire to return to our city you will find 'WELCOME' on the doormat."

The first delegate to the Richmond convention has been chosen. Mrs. A. K. Helle of St. Louis (Missouri), who holds this distinguished honor, has been planning for her trip to Richmond since November 8, when she was announced as the winner of the prize of a trip to the Richmond convention for securing more members than any other worker in the St. Louis League membership drive. Mrs. Helle's efforts added 348 new members to the St. Louis roster. This is the second time that Mrs. Helle has won the individual prize in the membership drive, and the Richmond convention will be the second national convention she will have attended as a guest of the St. Louis League.

Leagues and League Work

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO: An enthusiastic meeting of the board of the New Mexico League at Albuquerque established ratification of the Child Labor Amendment as the keynote of its legislative program. Mrs. R. R. Larkin, president, and other board members are now making intensive plans to bring about legislative approval of the amendment.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK: Anyone who is familiar with New York's crowded subways or follows the controversial transit situation of the metropolis may realize in an instant the intense interest displayed at the Twenty-first Assembly District League meeting in Erasmus Hall High School on December 8, when a round-table discussion on "The Transit Situation" was held.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK: Erie County League members recommend a legislative luncheon as a very helpful and inspirational event at which to inaugurate legislative work. Mrs. Samuel J. Bens, chairman of the women's joint legislative committee of New York State, addressed the first luncheon on December 8.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS: In arranging a series of "Public Affairs" talks, open only to League members, the Cambridge League scored a double victory. The well-qualified speakers not only have stimulated members to give more attention to the subject matter of each lecture, but the announcement of restriction of attendance to League members has greatly increased the membership rolls.

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE: The New Hampshire League is all set for a busy 1925. At the first board meeting with the new president, Mrs. Edwin P. Thompson, in Concord, December 11, enthusiastic plans were made with the help of Mrs. James E. Cheesman, director of the first region.

CRANSTON, RHODE ISLAND: Here's a new way to swell your state quota. Mrs. George M. Brenson, a member of the Cranston unit, served as an election supervisor on November 4 and presented her remuneration to her section of the unit toward its share of the state financial quota.

EVANSVILLE, INDIANA: The Evansville League was one of the several Leagues in the Middle West fortunate enough to have Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as an honor guest during the last month. As in other addresses, Mrs. Catt inspired the Evansville League with her fearless denunciation of the opponents of the Child Labor Amendment.

HARTFORD COUNTY, CONNECTICUT: The county League is proudly displaying a trophy cup which is awarded by the state president, Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith, to the League recording an "all-round excellence" plus a completed financial quota. Mrs. Otto G. Weidman is chairman of this wide-awake League.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN: A luncheon each month, at which a subject of county interest and pertaining to the League program is discussed, is very popular with members of the Milwaukee County (Wisconsin) League. "We usually have about one hundred and fifty women at each luncheon, and it constitutes a citizenship school in itself and has been our most successful way of

reaching people," writes Mrs. William H. Mayhew, executive secretary of the League.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA: Up to the minute always, the Minnesota League turns to the radio for the presentation of its 1925 legislative program to the public. Every Tuesday afternoon in December radio owners tuning in to station WCCO in Minneapolis heard prominent League women discussing their legislative program relating to child labor, marriage laws, education and city charters.

MOORESTOWN, NEW JERSEY: Foreign relations is a subject very dear to the hearts of the Moorestown League, if one is to judge by the published program, which is printed in black on orange-colored paper and announces that every meeting up to the annual luncheon on May 6 is provided for.

ODANAH, WISCONSIN: Right on the heels of the formation of the first Indian League of Women Voters at the Odanah reservation in Wisconsin comes the first organization of an Indian Junior League of Women Voters. Fifteen young Indian girls at Odanah became so interested in the League of which their mothers were members that they prevailed upon Mrs. O. J. Little to help them organize a Junior branch. Under the guidance of their president, Miss Josie LaPoints, the Indian girls are studying the Wisconsin League's Handbook of Citizenship.

PORTLAND, OREGON: Study groups considering outstanding features of the League's program are now the thing in Portland. A recent conference luncheon attended by Mrs. W. A. Shockley, of Reno, director of the seventh region, Mrs. Dallas Bache, president of the Oregon League, and Miss Hester Hollingshead, regional secretary, revealed the popularity of the study group proposal, and the Portland League is now interesting many new groups of women through the study classes.

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MARYLAND: Members of the Prince Georges County League are finding their series of thirteen lectures on citizenship "an organization builder." The Department of Social and Political Science of the University of Maryland is co-operating with Mrs. Edgar Brown, chairman of the League's political education committee, in the conduct of the lecture course.

ROME, GEORGIA: Mrs. L. L. Hendren, president of the Georgia League, and special committees of the Rome League are making big plans for the Georgia League convention in Rome, January 29, 30 and 31. Miss Belle Sherwin will be one of the honor guests.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI: Ever since the National League of Women Voters presented Bruce Bliven as one of its speakers at the Buffalo Convention last April, he has been in much demand for other League gatherings. The St. Louis League had one of its largest audiences out on December 3 to hear Mr. Bliven speak on "Debunking Our Politics."

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE: With "Ten Sets of Twenty Questions" on "Know Your Town" as their text book, members of the Wilmington League are thoroughly enjoying a series of round-table meetings held twice a month.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Juvenile Court

THE first Juvenile Court in the world was opened in Chicago, July 1, 1899. It was an attempt to take the child away from Criminal Court procedure and to treat him according to his need for guidance rather than in relation to one act of delinquency. During the past twenty-five years Juvenile Courts have been established in almost every state in the Union, in Europe and in the Orient. And side by side with the Juvenile Court has grown the institute for Juvenile Research.

Now the Citizens' Anniversary Committee, with headquarters in Chicago, has announced the observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the First Juvenile Court, and the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Establishment of the First Institute for Juvenile Research, in a three-days' meeting—January 2, 3, 4, at the City Club and the Chicago Bar Association, Chicago. It is believed that a review of the work of the Juvenile Courts and of progress in detention, probation and institutional care of children may help to prevent juvenile delinquency. Julia C. Lathrop, Judge Timothy Hurley, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Judge Ben Lindsey, Judge Mary Bartelme, are just a few of the speakers. Jane Addams is chairman of the committee, and has the support of able and distinguished committee chairmen and other officials.

A School of Politics

A THIRD School of Politics will be held by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, January 14-16, at Radcliffe College. "Foreign Affairs" is the subject, and addresses will be given by eminent authorities from Harvard University and the Federal State Department. Further information can be obtained by writing to the Massachusetts League, 607 Boylston Street, Boston.

A Woman Vice-President

MARY E. DILLON has just been made vice-president and general manager of the Brooklyn (New York) Borough Gas Company, a \$5,000,000 corporation. In 1903 Miss Dillon—who is also Mrs. Henry Farber—went with the company as a clerk in its office at Coney Island. Since then she has been working higher and higher—the titles chief statistician and assistant general manager being added to her name in 1918. In 1919 by her eloquence she nipped in the bud a strike

which looked serious. She knows the business through and through, and therefore sees nothing strange in this new title.

War—Its Cause and Cure

PLANS for the coming Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, to be held in Washington, January 18 to 24, were carried forward at a recent meeting—December 11-12—in New York, of the committees on Arrangements and Program. A preliminary program assigns subjects to days as follows: Sunday, January 18: afternoon mass meeting in the Belasco Theatre. Monday, the conference opens in the Hall of Nations, Hotel Washington, which is Conference headquarters, with an outline of the Aims of the Conference by Mrs. Catt, and the first discussion of Causes of War. The subject is continued all day Tuesday. On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday the theme is Cures of War, and Saturday is devoted to summing up, with adoption of conclusions. So far, the following speakers have definitely accepted invitations to appear: Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, professor of history at Columbia; John Foster Dulles, counsel on reparation problems at the Versailles Peace Conference; Professor J. W. Garner, of the University of Illinois; Dr. Manley O. Hudson, professor of law at Harvard; Dr. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia, and George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General of the United States.

The method of the Conference, as said before, is to follow the addresses by open forums for adequate discussion. Though the aim is unbiased presentation of facts, two committees will endeavor to bring before the conference a program of work based on the discussions.

The eight national women's organizations that have cooperated to call the Conference are each entitled to a hundred voting delegates, each to pay a registration fee of \$5 upon presentation of credentials. Delegates are urged to do this before arrival. For information on the program, address Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, 1734 N Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Local Arrangements, Mrs. William L. Darby, the Ontario, Washington, D. C., and other inquiries may be addressed to Mrs. Catt, Hotel Washington, after December 29.

Look back in the CITIZEN of December 13, page 24, for names of cooperating organizations.

Health Consultor

SALLY LUCAS JEAN, former Director of Health Education of the American CHILD HEALTH Association, is now telling professional and business groups how to develop their health and preparing educational programs for them, at 200 Fifth avenue, New York City, under the name, Consulting Service.

Hungary's Clergywomen

THE University of Debrecan, Hungary, according to the *International Woman Suffrage News*, has thrown the doors of its theological faculty open to women. By this decision, women may attend the lectures and take the examinations under the same conditions as men, but they cannot become or serve as clergymen. They may only act as teachers of religion in primary and secondary schools, and as missionaries.

Wyoming's New Commissioner

PROGRESSIVE Wyoming has not only a woman governor, but a woman State Commissioner of Child and Animal Protection—Mrs. B. M. Fields. In her new capacity, Mrs. Fields has charge of the orphans and dependent children of the state at Cheyenne. Of course in this motor age, animal protection is not so extensive a responsibility, but there is a humane side to be watched in bronco busting and steer roping.

GREAT BRITAIN has at last opened its press gallery to women, and the first to enter is Miss Stella Wolff Murray.

Election News, Still

SINCE we reported a contested election in the case of Mrs. R. R. Larkin, New Mexico, definite word has come that she was elected to the House of Representatives on the Republican ticket, and it is only because the election was close that there is any thought of her seat being contested. All the "outs," it seems, are contesting all the "ins" in both parties.

Mrs. Larkin, who is president of the New Mexico League of Women Voters, was nominated without being consulted, and put on no campaign at all.

Mrs. Soledad C. Chacon and Miss Isabel Eckles were reelected without question as secretary of state and state superintendent of public instruction, respectively.

A Citizenship Ruling

WOMEN who had married foreigners and hoped to regain their citizenship through the Cable law by residing one year in the United States are doomed to disappointment. A ruling has been passed by the State Department at Washington saying that citizenship thus acquired will be forfeited if residence in Europe is resumed.

Miss Brandeis

MISS SUSAN BRANDEIS, daughter of Associate Justice Brandeis, has been admitted to practice before the Supreme Court. Miss Brandeis' title is Special Assistant to the United States Attorney, New York City.

A Woman Racer

IT is announced that Mrs. Delphine Cromwell, sister of Horace Dodge, automobile manufacturer, will drive one of the motor speed boats in the races for the gold cup at Manhasset Bay, next August. So far no woman has ever contended for this particular kind of blue ribbon.

Women Police in Europe

ACCORDING to the *International Woman Suffrage News*, Stockholm, Sweden, has six women police, who have greatly benefited the service—at least that is what the Chief of Police says.

Turkey also has the right to employ women police, by its latest reform measure; though what use it has made of the privilege, we can't say.

London's Bus Lady

IN the May 17, 1924, CITIZEN we told of Helen Schultz, who is running a bus line in Mason City, Iowa. Apparently it is a profitable business, for Helen Jane Kelly has started a line in London. She has six busses and her only regret is that the London laws prohibit her driving one of them.

A Ballot "Pledge"

FROM a dependable correspondent in Texas we have gleaned an illuminating election item: "I wonder if you know about the 'pledge' on the ballot used in the Democratic primaries in our state? The nominees are selected in a primary election. At the top of the ballot are these words: 'I am a Democrat and promise to support the nominees of this primary.' Ever since that has been placed on our ballots, the minority that controls our government has been growing smaller and smaller and more corrupt because many of the most intelligent and conscientious of our citizens, rather than be bound by such a

pledge, remain out of the primaries, and then, when a candidate is chosen in that primary such that they can not support, they remain away from the polls in the general elections—it being *unthinkable* that they should vote for a *Republican!* Of course many thousands conscientiously 'feel bound by their pledge' and vote the ticket straight."

Mrs. MacDowell

MRS. EDWARD MACDOWELL, whose picture is on page 15, and who has long been known among music lovers as the foremost exponent of Edward MacDowell's music, has just been awarded the \$5,000 prize offered by the *Pictorial Review* to the woman who made the most valuable contribution to the advancement of human welfare during 1923—the first award in this interesting competition.

Mrs. MacDowell's great work, which is responsible for the prize, is the Artists' Colony established at Peterborough, New Hampshire. Ideal conditions for creative art are not easy to find or within the means of most artists. Here, in the midst of New Hampshire hills, in the loveliest surroundings of forest and birds, musicians, painters, sculptors and writers find inspiration and restful living. Little cabins tucked away in the woods, assured privacy during working hours, good food at the right time on the doorstep, at a nominal cost, and social intercourse when the day's work is done, to take or leave, have stimulated artistic achievement, as many men and women, creators of the beautiful, gladly testify.

Several hundred women were recommended to the board of award, but the twenty-one judges found that only seven came properly within the scope of the award. These were Mrs. MacDowell, Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart, Miss Grace Abbott, Miss Annie Jump Cannon, Judge Florence E. Allen, Miss Martha Berry and Mrs. Margaret Sanger.

Mrs. MacDowell is the widow of the famous composer, and herself a pianist. She studied with him when he was professor of the pianoforte at the Darmstadt Conservatory, Germany, and was closely associated with all his musical work. She tours the country every year, giving interpretations of MacDowell music.

American Women's Progress

AN exposition depicting the achievement and progress of American women is planned for next April, to be held in Chicago. It will be nationwide in its scope—the first of its kind. On the committee in charge are: Mrs. Medill McCormick, Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick, Mrs. B. F. Langworthy, Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, Mrs. Silas Strawn, Mrs. John V. Farwell. Full details are still lacking, but will be reported later.

General Federation Notes

BY LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

THE Civil Service Division of the General Federation of Women's Clubs will work hand in hand with the legislative department to bring about law enforcement. One way to help enforce the Volstead law is to have every law-enforcement officer placed under civil service instead of political appointment, according to Imogen B. Oakley, Philadelphia, chairman.

Mrs. Oakley was an important speaker at the Los Angeles Biennial and her recommendation was embodied in a resolution, which passed the convention, asking Congress to place law-enforcement officers under the merit system.

THE board of directors of the General Federation will meet at General Federation headquarters in Washington the week of January 12. At this time a program chairman for the Council meeting will be named, and a tentative program outlined.

THE General Federation *News*, official organ of the G. F. W. C., goes, by request, to two far countries. Mrs. Calvin Klopp Staudt, of Bagdad, Mesopotamia, uses it in the woman's club there; Mrs. S. C. Jamel, a Syrian, in Jerusalem, also gets it. Mrs. Jamel writes: "I wish the women of this country could follow your example in America where you have such wonderful chance of meeting. We have a certain club composed of Christians, Jews and Moslems, but this is only for Jerusalem women. It would be much more useful if we could invite women from all parts of Palestine."

MRS. KATE T. ABRAMS, newly-appointed vice-chairman of legislation in the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Gilbert Davis, chairman, represented the Federation at a meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee, held at General Federation headquarters, to confer on plans for pushing the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

The important group of expert men and women who spoke for the amendment formed an organization to associate their own various organizations in a drive for ratification by the forty-two state legislatures meeting during the coming year.

The executive committee of the General Federation board of directors, in session in Washington simultaneously, endorsed the proceedings of the Ratification Committee, and a letter is to be sent by Mrs. Davis to all state legislative chairmen, urging that women of the nation mobilize for the "Child Labor Amendment Ratification" drive.

The Present Evil

(Continued from page 10)

there are over 123,000 children from ten to sixteen working in industrial and commercial occupations.

Not only physicians, but also labor unions and progressive employers are of the opinion that a long working day is injurious to adults, lowering their vitality and making them liable to disease, especially tuberculosis. It is much more injurious to children, who need rest and recreation in order to insure proper physical development. Excessive fatigue, during the years of adolescence, may change the whole course of a child's life.

The problem of safeguarding children, fourteen to eighteen, from the risks of occupational diseases and from death or injury from industrial accidents is very serious, and presents many complications. It is generally understood that children are more subject to some occupational diseases than adults. Their lack of experience leads them to take chances and expose themselves to needless risks. It is well known that certain trades in which work is carried on in an atmosphere filled with dust lead straight to tuberculosis, and that the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis in the dusty trades is enormously in excess of the normal proportion in recognized healthy employments. Lead poisoning is also very common among painters and other lead workers. Young boys and girls, who have not yet attained their growth, and who do not know how to safeguard themselves from the dangers attendant upon the handling of acids, or upon working in an atmosphere laden with poisonous gas, are allowed to work at such occupations in many states. Twenty-two states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from work in or around poisonous acids, dyes, gases, dust, red or white lead, etc.

Children are also more susceptible to accidents than adults. Curiosity leads them to experiment with everything in their new environment. They try to find out just how machinery works, and are always ready to take chances. If they are not kept away from dangerous machinery or from other hazardous situations, they are apt to be killed or maimed for life.

Accidents are apt to happen in connection with work at various sorts of machines. Stamping and trimming presses, which cut out or mold metal, are the cause of far too many. A typical accident is that to a girl of seventeen who was operating a press which pierced holes in shells. One of the shells stuck, and in trying to remove it the girl accidentally started the machine and caught her fingers between the two iron parts as they came together. The first finger of her right hand was so badly

smashed it had to be amputated.

Accidents often occur on power printing presses. One boy, who was trying

before the power could be shut off his arm was crushed almost to the shoulder and had to be amputated in order to save his life.

Another child of fifteen was employed near a circular saw. In some fashion his hand became caught, and was so severely lacerated that it was necessary to amputate it at the wrist.

One fourteen-year old boy, while adjusting the belt on a shaft, was caught on the belt and carried around the shaft. When they took him down he was dead.

Many states still allow children, fourteen to sixteen, to work in dangerous occupations, and still more states have no laws regulating the employment of young persons, sixteen to eighteen, in these occupations.

Although thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia regulate, in some way, the labor of persons under eighteen, such regulation is inadequate in many states. To analyze the adequacy of such laws it is necessary to compare every provision in one state law with every provision in the laws of other states. Space forbids such a comparison, but a summary may be made, classifying the occupations dealt with into a few groups:

Twenty-one states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from working at dangerous machinery. (Other states prohibit from five to twenty kinds of machine work.)

Nineteen states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from oiling, wiping or cleaning machinery, and thirty-nine states have no laws prohibiting children, sixteen to eighteen, from this hazardous occupation.

Thirty-seven states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from heavy work in the building trades, scaffolding, etc.

Thirty-nine states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from work on railroads.

Twenty-nine states have no laws prohibiting boys, fifteen to sixteen, from running elevators.

Twenty-five states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from adjusting belts to machinery.

Thirty-four states have no laws prohibiting children, fourteen to sixteen, from working around explosives.

A Federal law could cure, to a great extent, both of the evils of child labor; it could prevent the employment of children under fourteen, and it could regulate the labor of children, fourteen to eighteen, wherever necessary. Moreover, the passage of a Federal law constitutes a great incentive for states to raise their standards, and so insure double protection to the children in those states. During the time when the first Federal law was in effect, many states brought their law up to the Federal standard. They did this because of the way in which the United States Children's Bureau enforced the law. In all states which had standards as high as that of the Federal law, state officials were sworn in as Federal deputies, so that the enforcement of the Federal law

QUESTIONS ABOUT CHILD LABOR DISCUSSED IN THIS NUMBER

Does Child Labor exist?

The census of 1920 reported over a million child laborers. See Lovejoy, pages 9-10; editorial, 17; advocates overstate, Putnam, 12. "*Why not leave it to the states?*"

State laws give unequal protection; many are below Federal standard; the evils of child labor spread across state lines. Lovejoy, pages 9 and 24; Abbott, 11; Kelley, 29.

Why a Federal amendment?

The failure of the states, plus technical unconstitutionality of two Federal laws. Abbott, page 11; Catt, 16; Kelley, 29.

What is the proposed Federal amendment?

See text on page 9.

Who were its sponsors? Who are its supporters?

Lathrop, page 18 (Woman Voter); Abbott, 11, for legislators who introduced it. Smith, 14, for organizations supporting.

Who are its organized enemies?

Smith, page 14; Kelley, 13.

What of the charge that the amendment is Bolshevistic, will break up homes, nationalize children, etc.?

This is a smoke screen. Kelley, page 13.

If the amendment is ratified, would Congress prohibit all persons under eighteen from doing any work?

"Congress isn't a lunatic asylum," Kelley, page 29. Congress would go the limit, Putnam, 12; Compare the two child labor laws enacted by Congress, Abbott, 27.

What is the purpose of the amendment?

Protection of those under eighteen who need protection. Lovejoy, pages 9, 10, 24.

Why fix the age at eighteen?

Kelley, page 30.

Does the amendment threaten state rights and infringe constitutional liberties?

Blackwell, page 17—no; Putnam, 28—yes.

to show how rapidly he could force sheets of cardboard through a press, caught his hand between the rolls and

was in the hands of state inspectors. Thus the states found it to their advantage to raise their standards. State labor officials themselves at their last convention declared that a Federal law would aid the states in the enactment and administration of child labor laws. It is interesting to note that since the last Federal law was declared unconstitutional, not one state has raised its law up to the standards contained in that law.

It is evident that the power of Congress should not be cut off at the age of fourteen, for in this way Congress could reach only one of the evils of child labor: that of the industrial exploitation of children under fourteen. With power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons up to the age of eighteen, Congress can establish an eight-hour day for children, fourteen to sixteen, and after making thorough studies of occupations which are harmful to young persons, it can limit them to children of appropriate age.

The fact that thousands of children under fourteen are allowed to labor in industry and commerce, that thousands of children are permitted to labor for nine to eleven hours a day, and finally that countless numbers are exposed to disease and accident, makes it imperative that Congress be given the power to take immediate action.

For and Against

(Continued from page 14)

character or connections of the men and women who support the amendment.

The Woman Patriot, ex-anti-suffrage organ, edited by J. S. Eichelberger, which opposes the amendment in its own pages and furnishes to opposing agencies and the press "copy" attacking women leaders of organizations supporting the Child Labor Amendment and other social legislation.

This combination of forces against the Child Labor Amendment includes the same elements that fought the woman suffrage amendment, the prohibition amendment, and is still fighting state labor laws for women and children. Its publicity agencies are the same that have attacked women leaders and women's organizations constantly throughout the past two or three years, accusing them of being "controlled from Moscow" and attacking the leaders as "reds" and "Bolshevists."

The *Dearborn Independent*, which nearly a year ago published an anonymous article attacking the Women's Joint Congressional Committee and its member organizations, has since come out against the Child Labor Amendment for the same alleged reasons.

The basis of all such attacks, and virtually the language of them, is to be found in two pamphlets: one containing

reprinted articles by J. S. Eichelberger, editor of the *Woman Patriot*, under the title of "Organizing Revolution Through Women and Children," and

the other a brief against the Child Labor Amendment by James A. Emery, counsel and lobbyist for the National Association of Manufacturers.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

If you are a confirmed city dweller, fond of things that happen indoors to crowds of people, fond of the rush and roar of traffic, the solid feeling of smooth concrete, the comforting nearness of vertical walls, the smell of gasoline smoke and burning oil, then you can read Struthers Burt's "*Diary of a Dude Wrangler*" with detached and amused interest. But if you like the open country, and above all if your heart is west of the Mississippi Valley and your body east of it, beware. You are in danger of smelling brown grasses under the summer sun, of seeing distances that stretch and rest your eyes, of feeling that lift of spirit and body that the trail brings, and of crashing back to the reality of sidewalks and narrow walls with an ache in your throat

and a longing in your heart. Wyoming is Mr. Burt's particular "land of heart's desire." His book is the account of his adventures in buying land and starting a dude ranch. But it is more than that; it is a present-day study of the East discovering the West, with its different country, climate, people, social structure, ideas and ideals. The book is full of the quiet humor of actual events. Its prose is a delight to both ear and eye.

It is a long way from Wyoming to London, and a longer way from the interested mind of Mr. Burt to the super-civilized and tired minds of John Galsworthy's characters in "*The White Monkey*." The book is a sequel to the Forsyte Saga in that its characters are the members or friends of that slow-moving family. Fleur Forsyte Mont, scarcely twenty, with her Chinese room, her Pekingese, her collected celebrities and her husband, Michael, who is a friend of the world, and incidentally an editor, are hero and heroine. The story presumes to be told from their point of view, a point disillusioned and romantic, world-weary and hectically eager. Mr. Galsworthy has been unable to omit his pet victims of the social order, this time in the guise of a packing clerk who "snooped copies" to pay his wife's doctor bills, and the wife who posed "in the altogether" to earn money for a passage to the paradise of Australia. Long ago the author established his social sense and his skill in novel-making. These are not enough to make "*The White Monkey*" more than thin, stuffy and repetitious.

Historical novels, like books about the war, swing back and forth on the pendulum of public favor. Just now, with Hergesheimer and Thomas Beer writing Americana, they are up, and the work of Mary Johnston becomes newly interesting. She has labored for many years in the historical field. Her latest book is "*The Slave Ship*," a study of the eighteenth century slave trade. It is also a study of David Scott, who tells the story. He is a Scotch political prisoner, sold as a white slave, who runs away from his master and becomes a trader in black slaves. The book is difficult to read and uncertain in its emphasis. One seems to feel the author's interest wavering between the history of the slave trade and the psychology of David Scott. Some of the difficulty lies in the mannerism of shifting from first to third person in detailing the hero's



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Alice Brown's record is the record of her books. For her writing career began early, and her production of novels, short stories, plays, poems, has been a full, rich stream. She belongs to the small distinguished group of New England writers of the older generation. Miss Brown was born, 1857, in New Hampshire. Her girlhood was spent on a farm and her academic education finished at Robinson Seminary, Exeter. Then came school teaching—in the country, in Boston; and then she turned to writing altogether. In 1915 she won Winthrop Ames' \$10,000 prize with her play, "Children of Earth." Her latest novel is "Old Crow," which was followed by a narrative poem, "Ellen Prior," and she has just finished a play about Charles Lamb.

mental processes. There is always a feeling of unreality, of words and paper rather than of actual life. The very ship which gives the book its title is a ship described by a land-dweller. But, in spite of its faults, the book has great value as a social document. It emphasizes the way in which the Negroes came to this continent. Captured, beaten, chained, outraged, separated from their villages and torn from their families, they were dragged here against their wills by the white folk of that day. Miss Johnston's descriptions of the slave traffic make it clear that white slave-traders and slave-buyers, and, by their tacit acceptance the entire public, created the situation which has led to the present race problem. Although the author does not forecast the future, the conclusion is plain. We of the twentieth century cannot escape responsibility for the problem whose seeds were sown by our ancestors of the eighteenth century.

"*Doctor Doolittle's Circus*," that delightful "greatest show on earth," which included the strange pushmi-pullyu and the talking horse, to say nothing of the marvelous doctor himself, escaped from the Christmas list of children's books. It was a pity, for the Doctor Doolittle books are the most delightful imaginative stories which have appeared in years. Since Christmas shopping is over, we suggest you adopt the principle of "un-birthday" gifts.

AREREADING of *Our Governmental Machine*, by Schuyler C. Wallace, the greater part of which has appeared serially in THE WOMAN CITIZEN, increases the conviction of the value of this popular study of our government, both for the layman and for the student. In a very clear and interesting way, Mr. Wallace deals with some of the aspects of government which are now undergoing much consideration, and he brings keen observation, much common sense, and considerable humor to the discussion. Practical information for the beginner is tucked in with none of the dryness that is usual in such books. Especially we wish that the chapter on "Framing the Constitution" might be read by those who think of that document as proof against all progress.

It is a book to keep in your political library, and to go back to for telling arguments for discussions and speeches.

A valuable new general survey of state government is contained in "*American State Government*," by John Mabry

The Diary of a Dude-Wrangler, Scribner, 1924. \$3.00.

The White Monkey, Scribner, 1924. \$2.00.

The Slave Ship, Little, Brown, 1924. \$2.00.

Doctor Doolittle's Circus, Stokes, 1924. \$2.50.

Our Governmental Machine. Knopf, 1924. \$1.50.

American State Government. Appleton, 1924. \$3.75.

Mathews. The book covers admirably nearly every question that could be asked concerning state government. It has besides much interesting and up-to-date practical information about such questions as the direct primary, the initiative, referendum and recall, and separate chapters are devoted to labor legislation, law enforcement and the newer forms of local government.

Professor Mathews has had unusual opportunity to obtain first-hand information about his subject through his service on two state commissions for the study of efficiency and economy in state government, those of Illinois and Oregon. The book is an admirable reference book for your library. G. F. B.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

held in the United States on this subject. Traffic problems in the District have become acute. The press is full of major and minor traffic accidents. Spurts of police vigilance have resulted in the arrest of hundreds of traffic violators, but the matter has become more than one of discipline—a question of facilities, administration of laws and necessities, not only at the capital but throughout the country. Washington gives the impression of having the greatest automobile saturation of any city of its size in the country. The parking arrangements are such that it is practically impossible to get near the point of destination if such happens to be anywhere in the downtown districts. The only way Cabinet officers and other officials are able comfortably to approach their buildings is to reserve a parking space with a foot or two to spare on each side. President Coolidge addressed the nine hundred delegates to the Conference and went to the heart of the matter when he said:

"The problem is but one of those inherent in advancing civilization. The increasing demands upon our highways from a growing population, the development of new uses, the imposition of modes of transportation not contemplated when they were created have brought about congestion, confusion and conflict, until the yearly toll of traffic accidents has reached an appalling total."

Briefly, the results of the conference were a provision for continuity of its work through a committee, and a proposition for a second national conference to be called in about a year. The final report of the conference, which, by the way, had spent months in a preliminary study of the whole matter in its various committees, was that the "problem is primarily one of organization, which must rest upon a sound basis of legislation. It requires, first, proper facilities which, by promoting a free and even flow of traffic, will reduce at the same time the accident hazard and the extent

of regulations required; second, a thoroughly considered and effectively enforced system of traffic regulation, and, third, a comprehensive program of co-operative action by all elements of society to promote the development of proper facilities, effective regulation and widespread education. Uniform, impartial enforcement of reasonable requirements by adequate and properly organized police is a primary necessity in reducing street and highway accidents. Furthermore, the most abundant provision of adequate streets and highways, the most careful working out of traffic regulations and the most vigorous enforcement of traffic laws, to be one hundred per cent effective in the reduction of accidents, must be supplemented by a sense of personal responsibility instilled in every motorist and every pedestrian."

The conference was national in scope and held under the auspices of the Department of Commerce in the new Chamber of Commerce Building. Several Representatives in Congress have asked for special treatment in the matter of parking privileges. A good deal of a Congressman's time is taken up by visits to the several departments in behalf of constituents—and then Congressmen come out and find that the police have left a card in their cars summoning them to the police station for having overstayed the parking time.

Congress will take a Christmas holiday from the 20th of December until the 29th, and on New Year's Day. The President will stay at home and rest over Christmas. He continues his informal breakfasts with Congressmen and others with whom he wishes to confer, who may be seen trudging along the avenue early these frosty mornings, some with high hats and some with hungry looks. The Grand Duchess Cyril of Russia was not invited to breakfast. The doings for the Grand Duchess here were both picturesque and embarrassing. There seemed to be some among the hostess group who wished to have royal honors for her ladyship, including access to the President's room at the railroad station and a royal Russian flag to drape over her chair as she received those who desired to pay respects. The situation was odd, indeed. Of course, for years the old Russian régime has been more or less represented by friends and co-workers of the former Russian Ambassador, Bakmetieff, who kept alive a keen interest and sympathy in starving Russian children. So the Bakmetieff group here was primed to meet the Grand Duchess Cyril, and disappointed over the lack of obeisance, all of which, in a few words, seemed ridiculous and in poor taste.

Several questions are at the point of emergence here. Both Republicans and Democrats in the Senate are becoming impatient with the indefinite situation regarding the French war debt to the

United States—whether there is any intention to pay, whether there will be any mitigation on our part, etc. The state of the Navy is being harangued by Senator King, Democrat, and President Coolidge has again stated his opposition to competitive armaments, and, on the other hand, his insistence upon an adequate Navy, commensurate with the Arms Conference treaty.

Legislation is being introduced covering proposed constitutional amendments to clarify the situation regarding the election of President and Vice-President which came up forcibly in the recent election, where the third party was expected to make a more disturbing showing than it did. Senator Johnson has introduced a proposition whereby a President would be elected by a plurality in the Electoral College rather than by a majority. This whole question is about to emerge in both Houses, and although no one expects much discussion at this session, it will be a subject for consideration.

History

(Continued from page 11)

This injunction applied only to the Western Judicial District of North Carolina. An appeal was taken by the Government to the United States Supreme Court and, pending a decision by that court, the act was enforced in other parts of the country. It was administered by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, under a system of cooperation between Federal and state labor officials. The basis for this cooperative functioning was laid in the act itself, which made it possible to accept for the purposes of the Federal act the certificates of age or work permits issued under state authority.

On June 3, 1918, after the act had been in effect nine months and three days, the Supreme Court sustained the decision of the North Carolina court and declared the law unconstitutional† by a vote of 5 to 4.

Congress next sought to use its taxing power for the protection of children. On November 15, 1918, Senator Pomereene of Ohio introduced as an amendment to the Revenue Act a provision placing a prohibitive tax (10 per cent) upon the annual net profits of establishments violating the standards set up by the previous child labor law. This measure, passed February 24, 1919, became the so-called "Child Labor Tax Act" and went into effect on April 25, 1919.

The opponents of the act again contested its constitutionality, and on May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court, this time by a vote of 8 to 1, declared the law unconstitutional, on the ground that it

was not a legitimate exercise of the taxing power of Congress.

Inasmuch as these two attempts of the Federal Government to extend its protection to child laborers were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court—in both cases without any reference to the merits of the law—President Harding and President Coolidge urged upon Congress the necessity of giving to Congress through a constitutional amendment the power to legislate in this field.

Joint resolutions proposing amendments were promptly introduced in both House and Senate. In the Senate, Senators Lodge of Massachusetts, Walsh of Montana, Shortridge and Johnson of California, McCormick of Illinois and a number of others proposed amendments; in the House of Representatives, Foster of Ohio, Johnson of Washington, Taylor of Colorado, Cooper of Wisconsin, Perlman of New York and some nineteen other Congressmen from the North and West sponsored amendments.

The states have had over two years in which to show to what extent they might be expected to supply, through their own legislative measures, the need which the Federal law had filled. Since the last law was declared unconstitutional the legislature of every state has held at least one regular session, but, although some advances were made, not one of the thirty-five states whose child labor standards fell below those fixed by the former Federal laws has brought its laws up to that standard in every particular. Clearly, the only recourse is an amendment giving Congress power to act.

During the entire period of agitation for Federal action in this field it has not been urged that the power of the Federal Government should be exclusive. Both the first and second Federal child labor laws sought only a minimum national standard. State laws that were higher were still operative and were enforced by state machinery. Only in a relatively few communities was Federal enforcing machinery necessary. State officials charged with the enforcement of state child labor laws very generally testify that the Federal act increased the respect for the state laws. Instead of discouraging, the Federal laws stimulated the sense of local responsibility for the children of the state. The proposed amendment does not present a choice between alternatives of state and Federal action, but offers a possibility of cooperation between the state and Federal governments in protecting the children, who belong to both the state and the nation.

Federal cooperation of this kind is not a new thing. In recent years a number of measures—notably the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act, the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act and the White Slave Law—which have provided for Federal assistance in solving prob-

lems once thought purely local, but now grown national in scope, have been passed by Congress and have been satisfactorily enforced.

Congress has already shown what kind of child labor laws it would pass because it has twice passed laws in the belief that it had the power the amendment would give it. State and Federal officials have proved that they can work together effectively to enforce state and Federal child labor standards. We know what was the cost to the people of the administration of a Federal law—less than \$150,000 annually.

The question then is, shall we make it possible to extend the nation's aid to the nation's children?

A Line on the Movies

BY IRENE THIRER

ROMOLA—The much heralded Gish production, Lillian's first since last year's exquisite "White Sister," is really, though we are loath to admit it, much ado about nothing. The film is pictorially beautiful, with some fine character representations and mob scenes. But the widely read story from George Eliot's powerful pen goes pretty dull in cinema version. The plot concerns the romance and the woes of the beautiful *Romola*, daughter of a brilliant Florentine scholar, and brings three other persons—a hero, a villain and another woman—into her life. Dorothy Gish, in this last mentioned rôle, is given a real chance to play up her comic talents. Ronald Coleman and William Powell are capable enough screen actors, but their abilities are sadly wasted under frills, ruffles and curled wigs. Both are too modern for this. We don't think the youngsters will care much about this one. A Metro-Goldwyn release, produced by Inspiration Pictures, directed by Henry King.

GREED—If you like a realistic movie, without a few tons of movie hokum thrown in, you'll like "Greed." It's a faithful, if somewhat vulgar, reproduction of Frank Norris's famous story "McTeague." Erich von Stroheim has directed the picture in a manner which clearly proves that there are *some* artists connected with the motion-picture business. "Greed" is the story of the tragedy brought about by a \$5,000 lottery prize. Zazu Pitts is excellently cast as the miserly wife to Gibson Gowland's perfect *McTeague*. This production won't have any appeal for the youngsters, but it's one that you shouldn't miss if you like the real reel. A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production.

ISN'T LIFE WONDERFUL?—D. W. Griffith brings back from Europe the loveliest thing he has ever attempted in the way of films. Mr. Griffith and his company of players went to Germany to film actuality, and they have succeeded. There's no plot to "Isn't Life Wonder-

† *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U. S. 251.

ful?"—adapted, by the way, from Major Geoffrey Moss's "Dawn." It's an episode in the lives of a German family, depicting their poverty and their joys after the World War, with a strain of eternal love running through the film. There are no villains; there is no vamp. This is indeed a beautiful piece of cinema art. Carol Dempster, Neil Hamilton and Lupino Lane play the leads with an enthusiasm for their respective parts which knows no bounds. A United Artists production.

HUSBANDS AND LOVERS—This is a lot of fun. And mostly the result of Lewis Stone's excellent performance. The matrimonial triangle takes its place as the theme. Lew Cody is the villain, of course, and one whose suavity gets foiled just at the delightful climax. Florence Vidor is a mighty comely, unpetted and unappreciated (by her hubby only) wife. Everybody ought to enjoy this wholesome film. A First National production, directed by John M. Stahl.

THE ROUGHNECK—It seems that all they endeavor to do with Mr. George O'Brien is to show up the pronounced flexibility of his muscles and the evenness of his teeth. George follows "The Man Who Came Back" and "The Painted Lady" with another clothesless South Sea rôle in "The Roughneck," though he's not rough at all, as you may imagine. Billie Dove is a pretty enough feminine lead, with no real part whatsoever. Harry T. Morey makes a frightfully villainous villain, but an interesting one. The picture is almost entirely confined to George's heroic escapade, and children will eat it up. A William Fox production, from the book by Robert W. Service.

Dangerous

(Continued from page 12)

in all the cotton mills of the South, and but 218 in those of the rest of the country—numbers which hardly seem to make necessary so dangerously injurious a measure to the rest of the youth of the country as this amendment—even if they had not already been very considerably reduced since 1920. Of course the Secretary is far too busy a man to look up everything for himself—he must therefore have been furnished his facts (?) by the proponents of the measure. Is it not reasonable to suppose that had they had better reasons they would have stated them?—had they known of a "better 'ole" would they not have gone to it? The truth is that there is none.

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," says the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, yet the first section of the proposed Twentieth Amendment states unequivocally "The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." "Choose ye this day which ye will serve." If this amendment passes no one under eighteen will hereafter have a right either to liberty, the acquisition of property, or the pursuit of happiness—if his happiness chance to lie along the lines of productive endeavor. Better deprive him of the only other thing guaranteed him by our Constitution—life itself—than to leave him that, while taking away from him all that men have found has made life worth living.

As has already been said, the states would never have ratified the Constitution had it not been for the guarantees furnished by the first ten amendments, both to the liberty of the individual states and of the individual citizens. Are we wise to do away with these safeguards of liberty? If we do so, are we even remotely fair to the youth of today? Is it justifiable to deprive young men and women of their inherent rights—the right to earn a living, the right to take their share of the family burdens, the right to put themselves through college should they so desire, the right to help in the work of the world—just because some people with ill-developed zeal want for one reason or another to deprive them of these rights?

Far more important, however, than the unfairness and injury to children which this amendment will entail, great as that is, is the danger to the country in the present tendency to centralize government in Washington. The second section of this amendment is a specious attempt to make it appear that the power of the states is not interfered with by the first section. Of course it is absolutely done away with under the age limit of the amendment and this section

can therefore have no other object than to mislead. It is as follows: "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." As well say, after condemning a man to hang for the crime of murder, "The freedom of a man to live his own life after execution of the sentence is unimpaired by this action of the Court."

Madison, in speaking of the powers reserved to the states by the Constitution says "By the superintending care of these (that is the states) all the more domestic and personal interests of the people will be regulated and provided for. With the affairs of these, the people will be more familiarly and minutely conversant." These powers were reserved to the states most carefully and of excellent purpose, and because of the enormous expansion of the territory and the population of the United States their regulation by the states is even more important now than when the Constitution was framed. John Fiske says: "If the day should ever arrive when the people from the different parts of our country should allow their local affairs to be administered by prefects sent from Washington and when the self-government of the states shall have been so far lost as that of the Departments of France, or even so far as that of the counties of England, on that day the progressive political career of the American people will have come to an end and the hopes that have been built upon it for the future happiness and prosperity of mankind will be wrecked forever."

Objections

(Continued from page 14)

future, as in the past, consist of parents and taxpayers needing the good-will of their constituents and the approval of the courts! Although the attention of the *Atlantic's* editor was instantly called to these and other related "inaccuracies," there have been no corrections.

In August, acting upon Mr. Bentley Warren's forebodings, the exploiters defeated in the primary elections Representative Foster of Ohio, the highly esteemed, successful sponsor of the amendment in the House. The defeat of Mr. Foster was intended as a warning to legislators not to ratify the amendment.

It was accomplished by persuading his rural constituents that, if it were ratified, Congress would instantly use the new power conferred upon it to prohibit, by an omnibus statute, all labor of all persons under the age of eighteen years. In his constituency cows would have to be driven from pasture to barn by weary parents while idle seventeen-year-old sons would sit on the fence and observe.

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CHILD LABOR AND THE CONSTITUTION

By RAYMOND G. FULLER

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NEW YORK

Dishes would, perforce, go unwashed and beds unmade by undutiful daughters old enough to marry under the laws of several states.

Unfortunately, farmers are credulous, and the exploiters command vast advertising which they can, and do, distribute among papers circulating in rural constituencies.

When in September, in Massachusetts, the state referendum of opinion became imminent, the exploiters threw aside all restraints, and their calumnies directed against the amendment and its friends have rarely been equaled, and surely never surpassed. Senator King's shameful speech, printed in the *Congressional Record*, was exhumed, radioed and reprinted. Press, pulpit, altar, clubs, forums, radio, posters, fliers—every medium of attack was utilized, throughout the Massachusetts campaign.

The confusion and prejudice created by this campaign account for most of the questions, objections, and wild assertions that will have to be answered, a million times, throughout the thirty-five states needed to follow the example of Arkansas and ratify the amendment.

Unless related to the background, personnel and strategy of the opposition sketched above, these questions are not seen in their proper perspective.

WHY CONGRESS?

The question most frequently asked by honest people anxious about the future runs as follows: "Why confer upon Congress such unbounded power?"

But how boundless is this power when viewed in the clear light of day?

Consider the gauntlet that the Federal child labor bill following ratification will have to run. It must be passed by a body of more than five hundred men acting in the shadow of an election coming within two years, when each Representative, and one in three of all the Senators, must account to his constituents for his vote.

The veto of the President may await the bill. If so, a two-thirds vote in both Houses will be needed for repassing it. Failing this, it will be delayed until after the election of a new Congress.

Assuming that there is no Presidential veto, any ensuing Congress may repeal the statute outright, or change it to meet public criticism.

During the whole, long, slow process the press will be neither deaf nor sleeping.

Finally, there sits the Supreme Court of the United States with its Rule of Reason and its unlimited permanent veto, compared with the destructive power of which the President's veto is a puny obstacle.

With all these restraining influences acting upon Congress, it is hard to take seriously the hysterical fears so assiduously propagated by the exploiters of wage-earning children.

But there are the fears daily disseminated before our eyes in print, and ringing in our ears; and masses of honest men and women are bewildered by them and hesitate now, at the beginning of the legislative season when they are more than ever needed.

We ask them "Whence comes this sudden distrust? Has the theory and practice of representative government broken down? Has Wisdom fled forever from Washington to the state capitals?"

Like the myriad of his echoing followers, Mr. Bentley Warren ignored the modest terms of the laws which Congress passed and President Wilson signed, when the belief was general that Congress possessed the same power in this matter as the states. In those statutes prohibition applied to children below fourteen years, and to those between fourteen and sixteen working at night, or without specified certificates, or in extra-hazardous occupations.

In fact the comprehensive answer to all these fears can be stated in six words: *Congress is not a lunatic asylum.*

WHY WEAKEN THE INTEREST OF THE STATES?

Great stress is laid by critics of the amendment upon the success (still, alas, sadly meagre!) already achieved by the states, and the rhetorical question is reiterated:

"When the states are doing so well, why weaken their interest by sharing their power with Congress?"

Unfortunately, the states as a whole have done far from well. It is precisely the default of the states which has forced three serious efforts to give to Congress power to cooperate with them. The present crazy quilt of ineffectual

state laws is unjust and discriminatory.*

For this Republic, it is as necessary to have citizens vigorous and capable of self-government in Georgia as in Ohio and California. But to this there has hitherto been no approach.

For instance, where children are injured or killed in industry while illegally employed, only three states require double or triple compensation. These three are Wisconsin, New Jersey and New York. Even in these, children's compensation when they are injured is a mere percentage of their petty weekly wage, and doubling or tripling it serves only slightly as a deterrent. In other states workmen's compensation (where it exists) commonly exempts outright, children illegally employed. Thus the parents of the child killed while so at work can collect nothing for their loss. The usual penalty for the death of a child amounts apparently to a \$20 fine for a violation of the labor law, and \$10 cost of the trial.

In Pennsylvania, where more children under sixteen years were found at work by the Federal census in 1920 than in any other state, the following illustration of failure of the "state by state method" occurred last summer. A boy thirteen years old was sent into a grain elevator to keep grain moving toward the suction pipes. He was drawn into a pipe and smothered under grain. This was discovered by the consequent interruption of the flow of grain. The cost to the owners of the elevator was the sum stated above.

In Virginia, about the same time, a boy under fourteen years old working alone with his employer, a blacksmith, was made totally blind by sparks striking

*See Mr. Lovejoy's article, page 9, for an analysis of the state laws.

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ing his eyes. He received no compensation and his employer paid no penalty because the state labor law applied only to establishments with five or more employes. In New York double compensation would have been due the boy. But there is no equal protection of the law for working children.

Such exemptions as these work out practically as an immense premium upon the illegal employment of children, particularly in dangerous occupations.

In general it may be truthfully said that the right of which the states have hitherto made the most ample use, is the right to do nothing for the effective safe-

guarding of children in highly developed industrial communities. And this after 135 years of power materially greater than it is proposed now to bestow upon Congress.

The states have had all along the undisputed right to pass reasonable labor laws for minors to the age of twenty-one years, while the Federal Child Labor Amendment runs only to the eighteenth birthday.

WHY EIGHTEEN?

This extension under the amendment, to eighteen years, of the period to which Congress may prohibit, limit and regulate the labor of persons, is needed to safeguard protective measures adopted by some states to meet kaleidoscopic changes in the dangers of industry. If, for instance, Congress under the amendment should set the limit for boys to run elevators (passenger or freight) below the eighteenth birthday, an old danger to the public and the children would be reintroduced which has been minimized by the gradual spread of restriction. Indeed, triple compensation for injured children under eighteen in the New York labor law followed the discovery that five boys had been killed in this one state in elevator accidents in the single year 1917, and five other boys by accidents connected with other machines at which they were employed.

Every sensible person knows that boys under eighteen years old are daring, adventurous, reckless creatures who need to be saved from extra-hazards in industry, just as colleges furnish coaches and doctors, and playgrounds without supervisors are recognized as pitfalls.

Every year in the last quarter century has added to the inventions and the substances that endanger life, limb, health and longevity in industry. All the nations that are industrially developed in Western civilization have protective codes to meet these changes. Why then should boys and girls sixteen to eighteen years old be left free in some American states to perish? Why should Uncle Sam not have power to protect his own future?

WHY THE STATES VS. UNCLE SAM?

The hope of the future is not in the triumph of Congress over the states, or of the states over Congress. The hope for the future lies in helpful cooperation. Already this is working well in the fields of roads, schools, medical effort, parks, forests, flood control, agricultural control and irrigation. Insect pests and lobsters are subjects of anxious interest to both Uncle Sam and the states.

Surely it is both cruel and self-defeating longer to delay recognition that a new day and new way of life have come, the day and the way of mutual helpfulness for the equal protection of all the sons and daughters of this great industrial democratic Republic.

A Letter from France

The following letter (published in part) was written to Miss Ruth Morgan (in charge of International Cooperation for the National League of Women Voters) by a French-woman whom Miss Morgan met in Paris. It is a message to American women, on the much-discussed question of the French attitude toward war and peace.

LET me first say what pleasure the interview with you yesterday gave me. It is indeed wonderful for French people to feel the kind sympathy which Americans have for them, and particularly when with heart and brain they try to find out without prejudice what are our real feelings and convictions.

The general sentiment of the French people in regard to the League of Nations is made up of an infinite gratitude toward the men who have given their lives to make it function effectively and an immense hope for what the League of Nations may do in the future toward universal peace. As men and women have suffered tragedy and disaster, in that proportion they dread future catastrophes.

I cannot explain why the French people are now and then accused by foreigners of being militaristic. Nobody could believe this unless he were prejudiced. We are infinitely proud of our national moral, intellectual and artistic heritage, but we do not hope that France shall dominate the world by force but only by the influence of our philosophers and scholars and artists.

At the present time I can affirm that the efforts for world peace in our country are part of the earnest determination of all sections and in all groups. The two outstanding examples are that the radical group now in power, of whom M. Herriot is the chief, created an international association which included all democratic and radical groups and in which seventeen nations, including Germany, have joined for the establishment of world peace through a better understanding of the political aims in each of the countries.

The Federation of Intellectual Workers last April established a union of international intellectual workers so that the leaders of thought in each country could work together for peace, a peace for which so terrible a price has been paid both by victor and vanquished. I speak of these two associations because I am myself in touch with their actual work and share their views—in fact, I am a member of the executive committee of the latter group.

Our feminist group of the League of Nations carries on both in Paris and the provinces a fine campaign of education. One of the most encouraging and hopeful signs for people who, like myself, love peace is to see in what numbers and with what enthusiasm people enroll themselves and follow this movement.

Will you bring this assurance, dear Miss Morgan, to our friends in America? I beg you to tell them for us that the hand of help extended so generously in the war will find us in sympathy with it today in the work for peace. Take them also our gratitude, for French people do not easily forget benefits received, but above all our sincere hope that a greater and more exact comprehension of the French spirit will come to those Americans who long for international good will. Without this comprehension there will be no joint work and no lasting and understanding friendship.

MME. GRINBERG-AUPOURRAIN,
Lawyer in Court of Appeals

Dr. Alsop's health articles will be resumed in the next issue. In the number for November 29, she outlined the problem of Social Hygiene. The second half of that study—measures for control of social disease—will appear January 10.

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Happy New Year!

Women Who Are Helping to Make The Woman Citizen



Mrs. J. B. O'Hara, President Florida League of Women Voters, the first to win a Woman Citizen \$100 prize. Mrs. O'Hara wrote that her first new subscribers liked the magazine so much they helped get the others.



Marion Delany, President California Civic League of Women Voters, first to win three \$100 checks.

Mrs. George Herron, of Oakland, was State Chairman of the California Drive, Mrs. D. B. Lyons, of Los Angeles, Vice-Chairman.

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Mrs. James E. Cheesman, as President of the United League of Rhode Island, was responsible for two \$100 prizes. Mrs. Cheesman is now Director of the First Region of the National League of Women Voters.

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Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, President of the Chautauqua Woman's Club, another \$300 prize winner. Women in every part of the country belong to this club. Mrs. C. M. Wilkes, of Washington, was Chairman of the Woman Citizen drive.

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Mrs. N. R. Melhuish, Saginaw, Michigan, \$100 prize winner for the benefit of the Michigan League of Women Voters. Mrs. Melhuish writes: "THE WOMAN CITIZEN is looked for in my home more eagerly than any other magazine."



Mrs. Ella A. Boole, President of the New York State Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Vice-President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, placed both THE WOMAN CITIZEN and the Union Signal in one hundred new homes in New York State.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published through the cooperative efforts of women throughout the country. It has no publishing corporation behind it with huge capital available for advertising, but its growth depends on the voluntary efforts of women who want to see the influence of the magazine widely extended. During the past year women leaders all over the country have been talking to their friends and to women's organizations about the WOMAN CITIZEN, and have been taking subscriptions for the benefit of their organizations. From 100 to 300 subscriptions each have been secured by nineteen different women who as a result of their efforts have presented twenty-five WOMAN CITIZEN prizes of \$100 each to as many organizations for organization work.

HERE are the pictures of six of the women who are helping to make the WOMAN CITIZEN, with others to follow. These are of the type of American women who are interested in every form of progress. They are helping to make the WOMAN CITIZEN because they believe that every new home into which the CITIZEN goes becomes a new center of aroused and intelligent public opinion. Besides these \$100 checks, many checks for smaller amounts have gone to other women leaders for subscription work which has not secured a \$100 prize.

The WOMAN CITIZEN's big problem is to wipe out its deficit and to make itself self-supporting. In the three years of the present publication it has grown from 8,000 to 20,000 circulation, largely through word-of-mouth advertising. But 20,000 magazines cost nearly as much to produce as would 40,000. The only additional expense of the 40,000 is additional paper and printing. With the higher subscription income from 40,000 subscribers, and with only a modest increase in advertising revenue, 40,000 subscribers would make the WOMAN CITIZEN practically self-supporting.

THE year just ending has seen a phenomenal growth in circulation, largely due to the efforts of many women who want a magazine of their own through which women can speak to women. With such great questions as child labor, law enforcement and world peace still in controversy, a magazine which will follow developments and give the facts concerning them is of the utmost importance.

The year just ending has brought into the limelight the immediate danger threatening the children of the country and the need of every effort to protect them from exploitation. Lawlessness is a nation-wide problem and shows the need for better training in our homes, higher standards of ethical teaching and an awakened public sentiment. Peace secure to the world is a goal still far off. It is the great ideal of American women, without regard to party or creed. The fight for it has just begun.

In all this work the WOMAN CITIZEN is an asset whose value has scarcely begun to be felt. It is an indispensable part of the service women are giving to the nation. It must reach into many more new homes and inspire many more women to do their share.

The WOMAN CITIZEN's \$100 prize offer is open both to individuals and to organizations.

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