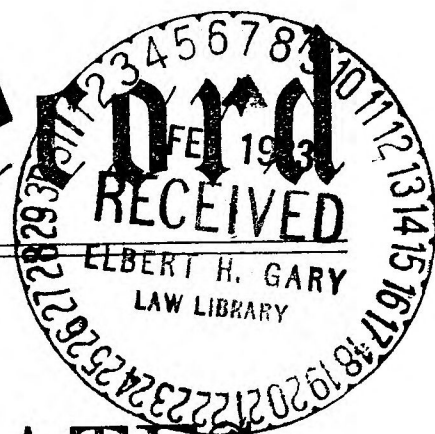


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is an unauthorized practice and extremely inconvenient both to the inferior and to the appellate court. * * * If, indeed, in the summing up the court should mistake the law that would justly furnish a ground for an exception."

Evidently the question of the Caraway bill was not in anywise considered in this case. I have already referred to Mr. Story's splendid definition of the jury system, in which the judge charged the law and the jury were the exclusive judges of the facts.

Again, in the case of *Magniac v. Thompson* (7 Peters, 390) the court, speaking by Judge Story, took occasion to reprimand the practice of sending the entire charge of the court up to the appellate court, but the case does not uphold the opinion of the court in *Vicksburg v. Putnam* (118 U. S.).

In the case of *Mitchell v. Harmony* (13 Howard, 130) Chief Justice Taney said:

"The passages in relation to questions of fact are nothing more than the inferences which in the opinion of the court were fairly deducible from the testimony, and were stated to the jury, not to control their decision, but submitted for their consideration in order to assist them in forming their judgment. This mode of charging the jury has always prevailed in the State of New York, and has been followed in the circuit court ever since the adoption of the constitution."

Then he goes on to say:

"The practice in this respect differs in different States. In some of them the court neither sums up the evidence in a charge to the jury, nor expresses an opinion upon a question of fact. Its charge is strictly confined to questions of law, leaving the evidence to be discussed by counsel, and the facts to be decided by the jury without commentary or opinion by the court."

"But in most of the States the practice is otherwise; and they have adopted the usages of the English courts of justice, where the judge always sums up the evidence and points out the conclusions which in his opinion ought to be drawn from it, submitting them, however, to the consideration and judgment of the jury."

This opinion of Chief Justice Taney may be regarded as a mild authority for the practice permitted in the *Vicksburg Railroad* case, but evidently Chief Justice Taney was considering the then present English practice and not the English practice as laid down by Mr. Blackstone and preserved by the seventh amendment.

The case of *Transportation Line v. Hope* (95 U. S. 302) is really an authority against the decision in the *Vicksburg Railroad* case. In that case the court said:

"The judge did not undertake to fix the value of the barge, but merely referred to the proof relating to it and said the jury would be justified in finding accordingly." "There could be no misunderstanding by the jury after this explanation."

"If there was an error in this respect, it was quite harmless."

The case of *Nudd v. Burrows* (91 U. S. 439), in an opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Swayne in 1875, is directly contrary to the holding of the court in the *Vicksburg* case. I quote from the opinion:

"Questions of law are to be determined by the court; questions of fact by the jury. The authority of the jury as to the latter is as absolute as the authority of the court with respect to the former. No question of fact must be withdrawn from the determination of those whose function it is to decide such issues."

"The line which separates the two provinces must not be overlooked by the court. Care must be taken that the jury is not misled into the belief that they are alike bound by the views expressed upon the evidence and the instructions given as to the law. They must distinctly understand that what is said as to the facts is only advisory and in no wise intended to fetter the exercise finally of their own independent judgment. Within these limitations it is the right and duty of the court to aid them by recalling the testimony to their recollection, by collating its details, by suggesting grounds of preference where there is contradiction, by directing their attention to the most important facts, by eliminating the true points of inquiry, by resolving the evidence, however complicated, into its simplest elements, and by showing the bearing of its several parts and their combined effect, stripped of every consideration which might otherwise mislead or confuse them. How this duty shall be performed depends in every case upon the discretion of the judge. There is none more important resting upon those who preside at jury trials. Constituted as juries are, it is frequently impossible for them to discharge their function wisely and well without this aid. In such cases chance, mistake, or caprice may determine the result."

This was the plausible wording of the Supreme Court decision by which the elephant got its trunk under the tent and by which judges in later decisions overturned jury trials in Federal courts. If this policy thus laid down by Mr. Justice Swayne had been literally followed, it would not have been so bad; but see what has grown out of it. The judge now tells the jury:

(1) "I have considered the evidence and there is no evidence on which you can base a verdict, and therefore you find for the defendant"; or (2) "There is no reason for you to disbelieve the Government's witnesses. They are fair and impartial. They have no interest

in the matter. On the other hand, the defendant naturally has an interest in the matter, and his witnesses are interested in him"; and thus the judge dominates the verdict. Mr. Justice Swayne, when he started out in his opinion above quoted, stated the case accurately when he said: "Questions of law are to be determined by the court; questions of fact by the jury. The authority of the jury as to the latter is as absolute as the authority of the court with respect to the former."

I have tried many cases in Federal courts. I have never heard a Federal judge thus charge the jury, and so far as I now recall, I never knew one to present any case to the jury without indicating how he felt about the merits of the case. Indeed, in most cases, the judge determines a few minutes after the trial begins what he thinks about the case and thereafter he takes an active part in questioning the witnesses or in lecturing counsel and otherwise indicating to the jury what he thinks about the facts. If the Federal judges of the United States are opposed to jury trials, and I take it they are, then they ought to set out to have the sixth and seventh amendments to the Constitution repealed; but as long as they are sworn to uphold the Constitution and all of it, they ought to give it its proper interpretation. Judges have even less right to disregard the mandates of the Constitution than any other people, because they, of all persons, should know what the Constitution contains and they, of all persons, should be the first to defend each and every provision of that sacred instrument. It is the province of the Congress and of the several States to change the Constitution. It is not the province of the courts to change it by interpretation, by construction, or by disregarding its plain mandates.

I recall, in my own practice once, many years ago, where the trial judge, after hearing the evidence on behalf of the plaintiff instructed the jury to find for the defendant on the ground that no evidence had been submitted on which a verdict could be based. The court of appeals at Cincinnati, then composed of Justice Lurton, Justice Severens, and Justice Richards, reversed the case from the bench without even taking it under advisement, upon a simple statement of counsel for defendant of what facts had been adduced in the court below and the plaintiff thereafter received a judgment for the full amount and it was paid; and yet the trial judge had instructed the jury that there was no evidence on which a verdict could be found. The Constitution never gave the trial judge any such right, and to my mind it is a plain violation of the Constitution itself, for any judge to so instruct a jury or for any appellate court to uphold such an instruction.

MATERNITY AND INFANCY ACT

Mr. BAYARD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a memorial of the board of managers of the Woman Patriot Publishing Co., remonstrating against the passage of House bill 7555, proposing to amend the act of November 23, 1921, for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The memorial is as follows:

A PETITION FOR THE REJECTION OF THE PHIPPS-PARKER BILL (S. 2696, H. R. 7555) PROPOSING AN EXTENSION OF THE MATERNITY ACT

[From the board of directors of the Woman Patriot Publishing Co., 8 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.]

To the honorable Members of the United States Senate.

THE WOMAN PATRIOT,
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1926.

To the honorable Members of the United States Senate.

GENTLEMEN: The board of directors of the Woman Patriot Publishing Co., consisting of Mrs. John Balch, Milton, Mass.; Mrs. Randolph Frothingham, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Rufus M. Gibbs, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Mary G. Kilbreth, Southampton, N. Y.; and Mrs. B. L. Robinson, Cambridge, Mass., is unanimously opposed to the renewal and extension of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act, as proposed in the pending Phipps-Parker bill.

Having been denied a hearing by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and not having been heard at the hurried, inadequate House hearings opening within 24 hours after the introduction of the bill, we therefore respectfully submit to the honorable Members of the United States Senate, this petition for the rejection of the Phipps-Parker bill to extend the maternity act, and present reasons and facts comprehensively and in detail, for such action.

Your petitioners are veterans in the opposition to the maternity act, having fought it and the group of legislation of which it is a part since 1920.

We compiled the first Federal-aid taxation tables on the original Sheppard-Towner maternity and Smith-Towner education bills, showing the unjust incidence on the States of that tax which asserted the right of the Federal Government to redistribute the national wealth, and to operate a nation-wide system of thefts and bribes, corrupting the States to surrender their local self-government.

We reprinted the congressional debates of 1867-68 on the establishment and abolition of the short-lived, post Civil War Federal Department of Education, believing that remarkable legislative incident a powerful argument against repetition of that abortive experiment.

It was an officer of this company who brought the citizen's suit in the United States Supreme Court (*Frothingham v. Mellon*, 262 U. S. 447) to test the constitutionality of the maternity act, which the court dismissed, "for want of jurisdiction, without considering the merits of the constitutional questions," as the decision states.

Impressed by the gravity and obscurity of the social and economic issues involved in this legislation, your petitioners have examined, and now respectfully show a mass of related and indisputable facts, many of them never before presented to either House, and unknown to the public, which, in brief, seem to prove beyond reasonable doubt:

That placing the health of mothers and children and control of State health authorities' plans for maternity and infancy care under a radical Federal bureau of social workers is unscientific and unsafe for mothers and babies; that more lives of mothers and infants are lost, in the aggregate, among States accepting the maternity act than among States rejecting it; that the State most subjected to these experiments has the highest rate of maternal mortality from septicemia in the United States; and finally, that this legislation is an integral part and direct result of a comprehensive communist legislative program, designed and led by the ablest legislative manager communism has produced, to socialize and nationalize the care, control, and support of American children in the central bureau established by the same communist leader for that purpose, at the heart of the United States Government.

As no one of these bills can be considered adequately apart from its related measures and their common background and object, we are forced to a consideration of the whole interlocked group of measures constituting a program of revolution by legislation concerning women and children.

Your petitioners therefore respectfully present these facts at the length which their fair and comprehensive consideration seems to require, in the following form:

First, a summary of general objections to indicate the nature of the facts proposed to be sustained hereafter by documentary evidence.

Second, a memorandum of evidence, in detail, proving the truth of all charges contained in this petition.

SUMMARY OF GENERAL OBJECTIONS

1. The Congress and public tricked: These bills are dishonestly presented to hide their true scope and purpose. They are counterfeit legislation, organized schemes to trick the Congress and the country by pretended humanitarian, beneficent-appearing bills, masked as "welfare" and "women's" measures, and intrusted to certain women's organizations to engineer, the better to allay public suspicion, but are none the less straight imported communism. The Bolshevik wolf rarely gets to the doors of Congress except as a little Red Riding-hood.

Lenin's widow, Nadoshda Krupskaya, writing in *Pravda*, official Moscow communist organ, April 9, 1922, says:

"Our duty is to apply in practice the maxim of Vladimir Illich (Lenin): 'We must know how to build communism with noncommunist hands.'"

Again, Lenin said:

"If bolshevism fails, it will be because we could not get the mass of women interested." (Associated Press dispatch, February 27, 1919.)

When Madame Kalenina, wife of the soviet president, sought to enter the United States for an agitation tour in April, 1923, immediately after the execution in Russia of several clergymen for teaching religion to children, etc., the *New York Herald*, April 9, 1923, reported that—"a committee of well-known women to aid Madam Kalenina in her proposed tour here," included Miss Julia C. Lathrop, former chief of the Federal Children's Bureau and vice president of the National League of Women Voters.

Raymond Robins, describing to a Senate committee the German "method in handling the radical situation" to promote bolshevism in Russia (during the Czarist and Kerensky régimes) said it was "to find usually some woman—it happened in so many cases that it seemed that that was a general rule, to use a woman." (Bolshevik propaganda hearing, U. S. Senate, 66th Cong., 3d sess., February-March, 1919, p. 792.) Mr. Robins' testimony was not against the bolsheviks, but, in fact, so favorable that his "own story" (compiled chiefly from his testimony at that hearing) has since been advertised and sold as bolshevik propaganda by the Communist Workers Party of America.

2. Unconstitutional and unpopular: The Phipps-Parker bill concerns matters over which the American people never gave their Federal Government an iota of authority. It involves the same principle of nationalized, standardized care of children and Federal interference between parent and child which the American people so sweepingly repudiated in defeating the Federal child labor amendment, on which the States, acting under popular pressure, now stand 36 to 4 for

rejection. Since aroused by the campaign of information waged from Massachusetts to Oregon against the child-labor amendment, there can be no question where the people stand on Federal interference in their homes. More oppressive invasions of the private lives of citizens have recently been proposed or attempted by the encroaching Federal power than George III would have dared to impose upon the American colonists, proving that the people may be as burdened by "multitudes of new offices" and "swarms of officers" under their own Constitution, made by themselves, when violated by their own Congress, elected by themselves, as if they had no representation at all. Citizens of Massachusetts have said that they regarded the advisory referendum of 1924, against the child labor amendment, as a bloodless, second Concord, "to leave their children free" (in the words of Emerson's hymn) from tyrannous control by Congress. It is not to be expected that a Union of 48 great States with 110,000,000 people can be more safely robbed of their Bill of Rights by their own Congress than 13 weak colonies could be oppressed 150 years ago by a distant Parliament. A candidate who has such expectations has learned little of the history and true spirit of his fellow citizens. As Horace Greeley observed, "The Americans are a great people when you make them a little mad." There can be no doubt that increasing Federal encroachments in domestic and family affairs are making them a little mad.

3. Revolutionary conspiracy: The Federal maternity bill inextricably interlocks with the child labor amendment and the Federal Children's Bureau. They constitute, with the Federal Education Department bill, a unified agency and program of revolution by legislation. They are as deliberate a conspiracy to destroy this Republic as any plot ever hatched to overthrow a government by force and violence.

Including the creation of the Children's Bureau in 1912, they were all backed by the same open groups and "underground" by the communists, and were chiefly promoted by one woman, a Marxian socialist, Mrs. Florence Kelley, formerly Mrs. Wischniewsky (see p. 12931 of this article), pupil and translator of Friedrich Engels (coauthor with Karl Marx of the communist manifesto) and Engels's chosen lieutenant for introducing communism into "the flesh and blood of Americans" as he instructed her.

The Engels-Kelley program is derived straight from the fundamental communist manifesto of 1848 by Marx and Engels, fathers of modern communism, as well as from current Moscow Bolshevism, which specialized on women and children. It centers about the Federal Children's Bureau as closely as the Bolshevik system for women and children, the most brutalizing doctrine of the terror, centered about the soviet department of social welfare, and Alexandra Kollontay, its first commissar, who was indorsed by the Federal Children's Bureau as the author of "the most comprehensive study of maternity benefits and insurance that has yet appeared in any language." (Children's Bureau publication No. 57, *Maternity Benefit Systems in Certain Foreign Countries*, p. 175.)

The Engels-Kelley program carries in its wake as logical sequence doles for children and maternity or childbirth doles for women—"maternity benefits"—not as a help for needy mothers, but as a natural right, confirming the socialist doctrine that maternity is "a service to the state" and that all children "legal or illegal" and all mothers, married or unmarried, should be supported by public taxes instead of by individual husbands and fathers. This cattleizing, stock-farm, breeding proposition for replenishing the population that dehumanizes marriage and lifts responsibility for their offspring from fathers and mothers has incalculable social and moral consequences compared with which the mere cost or taxation aspect of the issue, however enormous, is relatively trivial.

An examination of Children's Bureau publications will reveal so many elaborate "studies" of illegitimacy, compared with the few short pamphlets on infant and child care, that the bureau might be considered to have a morbid interest in this subject were it not a well-known and deliberate plan of the socialists, set forth at length in Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and August Bebel's *Woman and Socialism*, to wipe out all legal, social, and moral distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. It will be shown hereafter that both of these indecent socialist books have been recommended by Mrs. Kelley as fundamental studies for social workers. Also, a comparative table of Children's Bureau publications along this socialist line, as against its publications for mothers, is submitted in the attached memorandum of evidence (p. 12927).

With the inner ring of socialists and feminists in control throughout the country, under the Federal maternity act, of the health centers for mothers and infants (corresponding to the "shop nuclei" in factories as agitation centers in the industrial communist campaign) and of public schools and colleges under the proposed education bill, a channel of propaganda as pervasive as the circulation of the blood in the human system, the youth of the Nation would be at their mercy.

4. National suicide propaganda: The sane, prosperous American people would never accept communism with their eyes open. Engels knew that when he instructed Mrs. Kelley, January 27, 1887:

"The less it [socialism] will be knocked into the Americans from without and the more they test it by their experience * * * the deeper it will go into their flesh and blood." (New York Call, socialist organ, January 29, 1923.)

Our sturdy self-reliance and energy, heritage of pioneer days, are to be sapped by humanitarian "welfare" measures, making of American citizens mere parasites of their Government instead of its upholders. This country was settled by pioneers who came here facing danger, hardship, and privation, an unknown wilderness, and ruthless savages, because they counted freedom from oppressive, bureaucratic European Governments a greater boon than any material comfort and ease.

Jefferson voiced what they wanted in government in his first inaugural:

"A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another and leave them otherwise free."

The framers of our Constitution sought every safeguard of our liberties, but George Washington warned us:

"Resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown." (Farewell Address.)

Jefferson, with all his enthusiasm for our system, wrote:

"In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve." (Notes on Virginia, 7, 390.)

The communists and socialists seek every opportunity that cunning can discover to use the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution, plus all the emotion and sentimentalism which modern propaganda methods can associate with the word "welfare" when coupled with women and children, "to undermine what can not be directly overthrown."

So many recent abuses have claimed the "general welfare" clause as authority that the editor of the Massachusetts Law Quarterly recently alluded to it as "The Achilles Heel of the Constitution." And the measures which the cunning of communists can not drag into Congress under a perverted interpretation of the welfare clause, or the stretching of some enumerated power until its framers would not recognize it, they propose by constitutional amendment, when the Supreme Court has held them clearly unconstitutional.

The Kelley-Engels program proposes to trick our own Representatives to legislate us into communism and make us dig our own graves, into which it is intended we shall fall by our own act.

This was the campaign policy adopted at the 1908 National Socialist Convention at Chicago, when the convention, split into two factions, fought out the problem of how best to overthrow the United States Government.

The two socialist factions, in entire agreement on their ultimate purpose, were at odds only as to methods practicable in America.

One faction, the extreme, straight, Marxian revolutionists, were called "impossibilists" by their American socialist colleagues, because their methods were deemed impossible in this country.

The other faction which prevailed was composed of "opportunists," so called because they made "immediate demands" for what they could get, bit by bit, through legislation for gradually fastening socialism insidiously upon us.

The open revolutionists were beaten every time by Morris Hillquit, chairman of the convention; Victor Berger, and other powerful socialist leaders, who told the delegates not to make themselves "ridiculous," not to make themselves "a laughing stock," etc., by demanding the full socialist establishment at once.

So clearly was it seen Americans would not knowingly accept socialism.

DIGGING OUR OWN GRAVES

A New York delegate explained to the socialist convention the "bit-by-bit" policy of tricking us into digging our own graves:

"To-day we are seeing encroachments after encroachments on the régime of private property in the means of life, and every time a utility is taken over and made public by nationalization, even with a capitalist government in control, so much does it limit the area of private ownership.

"President Roosevelt is a good deal wiser than some of the delegates here, because he saw these encroachments upon private ownership and called them the greatest national disaster that can take place; he does that because he knows that when one encroachment is made upon the arena of private property it means opening the door to all others. * * * They are playing into your hands, because you understand the philosophy of the situation, and they do not. * * * The capitalists themselves are digging their own graves, and when you see a little bourgeois shouting for Government ownership of gas or telephones or telegraphs you simply see him digging shovelful after shovelful out of the hole in which later we will bury

the whole capitalist system." (Proceedings, National Socialist Convention, 1908, pp. 172-173.)

How many shovelfuls we have dug out of our own graves—how far we have progressed toward socialism—may be measured by noting how many of the political and industrial "immediate demands" of the 1908 socialist platform have been enacted by the two major parties.

Of the 11 political "immediate demands" of the socialists of 1908, 6 have become laws (2 of them Federal amendments) or are pending in the present Congress, put over by Republicans and Democrats, and 10 of the 11 have been actively agitated.

1. "The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequest and to the nearness of kin"—enacted September 8, 1916.

2. "A graduated income tax"—proposed as a Federal amendment July 12, 1909, and proclaimed February 9, 1913.

3. "The initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the recall"—adopted as constitutional amendment by several States and proposed as a Federal "gateway amendment."

4. "Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women; and we pledge ourselves to an active campaign in that direction"—proposed as a Federal amendment (woman suffrage) June 4, 1919, and proclaimed August 26, 1920.

5. "The Bureau of Education to be made a department"—pending.

6. "The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and the establishment of a Department of Labor"—enacted March 4, 1913. (See Proceedings, National Socialist Convention, 1908, p. 323, for full texts of "immediate demands.")

The five remaining socialist "political demands" of 1908, not as yet enacted, are:

(1) "The abolition of the Senate"; (2) "The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States * * *"; (3) "That the Constitution be made amendable by majority vote"; (4) "That all judges be elected by the people for short terms," etc.; (5) "the free administration of justice."

Of the six parts of the industrial "immediate demands" of the socialists in 1908, the two referring to Federal legislation were both adopted and declared unconstitutional:

1. "The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers * * * by forbidding the employment of children under 16 years of age," and

2. "By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor * * *"

These industrial "immediate demands" were the germs of the McCormick-Foster Federal child-labor amendment, transmitted to the States June 2, 1924. Child labor was discussed at great length at the convention, and the necessity of doles for children to supplement it. (Proceedings, pp. 206-211.)

These demands were enacted as the first Federal child labor law, September 1, 1916 (Public, No. 249, 64th Cong.), and declared unconstitutional June 3, 1918, by the Supreme Court in *Hammer v. Dagenhart*. It was followed, February 24, 1919 (Public, No. 254, 65th Cong.), by another Federal child-labor law, which was also declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, May 15, 1922, in *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*

Immediately a number of Federal child-labor amendments were introduced, so determined were the interlocked groups pressing for control of children, and the one drafted and demanded by Mrs. Florence Kelley was proposed as a Federal amendment.

All of these things have been accomplished with never more than one open Representative of the Socialist Party in Congress.

Mrs. Kelley, who was chief draftsman of the amendment proposed (see Senate report on S. J. Res. 1 (68th Cong., pp. 49, 90, 91, 92, 123) and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1924), testified at the Senate child labor amendment hearing (p. 49) that she had "been trying for 40 years to mold public opinion" in favor of such legislation. It will be shown hereafter, by Mrs. Kelley's own testimony, that for 39 years she has scorned "palliatives" and worked for these measures only as steps leading to full socialism.

Your petitioners are not interested in the philosophy of socialism, or in conditions in Russia, per se. Our interest is purely practical. We are only concerned with the infecting of our own people and Government, and with the agencies and instruments whereby socialism is secretly inoculated into "the flesh and blood" of Americans. Moreover, with two great former Empires (Germany and Russia) captured and controlled by socialists and communists—and now in open alliance—and with the French, British, and Italian Governments all having undergone disastrous socialist control within the last few years, it would seem the blindness of folly for Americans to disregard the fact that now, not only socialist organizations, but great socialist and communist foreign governments, with millions for propaganda at their command, have a direct material interest in promoting every form of socialism in America that may weaken the energy, cripple the man power, interrupt the industry, or sap the financial and political foundations of the United States—the most "magnificent country to loot" for a bankrupt world.

CAN NOT BE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE

No true consideration of these socialist measures can stop at their mere texts—their face value—legally or logically. We quote the highest legal authority for consideration of the implications, intentions, tendencies, and real substance of these bills.

The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly declared that it will "look through the form of any proceeding to its substantial character"; that "what is reasonably implied is as much a part of it as what is expressed" (256 U. S. 370-377); and that the "wishes and opinions" of organized private advocates of a measure, after they have prevailed and the measure is enacted, may express legally "an altogether probable intent" (262 U. S. 100).

Moreover, we have a right and duty to consider not only the proclaimed wishes and intentions of advocates, but also the tendencies of a measure.

Abraham Lincoln, in his debate with Douglas, October 15, 1858, declared:

"When I propose a certain measure or policy it is not enough that I do not intend anything evil in the result, but it is incumbent on me to show that there is not a tendency to that result."

Your petitioners respectfully proceed with:

MEMORANDUM OF EVIDENCE

1. The Congress and public tricked: From its start with the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau to the pending Phipps-Parker and Curtis-Reed bills the Kelley program has been marked by fraud and deceit. One by one it will be shown that not one of the measures has been offered in good faith, has meant what it said, or could be taken at its face value.

(a) Establishment of Children's Bureau, April 4, 1912.

The floor sponsors of the Borah-Peters bill of 1911 for the establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau thought they were creating a little fact-finding, statistical agency, to cost \$29,000 or \$30,000 a year, to gather statistics on children, with no administrative authority. Instead they were setting up a central apparatus of power over youth, capable of unlimited expansion and penetration into the homes of the people, not along health lines, as the public supposed, but for economic and socialistic propaganda.

Like the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill of 1921 the Borah-Peters bill to establish the bureau was a much-reduced form of previous bills, due to no change whatever of intention or purpose or scope on the part of the backers, but necessitated by the opposition encountered. It is the old camel's nose-under-the-tent strategy.

It deceived Senator BORAH and Representative Andrew J. Peters, of Massachusetts, into sponsoring the bill establishing the bureau. In his speech of 1912 Senator BORAH said:

"There have been a number of bills covering this subject introduced from time to time in the Congress, but most of the measures heretofore have gone much further than this bill proposes to go and have undertaken in a measure to legislate concerning the question of the employment of children in manufacturing establishments and elsewhere and have been thought to intrude or impinge upon the peculiar rights of the States. I am not myself and have never been in favor of extending this kind of legislation to the point where it might be said to impinge upon the rights of the States. But this bill goes no further than to gather the information such as is now being done by the Government in other departments concerning other matters of interest. * * *

"The amount of appropriation in the bill is about \$29,000, possibly \$30,000. The bills, as they were originally introduced concerning this particular subject, carried appropriations much larger than that, but the committee reduced it to the lowest figure possible to still maintain something like an active and vital bureau * * *." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 8, 1912, pp. 702-703.)

The bill's House sponsor, Representative Andrew J. Peters, was positive as to the proposed bureau's cost:

"Mr. PETERS. The total expense contemplated by this bill for the chief, assistants, for the experts, clerks, and everything else amounts to \$29,440, annually, including rent and various salaries and expenses of the people connected with it—

"The CHAIRMAN. You think that the cost of this bureau will only be \$29,000. You have in mind, I presume, the cost of clerical work here at Washington?

"Mr. PETERS. Yes, the cost of clerical work here at Washington.

"The CHAIRMAN. Would it not also require, in order to make the bureau effective, considerable field work and also printing and work of that kind?

"Mr. PETERS. This includes the expenses of all the men engaged in field work. It includes the expenses of everything except printing." (Hearing, House Committee on Labor, on H. R. 4694, 62d Cong., 1st sess., May 12, 1911.)

The Peters bill went through the House under suspension of rules. The late Representative Swagar Sherley, of Kentucky, protested:

"It was made impossible to debate it in the time now at the disposal of the House, and it is an indictment of this procedure of the House that this bill should be considered under a suspension of the

rules, with only 20 minutes debate on a side * * *. There is not the slightest excuse to insist that this House shall to-day, with only 20 minutes to a side for debate, without power of amendment, pass this bill." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 2, 1912, p. 4222.)

It may be noted that exactly the same tactics on the floor of the House were used to get through the present Parker bill (H. R. 7555) on April 5, 1926.

The extent of the sponsors' miscalculation as to the bureau's cost is revealed in the following table compiled by the Budget Bureau, showing an increase of over 3,000 per cent in 13 years:

Appropriations of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor

Fiscal year	Salaries and expenses, including bonus and classification	Enforcement of child labor law	National security and defense ¹	Maternity and infancy, including bonus and classification	Total
1913	\$21,936				\$21,936
1914	25,640				25,640
1915	161,265				161,265
1916	164,640				164,640
1917	164,640	\$50,000			214,640
1918	280,581	100,000			380,581
1919	283,610	\$125,000	\$250,000		658,610
1920	310,008				310,008
1921	294,874				294,874
1922	295,476			\$490,067	785,543
1923	339,829			1,241,600	1,581,429
1924	341,906			1,241,692	1,583,598
1925	325,900			1,007,092	1,332,992
1926	313,000			1,000,000	1,313,000
Total	3,323,305	275,000	250,000	4,980,451	8,828,756

¹ The \$250,000 under "National security and defense" was from the President's fund in 1919.

² The appropriation for enforcement of child labor law, 1919, \$125,000, was not used, as the child labor law was declared unconstitutional before the appropriation became available.

The bureau's campaign for power increased from "authority to gather facts and statistics" in 1912 to demanding and securing the passage and administration of the Federal maternity act of 1921 (drafted in the bureau for the bureau) and finally reaching out for Children's Bureau control of all "persons under 18 years of age" through the Federal child-labor amendment.

The bureau was never intended by its real backers to confine itself to investigation. A month after the bureau was created the Woman's Journal, now the Woman Citizen, formerly official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Kelley was vice president, declared editorially:

"We shall not be willing to let the establishment of the Children's Bureau mean simply investigation—it must mean power to change things." (Woman's Journal, May 11, 1912.)

Again, while Senator BORAH was confident the bureau would not "impinge upon the peculiar rights of the States," Miss Jane Addams, coworker with Mrs. Kelley, and head of Hull House, Chicago, in which Mrs. Kelley (and both the former chief and the present Chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, and Miss Grace Abbott) was a resident for several years, stated flatly that the Federal bureau was desired precisely for the purpose of wiping out State lines that had hampered the activities of the National Child Labor Committee. In an article published with the Senate report on the bill establishing the Children's Bureau, Miss Addams declared:

"How absurd State lines are when it comes to industrial questions. * * * A Federal bureau naturally would have nothing to do with State lines and only a Federal authority could adequately deal with such a situation. * * * These problems must be dealt with by a Federal authority having power to transcend State lines." (Senate Rept. No. 141, 62d Cong., 1st sess., on S. 252 by Senate Committee on Education and Labor.)

The bill establishing the bureau met with powerful opposition in the Senate, led by Senators Bailey, of Texas; Gallinger, of New Hampshire; Heyburn, of Idaho; OVERMAN, of North Carolina; Stone, of Missouri; and Works, of California.

Attempts to amend the bill to protect citizens from invasions of their homes by Government agents, introduced by Senators Thornton, of Louisiana, and Culberson, of Texas, were twice defeated.

Senator Heyburn declared:

"We have now placed the stamp of disapproval on Article IV [amendments] of the Constitution of the United States," the so-called right of castle. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 31, 1912, p. 1576.)

Senator BORAH had opposed the amendments, saying:

"It renders less effective the measure, and it would be very unfortunate for the bill if it were adopted." (Ibid., January 31, 1912, p. 1575.)

Senator Culberson commented:

"The Senator from Idaho, having charge of the bill, said if the amendment were adopted it would destroy the very purpose of the bill, showing that it is contemplated that these officers shall enter private residences, if necessary."

Senator Culberson thereupon introduced a third proposed amendment having the same purpose as his previous amendment:

"But no official or agent or representative of said bureau shall, over the objection of the head of the family, enter any house used exclusively as a private residence."

This passed by a narrow margin (39 to 34), but the bill's Senate sponsor voted "no" on all these amendments to uphold the "right of castle." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 31, 1912, pp. 1575, 1576, 1578.)

This inhibition, without "teeth" or a penalty clause, in the act creating the bureau unfortunately amounts merely to legislative advice, and seemingly has not curtailed bureau officials' activities.

The same struggle to protect citizens' homes from invasion took place when the maternity act of 1921 was enacted. After vigorous pleas for the "right of castle" by Senator REED of Missouri and others another futile gesture was made, merely declaring that officials shall have no "right" to invade homes under the maternity act, but providing no penalty whatever for disregard of this provision.

Few better illustrations that "a law without a penalty is only legislative advice" can be cited than these gestures of pretended concession to the right of castle in the act creating the Children's Bureau and in the maternity act.

Senator Weldon Brinton Heyburn alone saw the communist background of the bill to establish the Children's Bureau and fought it with prophetic insight:

"While upon the face of this measure it merely provides for the taking of statistics, the accumulation of knowledge, yet we know from other measures which have been introduced, some from the same source, that it contemplates the establishment of a control through the agencies of Government over the rearing of children. There are other measures now pending in committees of this body going much further, going to the extent of interference with the control of a parent over the child. * * *

"The frequency and insistence for this class of legislation seem to be growing with accelerated speed. The jurisdiction established over the children of mankind in the beginning of the human race has worked very well. It is in accord with the rules of nature. It is based not upon duty but upon the human instinct that established the principle upon which all duties rest. The mother needs no admonition to care for the child nor does the father. The exceptions to that rule are such as those to the rule against taking human life. * * *

"No one can be more sympathetic than I am with the needs, the welfare, and the comfort of the children of the country, but I am not willing to substitute any other control for that of the parent. I would control the parents, if necessary, when they would violate the recognized rule of the domestic establishment, * * * but I would do it through the police laws of the land, the local laws. * * *

"Are we to create as this contemplates, in every State and Territory and corner of the United States, a nursery that shall pass upon the wisdom of the mothers and the fathers of the land? Are we, as this contemplates, to appoint Federal officers to superintend the nurseries of the country or the cradles of the poor? Are we through this agency to say what school of medicine shall be invoked for the assistance of the child that is ill? Are we to provide that some one may step in and be substituted for the parent in the care of the child merely because of a difference of opinion?" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, December 11, 1911, p. 189.)

"Does anyone suppose that the law would be so administered as to deal equally with the children of all classes? Would it inquire whether or not the habits of the parent of wealth were such as to exercise a proper influence over the mind of the child of wealth, or do they propose to inquire whether or not the moral character and habits of the rich parent are such as to constitute a worthy example to the children of those parents? Do they propose to follow the child of the rich into the schools, into the colleges, into whatever institution the child is sent to obtain an education, to ascertain whether or not the morals of that child need public supervision or public exposure? * * *

"This matter has been discussed in newspapers and in speech and in letter always from the standpoint that it was the children of the poor that needed the care and supervision of the Federal Government, and that the money was to be appropriated for the advancement and the uplift only of the children of the poor. * * * Do you think the morals of the people of wealth in this country are superior to the morals of the people who labor for their living and who constitute, probably, 90 per cent or more of the population? * * *

"There may go into the household of the poor man, who is defenseless against this inquisition, a man stamped with authority, or who thinks he is, and he may ask the resident questions as to his habits, as to his wife's habits, as to the habits of the adult members of the family, as to whether they play cards or drink or gamble or dance, and then you have made a record by which the child is to be judged or the parent or guardian is to be judged. You have indulged in an inquisitorial proceeding, which, except for the purpose of discovering crime or enforcing the law against it, we ought never to permit under the laws of this country. * * *

"They would not attempt to execute it except as against the class that is most helpless in their hands—those who toil for a living and do the best they can." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 30, 1912, p. 1526.)

"That kind of a law would have taken Abraham Lincoln from his parents' care and custody and have had him educated by these theorists and interferers with the domestic economy and system of mankind. He never would have been allowed to live at home, poor as he was; his parents would not have been allowed to keep him. Some committee of the description I have already stated would have gone there and said, 'What, allow that child to lie down there and eat corn pone and hoe cake by the hearth! He can not possibly amount to anything; we want to take him down to the headquarters, where we are drawing salaries for taking care of that kind of people.' That is what they would say." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 8, 1912, p. 764.)

"I have a large correspondence in regard to this matter which tells the purpose of it, because those who favor it tell in their letters what they expect to do under it. * * * I asked them specifically what their object was in supporting this measure, which they insisted I should vote for. I asked them what they hoped to accomplish. Their answer, if not in uniform speech, in spirit is that they hope to be in a position to exercise jurisdiction over children who in their judgment are not being properly cared for. They want to become substitutes for the parents. Perhaps some of them may be parents. Many of them, to my knowledge, are not. But they are anxious to secure an opportunity, which they have not improved on their own part, of becoming the parents in fact of other people's children." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 24, p. 1248.)

INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

It will be found that the predictions of Senator Heyburn in 1912 really minimized the degree and character of the inquisitorial proceedings which have actually been practiced by the Children's Bureau.

The bureau was directed to investigate "infant mortality"—as a health matter, the people supposed. Instead, as the bureau chief declared:

"None of the studies made by the bureau attempt to approach infant mortality as a medical question. They are concerned with the economic, social, civic, and family conditions surrounding young babies." (Miss Julia C. Lathrop, former chief of Children's Bureau, in signed article, "Income and infant mortality," American Journal of Public Health, Vol. IX, No. 4, April, 1919, pp. 270-274, reprinted and circulated by the Children's Bureau.)

Instead of approaching infant mortality as a medical or health question, the bureau checked up the salaries of husbands, not only by subjecting their wives to inquisition, but by actually inspecting pay rolls. Miss Lathrop says:

"The surroundings of each child were traced through the first year of life * * * by women agents of the bureau who called upon each mother. * * * while it was plainly necessary to accept the mother's statement with reference to matters directly pertaining to the daily life of the baby, it was thought that she might not always know about her husband's earnings and that other sources of information might be more important. Pay rolls were consulted and employers and the fathers themselves were interviewed." (Ibid.)

The bureau was interested in husbands' salaries, not as a health matter but as a basis for socialistic propaganda, for after making several of these investigations in a few towns and issuing reports thereon purporting to show that the children of the poor are neglected and not properly cared for without governmental interference and subsidies, the bureau, in its official book, Standards of Child Welfare, declares:

"The logic of the evidence adduced seemed to indicate that a very large ratio of the families of the United States obtain incomes too small to make possible the rearing of children in the manner which scientific and humane considerations, as well as the prosperity of the nation, demand."

At page 45 of the same Children's Bureau book we find what has been described by Senator REED of Missouri as "this choice bit of communism":

"The cost of living must come down or there must be a nationalization of financial responsibility which will relieve the individual family of a portion of the cost which they must now bear or wages must rise to cover the cost of living."

Not even Senator Heyburn could have dreamed in 1912 that the Children's Bureau, under authority to investigate "infant mortality," would recommend "nationalization of financial responsibility," straight communism, to reduce infant deaths.

The sponsors of the Children's Bureau bill in 1912 were tricked by its socialist backers into believing it merely an information bureau to promote child health by gathering and distributing statistics thereon.

(b) *The maternity and infancy act, November 23, 1921.*

The second legislative fraud was the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act, whereby the Children's Bureau, the \$29,000 a year "statistical agency," reached out for administrative power in the States over mothers and children, with a proposed \$4,000,000 a year Federal

subsidy, to be matched by the States, with which to purchase State and local obedience to the bureau's Federal "minimum standards."

The maternity act specifically extended the Children's Bureau's activities to include women, and, contrary to popular belief, the bill's backers were not mainly concerned with the health of mothers, but with the "economic and social conditions surrounding women and children."

In proof of this the following official statements are quoted:

"Miss JULIA C. LATHROP (then chief of the Children's Bureau). For seven years the Children's Bureau has devoted much attention to the subject specifically stressed in its organic act, namely, infant mortality. None of these studies, it should be stated, are medical studies. They consider the economic, industrial, social, civic, and family factors surrounding the child and mother. * * * The figures of family income gathered by the bureau prove irrefutably that a large proportion of babies are born into homes where the income can not cover the expenses of satisfying the reasonable requirements of mother and baby." (Hearings, Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, May, 1920, p. 11.)

"Family well-being involves many services, among them those of teacher, physician, nurse, social economist * * *; hence members of the Federal board represent education, health, and social economy." (Ibid. p. 11.)

"Mr. WINSLOW (chairman House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce). Is this not specifically a medical proposition?"

"Miss LATHROP. I do not so regard it; and I am sure that anyone who had time to read the successive reports of the bureau upon infant mortality would not feel that this bill is primarily a medical proposition. I think it is a social and economic proposition, and we can not ignore those basic aspects of it." (Hearings, December, 1920, pp. 20, 21.)

"Mr. WINSLOW. Is there any doubt that this particular undertaking covered by this bill is a health consideration?"

"Miss LATHROP. My judgment is that it is not altogether a health consideration. The inquiries that led up to it were not medical, but were chiefly in the social and economic field. And the principles to be applied in administering this law are largely in the social and economic field, and it is not a health measure in the sense in which the prevention or cure or treatment of disease is a health measure." (Ibid. p. 20.)

In short, Miss Lathrop argued repeatedly that preventing the deaths of mothers and babies is not regarded by the backers of the maternity act as a medical and health question, and that their interest in maternal and infant mortality lies in "social and economic" remedies, such as "nationalization of financial responsibility," investigations of husbands' incomes, "maternity benefits," and Federal subsidies as "the principles to be applied in administering this law!"

Dr. Anna A. Rude, director of the division of hygiene, Children's Bureau, testified to the same effect:

"This proposed bill has a broader scope than a purely health bill. That is one of the reasons for not putting it under the boards of health. * * * As I think I stated before, this bill is intended to be a much broader bill than a purely health bill; its real purpose is for educational extension work, and that is the reason for having it under a separate board. * * * This bill is really broader than a simple health measure." (Hearings, House Committee on Labor, January, 1919, pp. 50-52.)

Dr. Charles E. Sawyer (brigadier general, President Harding's physician) testifying in favor of the maternity act declared:

"This really is a sociological subject. I believe it belongs to the social service division of the new [proposed] welfare department. * * * My understanding of this bill is that it handles the sociological side. Do I make myself clear? It does not handle the medical side of maternity. It handles the social relations. * * * As I understand the matter in conversing with those who are interested in this bill * * * it seems to me * * * that this would go to the social service division of the [proposed] welfare department."

"Mr. COOPER (member of the committee). General, you said a few moments ago you thought that this measure was more sociological than medical, did you not?"

"Doctor SAWYER. Yes, sir. * * *

"Mr. GRAHAM (member of the committee). Let me see if I get your idea. You conclude that this is purely a sociological question?"

"Doctor SAWYER. I do. * * *

"Mr. GRAHAM. * * * When you want to embark upon the line of sociology by the Federal Government, the field is boundless, and, so far as I am concerned, I can not see the end." (House hearings, July, 1921, pp. 126-130.)

THE "INDUSTRIAL END" OF MATERNITY AND INFANCY

"Mr. WINSLOW. Can you tell me why you were assigned to the Department of Labor?"

"Miss LATHROP. A very large proportion of the children of this country are the children of people who work with their hands; and there is a sound and natural connection between a bureau which is intended to understand and to improve the condition of children

and child life and a department whose duty is to improve the condition of working people.

"Mr. WINSLOW. Well, that was when your office was created and began to function. It bore more directly on the labor side then."

"Miss LATHROP. We have an industrial division now, and we are constantly making industrial studies."

"Mr. WINSLOW. That is what I mean; you are tied up to the industrial end of it more particularly. * * *

"Would it cause any hindrance to the progress of your work if you were to be transferred to the United States Public Health Service?"

"Miss LATHROP. I should regard it as a fatal error to transfer a bureau whose business it is 'to investigate and report upon all matters relating to the welfare of children and child life' to the sole supervision of physicians, earnestly as I may respect physicians."

"Mr. WINSLOW. Well, you did draw in a medical branch to your office when you entered this field?"

"Miss LATHROP. Yes; we did draw in medical advisers later, when we had more money. We are aware that there are aspects of life which require the services of physicians, but they are a small part of child welfare, and must be considered in relation to the social field." (House hearings, December, 1920, pp. 19, 20.)

Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, testified:

"The National Consumers' League has been interested for several years in the movement for compulsory industrial health insurance for working people. We have also been interested in legislation providing for a period of compulsory rest of expectant mothers before and after the birth of their children. Both these measures are vain until the passage of this bill. * * *

"The Consumers' League interests itself primarily in the employees in the industries." (Senate hearings, May, 1920, p. 51.)

After admitting that her league was interested in "compulsory industrial health insurance" and "maternity benefits"—which are straight German socialist schemes, rejected by every State in this Union and opposed by American organized labor—and that she regarded the maternity act as a step toward their enactment, Mrs. Kelley nevertheless ended her testimony with an impassioned indictment of Congress:

"Inaction shrieks to Heaven at the present time. * * * Why does Congress continue to wish to have mothers and babies die?" (Ibid., p. 53.)

HEALTH FRAUD FURTHER REVEALED

The original Children's Bureau maternity bill proposed to appropriate \$4,000,000 annually by the Federal Government—to be matched by the States—and included a provision for "medical and nursing care for mothers and infants at home or at a hospital when necessary, especially in remote areas."

That was to make believe that mothers and infants would receive actual assistance, especially in "remote areas" and rural districts, but it was demonstrated in the first Senate debate that the backers of the bill really intended practically the entire \$8,000,000 a year for "social and economic" investigations, reports, salaries, etc., and were ready to drop any actual help to mothers and babies as soon as it seemed possible to pass the bill without it, but they asked the full appropriation to the last.

This is proved by the following debate:

"Senator HOKK SMITH. Section 8 contains this provision:

"And the provision of medical and nursing care for mothers and infants at home or at a hospital when necessary, especially in remote areas."

"Senator SHEPPARD. The chairman of the committee, the Senator from Maryland (Mr. France) has indicated his willingness to accept an amendment eliminating that provision."

"Senator SMOOT. Do I understand the Senator * * * to say that the chairman of the committee has accepted the proposition eliminating that whole section?"

"Senator SHEPPARD. No; but eliminating the provision to which the Senator from Georgia makes objection * * * the Senator from Maryland will accept an amendment eliminating that clause * * *. The Senator from Maryland is now here, and he can verify what I said a few moments ago."

"Senator SMITH of Georgia. I desire to say to the Senator from Maryland that it has been stated in his absence it was the purpose of those in charge of the pending bill * * * to amend the original language by striking out the words, 'and the provision of medical and nursing care,' etc. * * *"

"Senator FRANCE. Mr. President, I do not consider that that amendment would materially injure the bill or defeat its purpose and I myself do not feel like opposing it."

"Senator SMITH of Georgia. * * * When these large sums were put into this bill it was with the idea of treating individual cases."

"Senator SHEPPARD. Mr. President, that was not the idea. The treatment of individual cases was never intended to amount to more than a very secondary and exceptional consideration * * *"

"Senator SMITH of Georgia. Does the Senator think it would take \$8,000,000 annually simply to carry information and instruction on the subject?"

"Senator SHEPPARD. *That was the conclusion of those who looked into the matter very carefully.*

"Senator BRANDEGEE. * * * May I ask who made the estimates for which these figures of \$2,000,000 and \$4,000,000 resulted? The Senator from Texas says he understands the matter has been very carefully considered and looked into. By whom?"

"Senator SHEPPARD. *By the Children's Bureau.*

"Senator BRANDEGEE. And it is the opinion of the Senator that the Children's Bureau thought these amounts to be appropriated annually * * * were required simply for sending out circulars and literature on these questions?"

"Senator SHEPPARD. *That was the idea, because the work is to be in cooperation with all the States in the Union.*

"Senator BRANDEGEE. They allowed nothing then for doctors' bills for women and children which was contained in the language which has been stricken from the bill?"

"Senator SHEPPARD. That was considered to be a very small part of the matter. * * * *It was not intended to apply that phase of the bill extensively at all.* * * *

"Senator SMOOT. The amendment that has been adopted, in my opinion, takes out at least three-fourths of the expense that would be incurred under this bill.

"Senator SHEPPARD. Not at all, I will say to the Senator. *Only a small part of the money available was intended to be used for medical and nursing care.* * * * I will say to the Senator that only the *smallest part* of this fund was to be expended for actual medical and nursing care." * * * (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, December 18, 1920, pp. 514, 515, 516.) (Italics ours.)

Can it be denied by any honest person, on the face of the record and the testimony of the leading advocates and backers of the maternity act, that it was intended not as a health or medical measure, but as a "sociological measure" for salaries, investigations, reports, and traveling expenses of bureaucrats chiefly concerned with "social and economic" principles and propaganda, who originally intended that "only the smallest part" of the fund was to be expended in actual aid of mothers and babies, and who, in the course of the passage of the maternity act, agreed to eliminate even that smallest part?

The maternity act as passed (Public, No. 97, 67th Cong.; 42 Stat. 135) contains this section:

"SEC. 12. No portion of any moneys appropriated under this act for the benefit of the States shall be applied, directly or indirectly, to the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any buildings or equipment, or for the purchase or rental of any buildings or lands, nor shall any such money or moneys required to be appropriated by any State for the purposes and in accordance with the provisions of this act be used for the payment of any maternity or infancy pension, stipend, or gratuity."

In short, not only does the act specifically prohibit the use of one Federal dollar to rent a bed in a hospital, or hire a taxicab, for a needy mother, or the clothing "equipment" to keep a new-born baby from freezing, but it also undertakes to command the States that not even "the smallest part" of the "matched" funds raised by the State shall be used for any "gratuity" to needy mothers and infants! Every cent is for salaries and "social service."

Your petitioners, desiring to be absolutely fair, invite attention to the fact that the latter part of section 12, commanding the States not to pay any maternity or infancy pension, etc., was added by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, to prevent the use of this money for socialist "maternity benefits," after severe criticism, in the Senate and elsewhere of such Children's Bureau propaganda. (See Maternity Benefit Systems in Certain Foreign Countries, bureau publication No. 57.)

On the other hand, it was the bureau itself that put in the first part of section 12, prohibiting the use of the money to purchase, erect, preserve, repair, or rent any "buildings or equipment."

The reason for this clause is that the Children's Bureau wanted the money appropriated under the act (aside from that eliminated, "smallest part" for "medical and nursing care" in the original bill) exclusively for "service"—that is, salaries, "investigations and reports," traveling expenses, etc., of bureaucrats, which it would be more accurate to describe as plain graft and "pork" for professional social workers, rather than "service" to mothers and children.

Dr. Anna E. Rude, director of the division of hygiene, Children's Bureau, made this clear at the first hearing:

"No Federal money apportioned to the States shall be used for buildings, repairs, equipment, or rent, the intent being that they shall be applied solely for service." (Senate hearings, Committee on Public Health, on S. 3259, May, 1920, p. 7.)

Mrs. Florence Kelley, the real leader of Children's Bureau legislative campaigns (as may be noted in the Senate hearings on the maternity act in 1921 and the Senate hearings on the child labor amendment in 1923, where she, rather than the bureau chief, led the fight on the closely contested points, and the amendments suggested by Senators),

made this "service" demand even more clear as the chief object of the bill's backers, as will be shown.

Senator GEORGE H. MOSES, of New Hampshire, April 28, 1921, introduced an amendment as a substitute for the maternity act (S. 1039).

Whatever may be said of the Moses amendment from the constitutional-lawyer's standpoint (on account of the Federal subsidies involved) the Moses amendment, at least, provided real Federal aid for mothers instead of social workers. To each county that raised \$5,000 for a maternity hospital the Moses amendment proposed to contribute a Federal \$5,000 if the hospital were approved by the county and State public-health officials. Actual training of women in maternal nursing was also provided, and the Federal administration of the act was to be in the United States Public Health Service.

Senator MOSES, at the time, issued the following statement:

"The so-called maternity bill is designed to create jobs and to procure the circulation of literature accompanied by unwelcome and unwise intrusion into the most intimate of private affairs.

"If the real desire of the proponents of the measure is to give real help to expectant mothers, they should realize that provisions should be made for doctors and not documents, for medical men instead of meddling Matties. Therefore, I have prepared an amendment, which will provide for Federal cooperation to establish and maintain hospitals in every county choosing to avail itself of the Federal cooperation which I have outlined. These hospitals can be made real centers for the remedial help which the proponents of this bill affect to be seeking. These institutions will offer care for mothers in childbirth and for their ailing children afterward; they can be made local training centers for nurses to be selected from the schools; around them will be coordinated the activities of the existing charitable organizations, mothers' aid societies, the Red Cross, and agencies for child welfare. In these hospitals practical work will be done, and the limit of cost will be fixed. Under the pending bill no one can foresee the ultimate expense, though its pork-barrel potentialities are readily apparent."

Mrs. Florence Kelley, socialist, lieutenant of Friederich Engels, etc., who was in charge of the "maternity act drive" of 1921, as chairman of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee's maternity act subcommittee, had so much power that the bill of a United States Senator proposing real help for mothers got no consideration whatever and was not even printed in the hearings (S. 1039, April 25, Senate Committee on Education and Labor) after this leading socialist, at the head of the so-called "women's" lobby, denounced it.

Mrs. Kelley declared:

"We have made a study of the Moses amendment, and it seems to us to be an amendment intended to destroy this bill. * * * There are very grave dangers in two of its provisions. You can not imagine anything worse than the strewing of the counties with unstandardized little hospitals. * * * But there is another thing to aggravate the establishment of little hospitals all over the counties, and that is the proposition to turn out from these little hospitals innumerable armies of nurses with one year's training. * * * It would be a terrible retrogression in regard to the standard of the care of mothers and children in this country, and we can not afford to retrogress. * * * Our hope is that this bill will be passed to give them this instruction and not to provide for bricks and mortar." (Senate hearings, April 25, 1921, S. 1039, pp. 136, 137.)

A Senator's proposal for maternity hospitals, supervised by county and State health boards and the United States Surgeon General, and for the real training of women under such supervision in maternal nursing was bitterly scorned and ridiculed by this powerful socialist as "bricks and mortar" for mothers, while "instruction," "service," "investigations and reports," and salaries for social workers without any medical or nursing training at all was urged as so necessary that Congress was accused of wishing "to have mothers die" unless it passed Mrs. Kelley's bill.

It did pass Mrs. Kelley's bill, and Senator MOSES's bill was not even allowed a place in the hearings, so strong was the imagined political power of a Marxian socialist at the head of a woman's joint congressional subcommittee in 1921. Of real political power, voting strength, Mrs. Kelley and her followers have none, as was demonstrated when the people got hold of her child labor amendment. But so long as Congressmen imagined that every woman voter in the country was wildly backing the Kelley program the proposal of a mere United States Senator could get no consideration of its merits.

That is the pity of it all. If the socialists were outvoting us and overpowering us, there would be some excuse for allowing socialist leaders to write our Federal laws and proposed constitutional amendments.

But they are simply outwitting us, bluffing us, and backing us gradually into communism blindfolded by threatening Congressmen with the imagined hostility of a mythical solid mass of women voters whom they pretend to represent.

SAVE MOTHERS AND BABIES BY REJECTING MATERNITY ACT

Nothing could better demonstrate the fraud and futility of the maternity act than the actual results as to infant and maternal mortality

and the nature of the "testimonials" and juggled statistics now presented in favor of its extension. In the first place, an examination of the "testimonials" will disclose that practically all of them are from State employees whose salaries are paid in part from the Federal funds donated under the act, and who are employed to administer the joint Federal and State funds. It is hardly to be expected that such persons would bear testimony that might result in cutting off Federal appropriations that contribute toward the payment of their salaries and the creation or continuance of their official jobs.

There is one notable exception to such testimonials. At page 48 of the recent House hearings on H. R. 7555, January 14, 1926, there is a testimonial which was "written in a foreign language" and had to be translated, in which a foreign mother, who says she has had nine children, thanks the State bureau for sending "such good advice."

It is believed that no private patent-medicine company in America could stay in business a week without more and better "testimonials" than are offered for the extension of this act.

In 19 pages of "testimonials" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 14, 1926 (pp. 7254-7273), we fail to find any that are not signed by State officials directly concerned in the administration of the act.

In addition to such testimonials the Federal Children's Bureau, January 14, 1926, rushed into a hearing before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee with a table of early "provisional" figures to show the "trend of infant mortality in the United States birth-registration area, by States, 1915-1924," as an argument for extension of the maternity act. (House hearings, p. 53.)

The maternity act of November 23, 1921, did not go into effect and no payments to States were made under it until May 22, 1922. (Children's Bureau official publication No. 137, p. 5.)

In 1921 the infant death rate per 1,000 live births was 76.

In 1922 (with the maternity act in operation after May in a few States) the rate was again 76.

In 1923, the first full year of maternity act operation, the rate increased to 77 infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

Did the Children's Bureau come to Congress admitting this mathematical fact, certified by the official figures published by the Census Bureau?

It did not. It went back to 1915, seven years before the maternity act was in operation, when the rate in a smaller registration area was 100, and by presenting early "provisional figures" for 1924, with 8 of the 33 States in the birth-registration area missing, it sought to show that the "trend of infant mortality" downward from 1915 to 1924 was due to the maternity act.

The Census Bureau has now completed the 1924 figures for the 33 States in the birth-registration area, including all 5 of the States that have rejected the maternity act, but only 28 of the 43 States that have accepted the act. The remaining 15 States that have accepted the act are not in the birth-registration area, so that less than two-thirds of the States cooperating with the bureau are willing to register infant births and deaths.

Accurate birth and infant mortality registration is the first essential in getting information on infant mortality, one of the things the Children's Bureau was created to do. Yet the Children's Bureau, with full power to require birth and infant-mortality registration in the "plans" of States accepting the maternity act, has "cooperated with" 15 States in not registering births and infant deaths.

The Census Bureau division of vital statistics, the organizations that collect the facts and statistics and does not put out isolated "studies, investigations, and reports" as propaganda for its own extension, carries at the top of every one of its newspaper releases in red ink:

"Vital-statistics goal: Every State in the registration area before 1930. Your help needed."

But the Census Bureau in its official report on birth statistics, issued March 11, 1925, observes:

"No States were added to the registration area in 1923."

That was the first full year of maternity act operation!

Yet "birth registration" was one of the most touching pleas for passage of the maternity act. Miss Julia C. Lathrop, then chief of the Children's Bureau, testified in 1921:

"We have incomplete birth registration. * * * The adoption of this law undoubtedly will at once give added urgency to birth registration, which the bureau has stimulated, * * * with the aim of bringing the whole country within the registration area as promptly as possible, and thus making possible prompt service to mothers and babies as a measure of lessening infant mortality. Study and stimulus of the best methods of improving birth registration are the duty of the bureau under its general law, and would be especially timely and important in making the maternity and infancy law effective. (Senate hearings, April, 1921, p. 18.)

But with full authority to require birth registration "no States were added to the registration area in 1923," first full year of the maternity act, and the Children's Bureau still "cooperates" with 15 States in concealing birth and infant-mortality statistics, because of incompetence, neglect of "the duty of the bureau," or a desire not to have Congress and the country know all the figures when the bureau seeks more power and funds.

The provisional figures for 1924 for the 33 States in the birth-registration area, just compiled by the vital statistics division of the Census Bureau, show:

INFANT MORTALITY IN BIRTH-REGISTRATION AREA (33 STATES)

Births, 1924: 1,908,345. Deaths under 1 year: 139,533. Deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births: 73.1.

Infant mortality in 5 States that rejected maternity act

	Births, 1924	Deaths under 1 year	Deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births
Connecticut.....	31,676	2,181	68.9
Illinois.....	137,114	9,745	71.1
Kansas.....	37,929	2,238	59.0
Maine.....	18,411	1,485	80.7
Massachusetts.....	91,487	6,186	68.9
Total.....	316,617	21,835	69.9

Infant mortality in 28 States that accepted maternity act

[Registration area with total number of births and infant deaths in 5 rejecting States subtracted]

	Births, 1924	Deaths under 1 year	Deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births
28 States.....	1,591,728	117,698	74

Thus the States rejecting the maternity act have a lower infant mortality than the States accepting the act. Infant-mortality rates for the individual States accepting the act that are in the registration area are shown in the full census report, "Birth statistics, 1924."

The 28 States accepting the act that are in the registration area follow:

California, Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The 15 States accepting the act and cooperating with the Children's Bureau in not registering births and infant mortality are—

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia.

If infant-mortality rates were known in these States, the comparison of rejecting States with accepting States would be even more unfavorable to the maternity act, if, as the Children's Bureau itself admits, birth registration makes possible "prompter service to mothers and babies as a measure of lessening infant mortality."

MATERNAL MORTALITY

Likewise an examination of the figures for maternal mortality shows a greater saving of mothers' lives in States rejecting the maternity act.

The latest tables published by the vital-statistics division of the Census Bureau are found in "Mortality statistics, 1923," just issued.

As in the case of infant mortality, they show an actual increase in maternal mortality, both for all causes, and for puerperal septicemia, in the total registration area, during the first full year of maternity act operation.

The following figures are from Table BH, "Mortality statistics, 1923" (p. 61), the latest official report of the Census Bureau:

Deaths of mothers per 1,000 live births

	All puerperal causes			Puerperal septicemia		
	1923	1922	1921	1923	1922	1921
States rejecting maternity act:						
Connecticut.....	5.7	5.7	5.3	2.1	2.0	2.2
Illinois.....	6.4	6.3	(¹)	2.7	2.4	(¹)
Kansas.....	6.8	7.6	6.4	3.2	3.3	2.9
Maine.....	8.7	7.6	7.4	1.8	2.1	1.9
Massachusetts.....	6.3	6.8	6.5	2.0	2.1	2.2
All States in registration area.....	6.7	6.6	6.8	2.5	2.4	2.7

¹Illinois not in registration area in 1921.

It is not practicable, except by elaborate calculations from the number of mothers' deaths and live births in all the States, respectively,

to determine the maternal-mortality rate for the States accepting the act as a group.

Nevertheless these facts will be observed:

Three of the five rejecting States, Connecticut, Illinois, and Massachusetts, have a lower rate for all maternal deaths than the entire registration area, proving that the higher rate for the entire area must come from States accepting the maternity act, as Maine and Kansas, with Kansas having only 1 more maternal death in 10,000 births than the area, could not alone account for the higher area rate than the rates of Connecticut, Illinois, and Massachusetts.

For puerperal septicemia, the dreaded infection so much stressed by some advocates of the maternity act, it will be noted again that three of the rejecting States are below the country average mortality rate; that one, Illinois, is only 2 deaths in 10,000 births above it; and that Maine, despite its comparatively high total maternal mortality (due to climate and French Canadian high maternal mortality) has one of the lowest State septicemia rates in the country, indicating that Maine is not "letting mothers die" through this infection by rejecting the advice and subsidies of the Children's Bureau.

In the table of all the States in the birth-registration area, at page 61, it is shown that Connecticut, a rejecting State, has the second lowest maternal-mortality rate in America (5.7), only Utah having a lower rate (5) and New York and New Jersey having the same rate as Connecticut (5.7).

In the table of cities of 100,000 population or more, at page 62 of the Census Bureau's "Mortality statistics, 1923," it is shown that Fall River, Mass., has the lowest maternal-mortality rate in the Union (3) and also the lowest septicemia rate (1.1) for any large city or State, without benefit of the so-called maternity act. (See also p. 33.)

FALSE CHILDREN'S BUREAU STATISTICS

The well-known legal principle that a man should not be a judge in his own case applies equally to the accurate and scientific collection of facts and statistics. The Children's Bureau was established, in the opinion of Congress, at least, as a fact-finding and "statistical agency."

But the bureau is self-interested in coloring the facts for its own expansion as an administrative agency; the worse it can show conditions, the better it can demand appropriations to remedy them. This is neither scientific nor safe.

In the original Senate report (No. 141, 62 Cong., 1st sess., August 14, 1911) by Senator BORAH on the bill to establish the Children's Bureau are quoted several objections of the Census Bureau to the mixing of statistics with administration, when it was proposed that the Census Bureau could act as the agency. The Director of the Census shrewdly objected:

"The Census Bureau is a purely statistical office. Its function is to collect the cold-blooded facts * * * and leave to the public at large the duty of drawing the ethical or moral or industrial conclusions which those facts convey. I feel very strongly that if any legislation is enacted which in any way modifies the function of the Census Office in that regard it will be highly detrimental to the work of the office. * * * That is the general position of the Census Office on that proposition, and I believe it is a position which is scientifically correct; that it is a position which it is necessary for the office to maintain if it is not to lose its standing as a purely statistical bureau."

Thus the fundamental principle of scientific collection of statistics was violated when the Children's Bureau was created as a "statistical agency" with a direct self-interest in its own statistics.

Naturally, therefore, the bureau's statistics have constantly been colored to favor the bureau's administrative and legislative plans.

One of its worst and most repeated errors is the publication of charts and tables pretending to show the United States "cares less for mothers and children" than foreign countries. The slogan "It is safer to be a mother in 17 foreign countries than in the United States" has been employed in all the maternity act propaganda. At the most recent House hearing, January 14, 1926, Miss Grace Abbott declared:

"The maternal mortality rate is the one that is so seriously high as compared with other countries, * * *" (p. 56).

Assuming this as a fact, she went on to an assumed explanation:

"We have not had the same period during which this has been considered as a national problem that other countries have had. We have been slower in coming to it than some other countries have." (Ibid.)

Now for the uncolored facts. Dr. John Howland, pediatrician in chief, Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, one of the most eminent authorities on the subject, wrote to Chairman Winslow of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, July 12, 1921:

"I am quite sure from considerable experience with statistics that there is no basis for the statement that the United States stands seventeenth in maternal death rate. Even civilized countries have not sufficiently accurate statistics to enable anyone to make a definite statement such as this." (House hearings, July, 1921, p. 270.)

The vital-statistics division of the United States Census Bureau, the only real statistical bureau we have on this subject, declares in its latest report, "Mortality Statistics, 1923" (p. 61):

"How do the death rates from puerperal causes per 1,000 live births in the birth-registration area of the United States compare with the rates in foreign countries? Here again is a question of the greatest interest and importance which can not be answered satisfactorily, both because of lack of data in this country and because there is no certainty that all deaths from these causes are classified in the same way in the various countries."

According to the most eminent pediatrician in America, and according to the only true statistical agency we have on the subject, "there is no basis" in facts and statistics for this Children's Bureau propaganda. But the bureau is self-interested in making Congressmen believe that the "United States lags behind many countries" (as the chief of the Children's Bureau says in her last annual report for 1925, p. 4) and therefore keeps up the propaganda, regardless of the proof that there is no statistical basis for it.

Therefore even as a "statistical agency" the Children's Bureau is not reliable and can not be trusted, as it is not only self-interested but unscrupulous in juggling statistics to favor its legislative program.

SELF-INTEREST OF PUBLIC-HEALTH NURSES

In the Children's Bureau's "Minimum standards for the public protection of the health of children and mothers" (Bureau publication No. 60, p. 437) is this:

"One public-health nurse for average population of 2,000."

That is, the "minimum standards" of the bureau contemplate 50,000 public-health nurses "for the public protection of the health of mothers and children." According to Miss Elizabeth Gordon Fox, director of the public-health nursing service of the American Red Cross:

"Ten thousand of these public-health nurses are scattered over the country." ("Professional nursing as a career," Woman's Home Companion, April, 1922, p. 20.)

Thus the Children's Bureau standards provided for five times as many public-health nurses, for maternity and infancy work, as there are in the country. It is not remarkable that the public-health nursing associations favored the maternity act. Miss Fox testified in favor of the maternity act in 1920:

"There are something like 80,000 or 90,000 nurses in the country and at present only about 10,000 of them are public-health nurses; and we could increase their number." (Hearings, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, December, 1920, p. 69.)

The Children's Bureau standards and the maternity act therefore seemed to provide for a public berth for 50,000 out of the 80,000 or 90,000 nurses in the country.

It should be noted that Miss Fox explained to the committee:

"I would like to have you clearly understand that I do not represent the Red Cross. The Red Cross, as you know, does not take any part in legislation and expresses no opinion on legislative matters, and I do not want my presence here considered to be in behalf of the Red Cross." (Ibid., p. 68.)

Questioned by the committee, Miss Fox revealed that the "public-health nurses" are "largely employed by philanthropic organizations" (p. 76). Relatively few of the 10,000 were on the public pay roll. She said:

"The Red Cross is the largest employer of public-health nurses in the country. Outside of the Red Cross there is no other national agency which employs local nurses, except a large insurance company."

It may be observed in passing that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the company alluded to, was also a strong supporter of the maternity act, and self-interested, of course, in having the salaries of its nurses paid by the public!

Miss Fox testified (p. 70): "We now have 1,200 public-health nurses," meaning in the Red Cross nursing service.

In her Woman's Home Companion article, "Professional nursing as a career," in April, 1922—a month before payments began to be made to the States under the maternity act—Miss Fox wrote:

"The American Red Cross alone has over 1,300 public-health nurses engaged in this pioneer rural nursing in every State of the Union."

Under the maternity act "the total number of nurses employed in the States, in addition to the 9 who served as directors, was 595." (Children's Bureau publication No. 146, issued February 11, 1925.)

Your petitioners are informed by the office of Miss Fox, director of the Red Cross public-health nursing service, that now—May 1, 1926—it has only 854 public-health nurses, of which 792 are in the United States—523 in the eastern division, 215 in the Middle West, and 53 in the West.

It is evident that the difference between the number of nurses in the Red Cross public-health nursing service in April, 1922, when there were "over 1,300," and the number employed by the Red Cross at present in the United States, 792, is over 500.

This would seem to indicate that some 500 public-health nurses previously employed by the Red Cross have obtained places on the public pay roll under the maternity act. The additional 100 maternity act nurses may have been recruited from the "insurance company" and the "philanthropic societies."

In any event, it seems clear that the maternity act has not increased the total number of nurses "engaged in this pioneer rural nursing in every State of the Union," but simply transferred some 600 nurses from private to public pay rolls. And the Children's Bureau's "minimum standards" contemplate a similar transfer of 50,000 out of the 80,000 or 90,000 nurses in the country if Congress and the States can be induced to pay the bill.

That this angle of the act, the socialization and nationalization of nurses, is one of its main bad features is further illustrated in a propaganda article in the May, 1926, issue of *Good Housekeeping*.

This magazine was one of the original backers of the act and credits itself as a leader in the maternity act campaign. It is owned by Mr. William Randolph Hearst. The article, entitled "Making America safe for mothers," concludes:

"And above all we must multiply the number of public-health nurses a thousandfold." (*Good Housekeeping*, May, 1926, p. 60.)

Thus, while 50,000 public-health nurses for maternity and infancy was regarded as the "minimum standard" by the Children's Bureau the present goal is 600,000, according to *Good Housekeeping*.

In short, the maternity act in part is designed to secure centralized control, by the lay Chief of the Children's Bureau, of practically all the nurses, just as the Federal education department bill is designed to secure centralized control over 800,000 teachers by the use of catch phrases, slogans, lobby pressure, and juggled statistics upon the Congress.

MATERNITY ACT PROVES ITSELF FRAUD AND FATAL ERROR

It will be recalled that the Children's Bureau when fighting congressional proposals to place Federal administration of the act under the United States Public Health Service held that it was "not a health measure" and that it would be a "fatal error" to place such work under "the sole supervision of physicians" instead of under a bureau in the Labor Department. These statements have been quoted in this memorandum.

On the other hand, the bureau and its backers flooded the newspapers and magazines with "sob-stuff" propaganda purporting to show that the lives and health of mothers and babies depended upon this act as a health measure.

Congress was publicly indicted practically as a body of Herods. Mrs. Florence Kelley, for example, in "Mothers and children last" (*Pictorial Review*, February, 1921), denounced Congress for spending "millions for cattle, sheep, and swine" and "not a cent" for mothers and babies, etc.

But whenever the much-accused Congress, challenged by Mrs. Kelley to explain "Why does Congress continue to wish to have mothers and babies die?" (*Senate hearings*, May, 1920, p. 53), sought to save mothers and babies by giving administration of the act to the United States Public Health Service or by establishing maternity hospitals and maternal nursing schools (as Senator Moses proposed), such suggestions were denounced, respectively, as a "fatal error" by Miss Lathrop, and ridiculed as "bricks and mortar" by Mrs. Kelley.

Backers of this act were so much more interested in the capture of power for the Children's Bureau than in the health of mothers and babies that Congressmen were flatly told they preferred no legislation at all on maternity and infancy unless the Children's Bureau administered it.

Representative DENISON, of Illinois, said:

"This view * * * has been expressed to me in communications received through the mail, that rather than have the administration of this bill taken from the Children's Bureau they would rather have no legislation at all on the subject." (*House hearing*, July, 1921, pp. 261, 262.)

Yet this fundamental contention of the Children's Bureau, made to capture the administration of the act for itself, that it was "not a health measure" and it would be a "fatal error" to place such work under the "sole supervision of physicians" has been proved false by the maternity act itself.

The real fatal error, of the Federal Government alone, in placing this health matter under a radical labor bureau has been repudiated and reversed by every one of the States in selecting the State agency.

Of the 43 States accepting the maternity act, 41 place its administration under State boards of health. Only two, Colorado and Iowa, place it under the State education department and the State university, respectively. (*Children's Bureau publication No. 148*, p. 52, list of administrative agencies.)

Not a State in the Union places the administration of this act under a labor department bureau or industrial commission.

Why, then, should the State health boards, in a matter which the maternity act itself demonstrates a public-health function, be offered bribes by the Federal Government to allow the Federal Children's Bureau to control all their plans for the health of mothers and babies? Because not a State health board would submit willingly to the dictatorship of the lay chief of a Federal bureau of social workers, unless bribed to do it.

The United States Public Health Service, which has been cooperating with State authorities for years in a scientific manner, has never begged Congress to bribe State health boards to submit to its control. Instead

Dr. L. L. Lumsden, of the United States Public Health Service, testifying against this maternity act, declared:

"What particular branches of health work are indicated in a given locality must be determined by careful local studies. I can not determine here in an office in Washington * * * how money available for health work can be spent to the best advantage in a given community; that has to be determined by some one on the local job." (*House hearings*, July, 1921, p. 224.)

There was the voice of the scientist, the trained public-health physician, with over 20 years of experience, showing that under science, health, and efficient administration, as well as under the Constitution, the expenditure of public money in this health matter "has to be determined by some one on the local job." Yet the maternity act gives a bureau of social workers at their mahogany desks in Washington the right and power to control all "plans" and expenditures of State health boards in this matter that is completely reserved to the States in the Constitution.

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA INSTEAD OF HELP FOR MOTHERS

An examination of the Children's Bureau publications and activities will show that bureau from 8 to 10 times as interested in socialist "standardization" of children, following European or international models, and in socialist illegitimacy propaganda as in the health of mothers and babies. This is shown even in the bureau's official list of publications.

First, we count to the credit of the bureau the publications fairly to be considered within the scope and intention of Congress in creating the bureau.

In 1912, through the courtesy of an outside physician, as admitted by Miss Lathrop, then Chief of the Children's Bureau (*House hearings*, July, 1921, p. 238), a résumé of the book of this physician (Dr. John Slemmons) was issued by the Children's Bureau in one or more pamphlets, credited to Mrs. Max West.

Let us compare these legitimate publications of the bureau with its foreign socialist propaganda, using the official Children's Bureau list of publications and the bureau's numbers and titles:

	Pages
No. 2. Birth registration-----	20
No. 4. Prenatal care-----	41
No. 8. Infant care-----	118
No. 30. Child care-----	82
10 dodgers on child welfare-----	40
Total-----	301
No. 31. Norwegian laws concerning illegitimate children-----	37
No. 42. Illegitimacy laws of the United States and certain foreign countries-----	260
No. 42. Analysis and index of illegitimacy laws-----	98
No. 66. Illegitimacy as a child-welfare problem (Part I)-----	105
No. 75. Illegitimacy as a child-welfare problem (Part II)-----	408
No. 128. Illegitimacy as a child-welfare problem (Part III)-----	260
No. 77. Standards of legal protection for children born out of wedlock-----	158
No. 144. Welfare of infants of illegitimate birth in Baltimore-----	24
Total-----	1,370

Is it conceivable that Congress intended the Children's Bureau to compile so much more of this socialist illegitimacy propaganda than advice and information to mothers in the care of children? In addition, according to the Secretary of Labor's Annual Report, 1925 (pp. 73-74), the bureau is investigating 250 cases of illegitimate children, 8 years of age and over, in 11 cities, and the histories of these cases, 250 individuals, "will form the basis of a report now being prepared." Hence any Senator may soon pick up a Children's Bureau indictment of his home-town's conditions, drawing sweeping national conclusions and "standards" for national legislation from the cases of 250 unfortunates the bureau is inspecting.

Again, let us compare the publications relating to the maternity act with those seeking socialist standardization of American children in imitation of the "doles" and "maternity-benefits" systems of Europe:

	Pages
No. 137. Promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy-----	42
No. 146. Promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy-----	56
Total-----	98
No. 57. Maternity-benefit systems in certain foreign countries-----	206
No. 60. Standards of child welfare-----	459
No. 76. Infant-welfare work in Europe-----	169
No. 105. Infant-mortality and preventive work in New Zealand-----	72
Total-----	906

Here we have nearly ten times as much foreign socialist standardization propaganda as information from the bureau regarding the maternity act! The "Standards of child welfare" (No. 60, 459 pages) is the outcome of an internationalist convention called here by the Children's Bureau to frame legislation for American mothers and children in 1919. The proceedings and "minimum standards" of that internationalist convention have become almost a fetish of the bureau, to which it constantly compares the real laws of American States as inferior and defective to these "minimum standards" of

a group of sociologists from England, Canada, France, Italy, Serbia, and Japan, etc., which the Children's Bureau brought here at expense of American taxpayers. (These "standards" are examined at length in the speech of Senator JAMES A. REED of Missouri, June 29, July 21 and 22, 1921.) It is strikingly significant of the Children's Bureau's general attitude that it can give one convention of foreigners, brought here to standardize American children, a report about five times as large as the two considered sufficient to describe the operations of the maternity act for several years in 43 States.

In spite of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States holds that "the fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children" (Oregon school cases), the Children's Bureau is obsessed with the idea of standardizing everything connected with children.

Consider the latest pamphlets of the bureau: No. 153, "Standards of prenatal care, an outline for the use of physicians," and No. 154, "Standards for physicians conducting conferences in child-health centers."

Under what theory of arbitrary, unlimited, and centralized power even would a Caesar, a Kaiser, or any other dictator place the "standardization of physicians" under the lay Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau?

Yet the power is assumed by the bureau, and exercised as much as possible, without even bothering to ask specific legal authority from Congress.

Even efficient autocracy would require professional knowledge on the part of the central administrator. But the Chief of the Children's Bureau, neither physician, lawyer, mother, nor nurse, issues a perfect stream of "standards" for everybody; physicians, judges of juvenile courts, probation officers, nurses, mothers, and children, not only in defiance of "the fundamental theory of liberty" of the American dual system of government, but in disregard of the standards of common sense under a despotic form of government.

The bureau's conceptions of its functions would approach megalomania if it were not known to be following a sane enough socialist program to capture all power over the family for one central office.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, former chief, for example, declared:

"We propose a campaign to furnish knowledge without cost to all comers." (House hearings, December, 1920, p. 21.)

Miss Grace Abbott, present Chief of the Children's Bureau:

"The Children's Bureau has the whole field of child welfare and child care." (Proceedings, National Women's Trade Union League Convention, Waukegan, Ill., June 5-10, 1922, p. 89.)

(c) Child labor amendment submitted to States June 2, 1924

The third and boldest legislative fraud to trick Congress and the country into adopting the Kelley program of revolution by legislation was the "child" labor Federal amendment, providing that "Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age."

Emboldened by the apparent docility with which the country had submitted to the establishment of a central socialist administrative machine (1) by planting the Children's Bureau, a socialist propaganda agency, at the heart of the Federal Government, and (2) by giving it vast administrative power in the States over health boards, physicians, nurses, mothers, and children under the so-called maternity act, Mrs. Kelley now reached out (3) for full power for this socialist administrative machine, the Children's Bureau, over every youth up to 18 in America, in all occupations, in all schools and colleges, in the home, and on the farm.

This time Mrs. Kelley overplayed. She overestimated the stupidity of the people. The people understood this amendment, and they crushed it with a unanimity of judgment by all kinds and conditions of the population, proving that it went deeper than superficial differences, and outraged a basic instinct, the instinct of every species to protect and possess its young.

It will be noted in regard to the child-labor section of the Kelley program, as well as to its other parts, that what Senator Heyburn prophesied is true. It reaches out first for the children of the poor and outrages them most directly; "they would not attempt to execute it except as against the class that is most helpless in their hands," as Senator Heyburn declared. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 6, 1912, p. 766.)

Like the rest of the Kelley program this amendment was promoted by fraud and trickery, by exploiting sentiment for the child, the most appealing object in nature. But it was not a "child" labor amendment at all. The word "child" appears nowhere in the resolution. That word and all reference to "child" or "children" were deliberately excluded from the text (although stressed in all propaganda) because the instigators of the amendment knew that no court would interpret the word "child" to mean persons up to 18 years of age.

Mrs. Kelley, primarily responsible for drafting the amendment, said: "Nothing can be more uncertain than the limitations which future courts may place upon the word 'child.' * * * I am afraid of 'child.'" (Senate hearing, January, 1923, p. 121.)

"I am indeed very apprehensive about the use of the word 'child' in this matter." (Ibid. p. 90.)

Again she referred to "this vague word 'child.'" (Ibid. p. 90.) There is nothing vague about the word "child" at all, and that was why Mrs. Kelley feared it. Prof. William Draper Lewis, of the child labor committee, wrote:

"You will see from an examination of the cases to which I refer that the term 'child' has been held to mean persons under 14 years of age." (Senate report on S. J. Res. 1, 68th Cong., p. 125.)

They could not use the word "child" in the amendment because it would limit them to "persons under 14 years of age."

But in the magazines Mrs. Kelley herself led the campaign of double-dealing by calling it "the children's amendment" (Good Housekeeping, February, 1923), and this it was called by most of the propagandists.

In a petition to the Senate, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1924, it is shown that the people were similarly fooled concerning the age limit. Not 1 person in 10,000 dreams that the Federal maximum of 18 years, in section 1 of the amendment, is merely the "minimum standard" of section 2 of the amendment, below which the States were not to be permitted to fall and above which to "the full 21 years" they were to be "stimulated" to go. Miss Abbott declared: "I want to get a Federal minimum, and at the same time give the States an opportunity to raise but not lower the Federal standards." (House hearings, February-March, 1924, p. 272.)

Again, Miss Abbott said:

"I shall be enormously disappointed if we do not have the Federal law only a minimum law, but we will have continuing the problem of raising the standards in the States." (Ibid. p. 269.)

"Where there has been a Federal law there has always been an increasing tendency to raise the State standards." (Ibid.)

Can it be denied that the people are being tricked?

The giant deceit of the child-labor amendment, as a Bolshevik plot against American farmers, will be exposed in the "revolutionary conspiracy" section of this memorandum.

(d) Extension of the maternity act (pending)

Why was an extension of the maternity act for two years demanded by the Children's Bureau more than a year before the expiration of the present five-year period? Why did the bureau hurry to Congress in January, 1926, to get the act extended to 1928 and 1929, when the present act runs until June 30, 1927?

Was it to use this subsidy as a campaign fund to attempt to induce the State legislatures, of which more than 40 meet again in 1927, to ratify the "child" labor amendment?

Was it to trick the Congress into keeping up the maternity act for two more years before the vital-statistics reports of the Census Bureau for the five-year period revealed the utter fraud and futility of the act?

There are several significant official statements in this connection.

In the Chief of the Children's Bureau annual report, 1925, despite acknowledgment therein that 34 State legislatures had acted against the amendment, Miss Abbott says:

"It is not to be expected that the efforts to secure ratification of the amendment will be abandoned * * *" (p. 8).

That is, "it is not to be expected" that this socialist bureau will respect the action of three-fourths of the States and of the American people on this subject, but will do everything in its power to overturn this overwhelming mandate by lobby pressure and propaganda on the 1927 legislatures.

In the letter of the Secretary of Labor to Chairman PARKER, of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, December 21, 1925, is this statement:

"In order that the State legislatures meeting in January, 1927, may know what funds will be available, action with reference to this appropriation (for extension of the maternity act) should be taken by the present Congress." (House hearings, January 14, 1926, pp. 27, 28.)

That is the official explanation—so that the 40 or more legislatures meeting in 1927, with power to ratify the "child" labor amendment, "may know what funds will be available" under the maternity act.

That the Secretary's letter was prepared, at least in part, by the Chief of the Children's Bureau, is self-evident from the fact that it contains a paragraph identical with one in Miss Abbott's annual report, September 15, 1925 (p. 2). It is inconceivable that the Secretary "happened" to repeat Miss Abbott's exact language, and equally inconceivable that he would lift material from the bureau's annual report without due credit and direct quotation. Miss Abbott herself indicated that the Secretary only "signed" the letter, in the following anxious communication to Chairman PARKER:

JANUARY 6, 1926.

MY DEAR MR. PARKER: I have just learned that the letter with reference to the Sheppard-Towner Act which the Secretary of Labor wrote you on December 21 has failed to reach you in some way. He has therefore signed the inclosed and has asked me to see that it reaches you to-day.

GRACE ABBOTT.

The child labor amendment and the maternity act are inextricably interlocked, and the maternity act, with its subsidies, has always been a campaign-fund measure for national control of "child" labor.

It was not until the Supreme Court held the first Federal child labor law unconstitutional, June 3, 1918, that the "maternity act" drive started. And then the campaign for control through subsidies began at once, with the introduction, July 1, 1918, of the original "maternity bill" by Miss Jeannette Rankin (H. R. 12634, 65th Cong.). Miss Rankin is field secretary of Mrs. Florence Kelley's National Consumers League, since Montana refused to reelect Miss Rankin. The second national child labor law passed instead, February 24, 1919.

Likewise the second big "drive" for the maternity act began in 1920, when the second national child labor law had been held unconstitutional in North Carolina, and was in the United States Supreme Court on appeal.

Miss Grace Abbott (administrator of the first Federal child labor law) in February, 1920, went to the convention of the National League of Women Voters as chairman of its resolutions committee and brought in a resolution for "the adoption of a constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power to establish minimum labor standards," etc. (Woman Citizen, official organ, National League of Women Voters, February 28, 1920.)

The maternity act was also strongly indorsed. (Ibid.)

The National Woman's Party, to which Miss Julia C. Lathrop, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, was a financial contributor, was also induced to indorse the bureau's program for sweeping national control. The Suffragist, official organ of the National Woman's Party, March, 1920, declares:

"The provision of the last revenue bill taxing the profits of a concern doing interstate business which employs child labor is now before the United States Supreme Court for decision as to its constitutionality.

"The Sheppard-Towner bill, indorsed by the Children's Bureau, * * * has so far had no hearing.

"Three-fourths of working children are employed on farms.

"There are no laws to protect the rural child worker.

"The inadequacy of our present child-labor law * * * is clearly brought out by the Children's Bureau."

Quoting the Children's Bureau, the Suffragist (March, 1920) continues:

"Child labor, including rural child labor, can be abolished * * * by a liberal educational program which includes compulsory part-time schooling for children up to 18 years of age."

In December, 1920, a "Women's Joint Congressional Committee" was formed, with the Sheppard-Towner Act the first measure on its lobby program, and with Mrs. Florence Kelley, socialist, chairman of the subcommittee, in charge of the "maternity act drive."

It is to be noted that all this political campaigning by the Children's Bureau to enlist the National League of Women Voters, the National Woman's Party, and various women's clubs through the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, in aid of the bureau's drive for complete power over children, took place while the second child labor law was pending in the Supreme Court, with the outcome in doubt, as the court had already held the first law unconstitutional.

Immediately after the Supreme Court held the second national child labor law unconstitutional, May 15, 1922 (Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.), the drive for the amendment began, Mrs. Kelley and Miss Abbott leading the agitation.

Thus it can not be denied that these measures are the key and the lock to the same door, opening the Constitution to nationalized, standardized, centralized control of children, youth, and women by Mrs. Kelley and Miss Abbott.

That the Children's Bureau's sudden campaign for extension of the maternity act, obtaining hearings, January 14, 1926, when some of the vital statistics were missing, so that no one could at that time check the bureau's claims by comparing rejecting and accepting States accurately, was otherwise loaded with the usual fraud and trickery is shown by Miss Grace Abbott's testimony regarding the term of the extension.

The Phipps-Parker bill, like other measures of the Kelley program, does not mean what it says. It does not mean merely a two years' extension of the maternity act appropriation, authorized for five years originally, and due to expire June 30, 1927, end of the fiscal year. This is clearly stated by Miss Abbott in the House hearings:

"Mr. NEWTON. Do you consider that the two years is sufficient?

"Miss ABBOTT. I do not consider it sufficient if it is to end at the two-year period. I did not think in asking that period of time * * * that there was to be no further extension after the two-year period. * * * I do not believe that the two-year period will end the necessity for Federal aid. * * *

"Mr. FREDERICKS. How long do you think it will be before it is the proper time for the Government to step out of this endeavor and allow the States to handle it?

"Miss ABBOTT. That is hard to say. * * *

"Mr. FREDERICKS. You feel that you can not answer the question?

"Miss ABBOTT. I do not think it is possible to say exactly; no.

"Mr. FREDERICKS. Well, approximately? Is it the purpose that the United States Government should retire from this field?

"Miss ABBOTT. I do not see why it should not be able to retire from this field eventually.

"Mr. LEA. But if it should be necessary for the Federal Government to remain in it in order to accomplish the purpose you still would be in favor of that, would you not?

"Miss ABBOTT. I think there is no crop the United States has that is so important as its children, and that we can afford to stay in it in order to reduce the infant and maternal mortality in the United States until we have placed the United States where it ought to be in comparison with other countries.

"Mr. LEA. What would you say is the minimum time within which the United States could possibly retire, in justice to the successful operation of this work?

"Miss ABBOTT. I really can not say. * * *

"Mr. LEA. As I understand it, you think there is no possibility that two years will be sufficient time for the Government to complete its part?

"Miss ABBOTT. No. * * *

"Mr. LEA. What time would you specify for a certainty, that, in your judgment, the United States should remain in this work?

"Miss ABBOTT. I do not want to specify for a certainty.

"Mr. LEA. Do you think four years?

"Miss ABBOTT. No; I would rather say five as the time that the Government would without question need to continue the work.

"Mr. LEA. You are certain that the Government should stay in for five years?

"Miss ABBOTT. Personally, I am; yes." (House hearings, January, 1926, pp. 12, 13, 14.)

It will be seen that Representative MERRITT, of Connecticut, who signed the House minority report, was justified in the following remarks on the floor:

"I suppose you gentlemen think, as you might readily think, that the idea of the promoters of the bill is that at the end of the two years the experiment will have been sufficiently established so that the States can attend and will attend to their own affairs; but not at all. * * * If you pass this bill you are practically making this subvention to the States for attending to their own affairs perpetual." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 5, 1926.)

As the original appropriation was authorized only for five years, its termination at the end of that period is reasonable and natural, in accordance with the intentions of Congress and the agreements with the States. The vital-statistics reports, previously quoted in this ministration backing, because of a preelection commitment of the extension of the maternity act. Also there is no political reason.

The original maternity act was passed during the postwar confusion of the Sixty-seventh Congress. Members said it was part of the "backwash" of the war. It was even more the "backwash" of the nineteenth amendment, having been presented to Congress allegedly as the first legislative demand of the new electorate of women, then an unknown political quantity. Most important of all, it had the administration backing, because of a preelection commitment of the late President Harding in his so-called "welfare speech" of October 1, 1920, to women politicians.

That situation is now reversed. The polls have shown that there is no solidarity among men, and there is none among women. No group can speak for women any more than for men. That myth is killed at every election. The 1924 Massachusetts advisory referendum on the child-labor amendment alone has surely buried this "solidarity of women" superstition so deeply that the ghost of the phantom "solid women's vote" should never more frighten even the most timid candidate.

That Massachusetts referendum alone should make Congress wary of every proposal labeled a "women's measure." The child-labor amendment was labeled both a "women's measure" and a "labor measure."

Massachusetts has the largest proportion of women to men of any State (109 women to 100 men) and also the largest proportion of gainfully employed persons (1,728,316, or 45 per cent of the population) of any State.

Yet the Massachusetts vote on the child labor amendment was 697,563 to 241,461, a majority of 456,102 against it, 75 per cent of the voters registering opposition.

The first organization in the field against the amendment was an organization of women, the Massachusetts Public Interests League.

Again, it is not conceivable that there can be administration backing for extension of the maternity act, for President Coolidge is most positively committed to the people, before and after election, to uphold State rights, and against bureaucracy and Federal subsidy measures. He has taken an unflinching stand on principle, even to curtailment of existing activities, and is unmoved by "expediency" propaganda, as shown in a collection of his statements on these subjects in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 23, 1926.

In his annual message, December 8, 1925, President Coolidge said:

"It does not at all follow that because abuses exist that it is the concern of the Federal Government to attempt their reform."

Again, with great courage, he said:

"We have superfluous employees. It is an unpleasant and difficult task to separate people from the Federal service. But it can be done. It will be done." (Budget meeting, January 26, 1925.)

"Unfortunately the Federal Government has strayed far afield from its legitimate business. It has trespassed upon fields where there should be no trespass." (Budget meeting, June 22, 1925.)

Of Federal aid to States, President Coolidge said:

"I am convinced that the broadening of this field of activity is detrimental to both the Federal and State Governments. * * * I am opposed to any expansion of these subsidies. My conviction is that they may be curtailed with benefit both to Federal and State Governments." (Budget message, December 2, 1924.)

Surely there is no legislation to which these statements apply so pointedly as to the Phipps-Parker bill, which your petitioners urge you to reject.

(c) Federal Department of Education bill (pending)

No adequate consideration of the pending bill to extend the maternity act can fail to note that it is but one part of an apparatus of legislation for the transmission of socialist power to one central agency, for the purpose of subjecting all children to dependence upon government, instead of upon individual parents. This socialist transmission apparatus has many interlocked differential gears, which all move together or singly, according to the direction in which the socialists at the steering wheel can most easily drive a country at a given time.

The bills are different, but the backers are always the same, with the same general objective, nationalized care, control, and support of mothers and children.

The maternity act and the education bill, both introduced by former Representative Towner, of Iowa, were not merely "Towner twins," as they were popularly called, but two measures in a triplet of socialist bills to cover education, maternity and infancy, and child labor.

The socialists of England were able to move faster with fewer separate bills. For example, England was induced to adopt a dole system of compulsory "health insurance" and "maternity benefits," modeled on those of Germany, July 15, 1912, very shortly after America was induced to establish the first "Children's Bureau." (See Children's Bureau publication No. 57, p. 67, for details of British maternity doles system.)

July 1, 1918, England was induced to extend the maternity doles system, while in America Miss Jeannette Rankin introduced the original maternity bill, then providing for free medical and nursing care "when necessary," etc., as previously shown.

August 8, 1918, England was induced to adopt the Fisher Education Act, covering not only education, but prohibition of child labor, including rural child labor, and providing even "nursery schools" for children from 2 to 5 years old, and for "attending to the health, nourishment, and physical welfare of children attending nursery schools." (See joint hearings, Committees on Education and Labor, July, 1919, p. 55 et seq., for full text of British Fisher Education Act.)

This Fisher Act, part of the socialist doles and subsidy system which has gradually brought even Great Britain to the brink of revolution, at once became the "model" measure for the National Education Association Smith-Towner education bill, and was cited with enthusiasm and published at length in the first joint hearings on a Federal department of education in 1919, as cited above.

This Fisher Act also filled Miss Lathrop (then Chief of the Children's Bureau) with unbounded admiration as a device for abolishing rural child labor. Miss Lathrop invited Sir Cyril Jackson, of the British board of education, and Sir Arthur Newsholme, late principal medical officer of the local government board of England having charge of maternity doles, both to come here in 1919 to show the bureau the best and quickest ways of standardizing and nationalizing children in the United States. (See Children's Bureau publication No. 60 "Standards of child welfare," pp. 12, 98, 102, 209, 284.) After Sir Cyril Jackson's speech at this international convention called by the Children's Bureau to frame standards of legislation concerning children for the American Congress and State legislatures, without their knowledge or even a gesture of seeking their consent, Miss Lathrop declared:

"I do not think any English authority can possibly realize the eagerness with which we have watched the passage of the Fisher bill through Parliament, because we saw at once that somebody in England had had the courage to do a thing which nobody in America had been bold enough to do, which was to cut, by an indirect attack, the root of rural child labor. We would like to get a similar scheme in this country, * * * to see aid given by the Federal Government to State authorities for elementary education which would be so universal that in this country also we would at once destroy rural child labor by an indirect attack.

"I would like to know how much opposition from the landowners of England was experienced in getting this measure through.

"Sir CYRIL JACKSON. I think there was no opposition, simply because we were in the middle of a great war, and we trusted Mr. Fisher. If we had had time to think about it, I think no doubt the farmers would have opposed it very strongly." ("Standards of child welfare," Children's Bureau publication No. 60, p. 102.) (Italics ours throughout.)

Again, Miss Lathrop asked:

"Is it true that this act [Fisher Act] is recognized as a measure which is absolutely as much a labor measure as it is an educational measure? Was it put through under the delusion that it was purely to teach children to read and write better, or was it recognized that it was going to revolutionize child labor in England (p. 103)?

"Sir CYRIL JACKSON. * * * I think it is true to say that it is recognized as a labor bill as well as an educational bill * * *.

"Miss LATHROP. I would always in the matter of special subsidies take a leaf from an English book. They are the only people speaking the English language * * * who know how to give a subsidy. We hand out money and run away. They hand out money and stay by. They say: 'You can have this money if you do your duty according to the standards agreed upon between the Federal Government and the local authority.' Is not that true?

"Sir CYRIL JACKSON. That is true.

"Miss LATHROP. It would be a disaster if we began this effort to standardize education by getting rid of child labor without setting up new standards of educational effectiveness. The great advantage for us in a discussion of this English measure is that it shows us a way to standardize education * * * and at the same time to get rid of the one thing we have never dared attack—rural child labor." (Ibid. p. 103.)

There is the testimony of the then Chief of the Children's Bureau in the bureau's most comprehensive publications—its own "Standards"—that these things all interlock; that subsidies are sought to standardize and control the local governments; and that propositions to "revolutionize child labor" and destroy even rural child labor may be "put through under the delusion" of "education," etc.

At the same international convention to standardize all legislation for American children Sir Arthur Newsholme, late principal medical officer of England, furnished a "complete scheme" of "maternity and child welfare," embracing antenatal, natal, and postnatal work, as done in England, which is set forth at page 284 of the same Children's Bureau "Standards of Child Welfare."

The Annual Report of the Children's Bureau, 1919, declares:

"The severe blow dealt rural child labor in England by the Fisher education act indicates a successful way of dealing with the problem" (p. 24).

"The third campaign of children's year was the back-to-the-school drive. This was a measure adopted to decrease child labor." (Ibid. p. 9.)

Here it is demonstrated that standardized, centralized control of education, maternity, and infancy, and prevention of youthful labor, even on the farm, were deliberately sought by the Children's Bureau and its socialist backers.

But the Constitution of the United States and the Supreme Court stood in the way of direct control by the central government of education, local health administration, maternity, and other doles, rural and other child labor, etc., as in England, and before England in Germany, and before Germany in the communist manifesto.

Hence this socialist program here had to be promoted by "indirect attack" through subsidies, as proposed in the education bill and maternity act, and by a proposed constitutional amendment after the Supreme Court refused to sanction control of child labor as "inter-state commerce" and as legitimate basis for a "tax" law.

The American "education" department bill went as far as it dared in socialism and in imitation of the British Fisher Act.

Of its three great socialist features, (1) for "equalizing education" throughout the Nation, (2) for central administration of local affairs by a dictatorship, and (3) for a doles system (called Federal aid), only one has been temporarily dropped—the doles system—and that only because the President, the Congress, and the country would not stand for a Federal education dole of \$100,000,000 a year, to be matched by another \$100,000,000 a year from the States, of which \$100,000,000 was provided as a "bonus" to teachers. (For proof of the \$100,000,000 a year teachers' bonus in the former education department bills, see joint hearings, Committees on Education and Labor, July 10-22, 1919, pp. 51, 53, 115.)

Here again the socialist fraud and trickery of trying to have legislation "put through under a delusion" is manifest.

The dropping of the Federal-aid provision in the pending Curtis-Reed bill is not a bona fide relinquishment of the \$100,000,000 Federal appropriation (to be matched by the States) but a mere suspension of the demand until the department is established. Like the maternity act, reduced from \$8,000,000 to \$1,480,000 to get through Congress, the education department bill comes down to \$1,500,000 as the entering wedge amount to trick Congress.

Federal aid was dropped only as a blind. Naturally, this is not intended to be admitted to the general public, but it has been drawn from National Education Association witnesses by committee cross-examination, and also is frankly admitted in the bosom of the N. E. A. official family. The recent hearings show:

"Representative BLACK of New York. Do you favor Federal aid?

"Dr. J. L. MCBRIEN (director of rural education, State Teachers' College, Edmond, Okla.). Yes, sir; I am frankly for Federal aid.

It may not come this time, but it is coming; it is coming; you can not stop it. You may delay it, you may postpone it * * *." (Joint Hearings, February, 1926, p. 72.)

"Mr. BLACK of New York. Is it your opinion that if this bill is passed the agitation for Federal aid will continue from the same sources as support this bill?

"Dr. GEORGE D. STRAYER (former president N. E. A., professor of educational administration, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, and chairman of legislative commission N. E. A.). I see no reason why those who are convinced of the legitimacy of Federal aid should not continue to believe in it." (Ibid. p. 3.)

"Senator PHIPPS. The idea that has seemed to predominate heretofore has been the necessity of Federal aid. * * * On the former bill—the Smith-Towner bill, and also on the Sterling-Reed bill * * * the committee was told very pointedly that the request for Federal aid was universal, and that it was absolutely essential and was necessary to advance the cause of education in the United States." (Ibid. p. 49.)

"Mr. JESSE H. NEWLON (former president N. E. A., superintendent of schools, Denver, Colo.). My private opinion is that the profession is overwhelmingly in favor of Federal aid" (p. 49).

Dr. HAROLD W. FOGHT (president Northern Normal Industrial School, Aberdeen, S. Dak., formerly connected with United States Bureau of Education). "You ask me if I am in favor of Federal aid? My answer would be certainly, I am" (p. 77).

"Mr. REED of New York. Doctor, will you feel yourself stopped from asking for Federal aid from Congress if this bill passes?

"Dr. JOHN A. H. KEITH (president State Normal School, Indiana, Pa.). No, sir; I shall not." (Ibid. p. 89.)

The Christian Science Monitor, a publication friendly to the National Education Association, reporting the National Education Association 1925 Indianapolis convention, where the present bill was drafted, under date of June 22, 1925, states:

"The National Education Association leaders decided to defer their request for Federal aid of education because they realize the unwisdom of pursuing it further at the present."

The same article says of Dr. George D. Strayer:

"An untiring worker for a department of education, Doctor Strayer also sought to encourage education in the States through Federal aid until he saw that further campaigning along this line promised for the time to be barren of results."

The article continues:

"Asked to comment further on the Federal aid discussion, Miss (Charl) Williams (field secretary legislative division N. E. A. and former National Education Association president) said: 'There is a general understanding among educators that Federal aid will be deferred. Our bill in the last two sessions of Congress has been a double-headed one. We have decided it is better to make progress in the one direction that is now open. It is inconceivable that the National Education Association will ever give up the idea of the extension of Federal aid to education.'"

There it is in a nutshell, officially stated. Can it be denied that the people are being tricked?

SOCIALISTS AMONG NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION LEADERS

It is not possible in this memorandum to quote a number of official statements, often lengthy and involved, showing the socialist, internationalist, and other subversive propaganda put out by National Education Association leaders on behalf of this bill. Hundreds of pages of proceedings, tables, pamphlets, and other National Education Association literature might be shown to contain a straight socialist "complex" by fair examination, particularly in the propaganda relating to "equalizing education" and the arguments for "distribution" of national wealth among State and local school systems, etc. We cite one illustration among many.

"Dr. JOHN A. H. KEITH. We are the richest Nation the sun ever shone on. It is not financial inability at all. It is a matter of distribution, and we can not bring those things about until we get a fair deal on the economic side." (Senate hearings, January, 1924, p. 69.)

It would be hard to find a more lucid short statement of socialist philosophy than that. All it lacks is the socialist label. Representative HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER has reviewed at length some of the doctrines contained in a book by Dr. John A. H. Keith and William C. Bagley both leading backers of this bill) and, after quoting them, says:

"Is this not anarchy and defiance of law, pure and simple? And this idea is not advanced by soap-box orators on the street corners of American cities nor by the lately enfranchised German, Italian, Hungarian, Polish, or Russian citizens of the United States with their ignorant and immature schemes of government, but it comes from the highest type of our educated citizenship, and in my judgment has never been surpassed by the pronouncements of the wildest leaders among those who would destroy our constitutional form of government." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 3, 1924.)

The Socialist National Convention proceedings, 1912, page 45, state that "some of the most expert educators of the United States" who come to the "conventions of the National Education Association

* * * with great prestige and are recognized as experts," hold memberships in the Socialist Party. But the general public—and congressional committees—are not so informed when these "expert educators" are lobbying for socialist measures to be "put through under the delusion" (as Miss Lathrop says) of bills "to teach children to read and write better."

2. PROGRAM OF REVOLUTION BY LEGISLATION

For 40 years modern revolutionary communism, under the original, direct instructions of Friederich Engels and Karl Marx, its founders, has had in the United States a thoroughly trained, educated, and experienced leader, who is perhaps the ablest legislative general communism has produced—Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Operating quietly, and mostly under cover of American ignorance of socialist intrigue and philosophy, American chivalry and sentiment concerning women and children, American philanthropy and sympathy toward the poor, Mrs. Kelley has steadily introduced socialism "into the flesh and blood" of America in more ways than any other socialist has had either ability or training to use.

Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, August Bebel, and hundreds of other socialists simply wrote books. Nicolai Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Alexandra Kollontay, and Florence Kelley translated those books into legislative action! And the legislative generalship of Mrs. Kelley has probably been even greater than that of Lenin, because she has conducted her entire campaign "with noncommunist hands"—including Republicans, Democrats, capitalists, philanthropists, and women—and for 40 years has managed to keep the legislative headquarters and herself, commanding political general of socialism in America, almost completely concealed.

Probably not one American in 10,000 knows that Mrs. Kelley is a socialist; few legislators can have dreamed that they were carrying out her orders, plans, and program in voting for the vast number of bills she has engineered—municipal, State, and Federal—for two generations. There are in fact few laws on American statute books of a socialist nature or tendency which can not be traced, in whole or in part, to the leadership of Mrs. Kelley. It would require a book, however, to do it, and then it would be incomplete, as Mrs. Kelley alone knows the "thousands of ramifications" of her life work.

Here attention is simply invited to the part of the Kelley program of revolution by legislation involved in Federal maternity, education, and child labor laws.

Mrs. Kelley herself is not a job hunter. She is not out for "pork" but for social revolution. She is a lifetime revolutionary leader, who, as legislative generalissimo of the socialist campaign, enlists hosts of sentimentalists, mercenary women lobbyists and job hunters in her rank and file, who do as they are told, pass resolutions and lobby Congress as directed, and for the most part know no more about her revolutionary socialist strategy than Napoleon's mercenaries knew of his military strategy. The mercenary battalions of women lobbyists and job hunters will be noted and quoted hereafter. Compared with these mercenary women politicians, working for Mrs. Kelley's socialist measures for a personal share in the political loot, Mrs. Kelley herself must be credited with sincerity, and her work, disastrous as it is to society and government, undoubtedly expresses Mrs. Kelley's political convictions.

MRS. KELLEY'S RECORD

Mrs. Florence Kelley was born in Philadelphia in 1859, daughter of William D. Kelley, former Member of Congress, graduated from Cornell University, 1882, studied at Zurich and Heidelberg. While abroad, she came in contact with Friederich Engels, became interested in socialism, and under Engels's supervision translated his chief economic work, "Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844," printed for the first time in English in New York, in 1886, preparatory to her American campaign. This book of Engels's has been the inspiration of much socialistic legislation here and abroad.

After her return to America, she continued to correspond with Engels's regarding socialist tactics for America, and he instructed her, in a letter dated January 27, 1887, how to introduce socialism "into the flesh and blood" of Americans by their experience. He wrote:

"The less it will be knocked into the Americans from without and the more they test it by their experience * * * the deeper it will go into their flesh and blood." (Quoted in New York Call, socialist organ, January 29, 1923.)

Subsequently, Mrs. Kelley graduated from Northwestern University as a LL. B., 1894, and served as State inspector of factories in Illinois, 1893-1897.

In 1897-98, Mrs. Kelley was the editor of the Archiv fur Soziale-gesetzgebung at Berlin.

Mrs. Kelley married a Russian physician named Wischnewetzky, from whom she was subsequently divorced, resuming her maiden name, which explains why some of her translations of Marx and Engels are by "Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky."

MRS. KELLEY, ENGELS'S AMERICAN LIEUTENANT

The chief promoter of modern socialism was not Karl Marx but his financial backer and associate, Friederich Engels, a rich cotton-mill owner, born and educated in Germany, but whose large fortune had

been made by his father in Lancashire, England, cotton mills, ownership of which Engels retained.

The socialist, Guillaume, secretary of the Socialist International, described Engels as—

"A rich manufacturer accustomed to regard workmen as machine fodder and cannon fodder." (Guillaume, Documents de l'Internationale, III, 153.)

It was from Lancashire cotton mills that both Friederich Engels and Karl Marx—who lived on Engels's bounty—secured funds to establish various socialist publications and to organize socialism, revolution, and discontent, particularly in France and England. The French and Russian socialists accused them frequently of "pan Germanism," and there is much evidence that their main purpose was revolution elsewhere than in Germany.

Engels lived long after Marx, published and wrote much of the work of Marx, including *Das Kapital*, and the only reason Marx, instead of Engels, is the legendary patron saint of modern socialism is because the "proletariat" could not well afford to canonize a rich cotton-mill owner. Yet Engels was the financial backer, organizer, and strategist of modern socialism.

It was Engels—not Marx—who wrote "Origin of the family, private property, and the State," the greatest socialist attack on monogamous marriage and morality. It was Engels who completed, published, and wrote much of Marx's *Das Kapital* after Marx's death. They wrote the "Communist Manifesto" and various other works together.

Yet, as early as 1887, Mrs. Kelley was urging American college women to study Engels's "Origin of the family" as one of the "fundamental" works for those engaged in "philanthropy."

Mrs. Kelley became Engels's translator. "She came to us as the translator of Engels," said Mrs. Kelley's life-long radical friend, Miss Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street Nurses' Settlement, New York.

But communist documents recently released show that Mrs. Kelley was much more than Engels's translator; that she was his chief lieutenant for the promotion of communist legislation and propaganda in the United States.

The Workers' Monthly, official American communist organ, for November and December, 1925, published a series of articles entitled "Marx and Engels on the rôle of communists in America."

These articles have also been reprinted as a pamphlet under the title, "Marx and Engels on Revolution in America," as No. 6 of "The Little Red Library," issued by the Daily Worker Publishing Co. (official American publishers for the Communist International at Moscow), 1112 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago.

These articles—and this pamphlet—are "made up of excerpts from letters written by Marx and Engels on conditions in the United States," says the introduction. Most of these letters are from Engels. They are addressed to Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischniewetzky—now Mrs. Kelley—and to F. A. Sorge, a communist who took active part in the revolution of 1848 in Germany, settled in New York in 1857, became head of the General Council of the Socialist International in New York when, after the defeat of the French Commune of 1870-71, "Marx insisted on the removal of the general council to New York." (Booklet, p. 3.) Sorge died in 1906, after obtaining Engels's letters to Mrs. Kelley and turning them over, together with his own, to the New York Public Library, where they remain.

These letters—thus officially reprinted in 1926 by the Moscow Communists in the United States as instructions from "Marx and Engels on Revolution in America"—says the booklet "will help many of those active in the revolutionary labor movement in the United States better to understand the problems of the movement." (P. 5.)

Only a few sentences can be quoted without going into a great mass of detailed socialist history, strategy, and methods.

In a letter to Sorge, September 16, 1887, Engels wrote:

"The masses can only be set in motion in a way suitable to the respective countries and adapted to the prevailing conditions—and this is usually a roundabout way. But everything else is of minor importance if only they are really aroused."

In a letter to Mrs. Kelley, September 15, 1887, Engels says:

"Fortunately the movement in America has now got such a start that neither George nor Powderly nor the German intriguers can spoil or stop it. Only it will take unexpected forms."

He "sums up this method" (roundabout ways and unexpected forms), says the Communist booklet, "in a classic form in his letter to Mrs. Wischniewetzky, January 27, 1887." This letter (regarding introducing socialism into American "flesh and blood") has already been quoted in this memorandum (pp. 3 and 15).

Mrs. Kelley, in May, 1887—within four months of the "flesh and blood" letter from Engels—delivered her classic lecture to American college women, urging them to study Marx, Engels, and Bebel, and to substitute socialism and the class struggle for "bourgeois philanthropy."

This lecture by Mrs. Kelley, entitled "The Need of Theoretical Preparation for Philanthropic Work," a paper presented to the New York Association of Collegiate Alumnae, May 14, 1887, is in the New York Public Library.

This lecture of Mrs. Kelley's on "philanthropy" will be found in many respects even more bitter, more "class conscious," and more subtly poisonous to the minds of young college women and social workers—to whom it was delivered—than any of the letters from Engels and Marx themselves in the "Little Red Library" booklet "on revolution in America."

Mrs. Kelley's 15-page address is loaded with socialism, under cover of "philanthropy," and should be read in full as a classic example of socialist propaganda methods.

Only a few samples can be quoted here:

"The question that forces itself upon us, and imperatively demands an immediate answer, is this: In the great strife of classes, in the life and death struggle that is rending society to its foundations, where do I belong? Shall I cast my lot with the oppressors, content to patch and darn, to piece and cobble at the worn and rotten fabric of a perishing society? Shall I spend my life in applying palliatives, in trying to make the intolerable endurable yet a little longer? Shall I spend my youth upon a children's hospital. * * * Shall I preach chastity to homeless men, the hopeless discomfort of whose surroundings must concentrate their whole desire upon gratification of animal passion, while want forces scores of thousands of women to sell themselves to the first comer? Shall I fritter away the days of my youth * * * when the steady march of industrial development throws a million able-bodied workers out of employment. * * * ?

"Here lies the choice. If we stand by the class to which by education we belong, our philanthropic work, whether we will or no, must bear its stamp, being merely palliative—helping one child while the system sacrifices tens of thousands, saving one girl while thousands fall, building one hospital while every condition of our social life grows more brutally destructive of human life and health.

"As loyal members of the ruling class, our work must, I repeat, be merely palliative. For a radical cure of the social disease means the end of the system of exploiting the workers."

Thus on her own testimony, Mrs. Kelley has been promoting socialism as "philanthropy," "child welfare," "education," "protection of maternity and infancy," etc., because she regards these "roundabout ways" of promoting socialism, not as "merely palliative," but as measures tending toward "the end of the system" of our present form of government and the establishment of socialism.

Mrs. Kelley scorns "palliatives." She believes in revolutionary communism, and in Engels's "Condition of the Working Classes in England," which Mrs. Kelley translated into English and recommended to American college women and social workers as "fundamental" and "one of the indispensable books" (in preparing for social "philanthropy"), we find these revolutionary doctrines:

"The war of the poor against the rich now carried on in detail and indirectly will become direct and universal. It is too late for a peaceful solution. The classes are divided more and more sharply; the spirit of resistance penetrates the workers, the bitterness intensifies, the guerrilla skirmishes become concentrated in more important battles, and soon a slight impulse will suffice to set the avalanche in motion. Then indeed will the war cry resound through the land, 'War to the palaces, peace to the cottages,' but then it will be too late for the rich to beware." (From the Florence Kelley translation of Friederich Engels's *Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1844, 1892 edition, p. 208.)

Again, as Mrs. Kelley translates—and recommends—Engels:

"Hence also the deep wrath of the whole working class * * * against the rich, by whom they are systematically plundered and mercilessly left to their fate, a wrath which before too long a time goes by, a time almost within the power of man to predict, must break out into a revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution and the year 1794 will prove to have been child's play. (Ibid. p. 18.)

MRS. KELLEY HAS "MORE INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES THAN BUSINESS HAS"

All socialism is most dangerous when disguised. It is when innocent-looking movements, "led by revolutionary minds acting behind the scenes," as Sir Philip Gibbs, famous British war correspondent, terms it, work for revolution in the name of something else that they best succeed.

The Kelley program of revolution by legislation has been promoted in the name of women and children. The work has been chiefly done by women.

Mrs. Kelley has been organizing women to promote socialism for 40 years.

Aided by her colleagues, Miss Jane Addams (president Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), Mrs. Raymond Robins (founder and former president International Federation of Working Women), Miss Lillian D. Wald (head of Henry Street Nurses' Settlement, New York), Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt (former president International Woman Suffrage Alliance, founder and honorary president National League of Women Voters), she has been so successful

that she declared her legislative "preparedness" complete in 1921 in the following statement to a congressional committee:

"We have the votes and we are now organized with a thousand ramifications. We have more interlocking directorates than business has." (Meat-packer hearing, House Agriculture Committee, May 2, 1921, p. 59.)

Mrs. Kelley penetrated, led, and energized for her program:

Hull House Settlement, Chicago—of which she was a resident.

The Intercollegiate Socialist League—chief promotor of socialism in schools and colleges—of which Mrs. Kelley was president.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—most radical "open" organization of internationalist, pacifist women.

National American Woman Suffrage Association—of which she became vice president in 1905.

National Consumers League—of which she became general secretary in 1899; a position she still holds.

The National Child Labor Committee—of which she was a founder and member original board of trustees.

American Association for Labor Legislation—a product of the second international, which Mrs. Kelley helped to establish, which has led the agitation for compulsory health insurance and other German socialist schemes. It was denounced and repudiated by the late Samuel Gompers.

The National League of Women Voters.

The National Women's Trade Union League.

The Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

Mrs. Kelley was also a member of the faculty of the Rand School of Socialism, New York. A number of her pacifist connections and activities during the war are covered in the revolutionary radicalism report of the New York Legislature, 1919.

Added to the above organizations, scores of other women's organizations and the General Federation of Women's Clubs were brought into line behind Engels's lieutenant, who thus became legislative director in the United States for communist and noncommunist welfare workers.

LOBBYISTS ORGANIZED TO TRICK CONGRESS

In 1920, to promote the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act, the Smith-Towner education bill, the establishment of a women's bureau, extensions of power and appropriations for the Children's Bureau, and a department of education and social welfare—modeled on the soviet commissariats of education and social welfare—there was organized at Washington by Mrs. Kelley, Mrs. Catt, and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, then president National League of Women Voters, an almost perfect device for misrepresenting the organized women of the country before Congress—through any five resident Washington lobbyists.

This was called "The Women's Joint Congressional Committee." It started out with a dozen women's organizations, and later embraced a score.

But when any five lobbyists—so-called "legislative chairmen"—of any five organizations get together and work for a congressional measure that these five organizations—out of a dozen or a score—are thought to approve, they form a "subcommittee" of the "Women's Joint Congressional Committee" to work for that bill, and the rest of the organizations in the "joint committee" are muzzled and bound not to work against it.

Literature is issued, Congressmen are canvassed, and a "drive" is started, often purporting to represent "millions of women" counted as the aggregate membership of the "joint committee" without ever holding any sort of referendum among women members on the legislation, and without any Democratic, Republican, or honest representative process whatever.

Once five "legislative chairmen" form a "subcommittee" the rest of the organizations are bound to support the bill, or silently consent to its passage. There is a growing rebellion among women out in the States, particularly in some of the State Federations of Women's Clubs, such as Kentucky and New Hampshire, and among other women's organizations in Massachusetts, New York, Kansas, and other States, against this autocratic arrangement for minority misrepresentation of women by resident Washington lobbyists of women's national organizations. Eventually, women themselves will undoubtedly put an end to this system organized to trick Congress concerning the opinions of American women. But it would seem a duty of every conscientious Congressman also to investigate this "interlocking directorate" of lobbyists, and to demand to be shown on what basis these lobbyists claim to represent the women of his district better than their duly elected Representative or Senator in Congress.

In the "maternity act drive" of 1921, Mrs. Kelley, of course, was chairman of the "subcommittee."

In the "child" labor amendment "drive" of 1923 and 1924, Mrs. Kelley, of course, was again in command, first with 10 and later with 16 lobbyists of women's organizations in the "joint congressional committee" trooping behind her, and reciting their little "we, too," speeches to congressional committees—while Mrs. Kelley herself dominated the hearing and dictated the form of the amendment.

The "many relations" of these lobbyists were indicated by Mrs. Kelley as follows:

"I am also one of a group of 10 representatives of national organizations who work together in many relations, and who will all appear here to state the approval of their organizations for this bill. I wish to relate my organization to that group." (Senate child labor amendment hearings, January 10, 1923, p. 49.)

The 10 organizations referred to, members of the "Women's Joint Congressional Committee," who were backing Mrs. Kelley's amendment, are:

National League of Women Voters.

General Federation of Women's Clubs.

National Consumers' League.

National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Associations.

National Council of Jewish Women.

National Federation of Business and Professional Women.

National Women's Trade Union League.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Girls Friendly Society of America.

American Association of University Women.

Proof that this backing was absolutely blind at the time the "representatives" first indorsed Mrs. Kelley's amendment is shown by the fact that not even the text of it could be known by anybody until after Mrs. Kelley, Miss Abbott, and William Draper Lewis and Owen Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Committee, fought it out with the Senate subcommittee at the hearings in January, 1923, as therein shown, with Mrs. Kelley's contentions finally prevailing. But even Mrs. Kelley could not guarantee that in advance.

In short, the 10 organizations trooping behind Mrs. Kelley were acting on mere faith, not only without any referendum to their women members but without any possibility of knowing what the text would be. A year later some 16 or more of the "Women's Joint Congressional Committee" organizations were listed and purported to be represented as favoring the amendment at the House hearings of February, 1924. The State and local branches of these national organizations had no chance whatever to consider it until it was before the States for ratification. Can it be denied that this "Women's Joint Congressional Committee" is a device for misrepresenting the masses of organized women without consulting them, and for tricking the United States Congress by pretended mass support by women of the Kelley program?

MRS. KELLEY ORIGINATOR OF THIS LEGISLATION

Mrs. Kelley's leadership and influence will now be shown as dominant in this legislation:

(a) Establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau (1912).

(b) Origin and passage of the maternity act of 1921.

(c) Origin and passage of national child labor legislation.

(d) Origin, text, and passage of "child" labor amendment, 1924.

(e) Origin and propaganda for Smith-Towner education department bill.

Not only is the history and philosophy of all those measures plainly comprehended in one effort and one object—capture of control of all American children by one central bureau or department—but it is also now shown to be the work of one revolutionary socialist mind!

And if these measures are adopted and extended, they must affect not only children and parents but the nature and security of our form of government.

Prof. J. Gresham Machen, of Princeton Theological Seminary, well says:

"If liberty is not maintained with regard to education, there is no use trying to maintain it in any other sphere. If you give the bureaucrats the children you might just as well give them everything else." (Address, January 12, 1926, to Sentinels of the Republic, Washington, D. C.)

Undoubtedly Mrs. Kelley also knows that if American women and children can be "socialized" by Federal legislation or Federal amendment, men, money, and property can not long continue under individual and local control.

Therefore knowledge of the socialist origin and effect of these measures is important to all American citizens.

(a) Establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau (1912)

The Woman's Journal, then official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (of which Mrs. Kelley was made vice president in 1905, after heading its child-welfare activities), declared a few days after the establishment of the Children's Bureau:

"This is the outcome of seven years of indirect influence by Mrs. Florence Kelley and many other earnest women." (Woman's Journal, April 6, 1912, p. 107.)

The Children's Bureau was established in 1912, not in response to popular demand, for self-reliant, resourceful, and energetic American parents never dreamed of a Federal Children's Bureau in 130 years of American independence. But "influence by Mrs. Kelley" and others who conducted a seven-year propaganda campaign led Congress to impose it on them.

In addition to Mrs. Kelley, the dominant leaders were:

Miss Jane Addams, internationalist and pacifist, head of Hull House, Chicago.

Miss Lillian D. Wald, pacifist, head of Henry Street Nurses' Settlement, New York, who is credited with suggesting the idea of a Children's Bureau in 1909, but Mrs. Kelley had been working for a Federal child labor law since 1905.

Owen D. Lovejoy, socialist, general secretary National Child Labor Committee and personal friend of Eugene V. Debs, who, when Debs was convicted of obstructing the draft and his conviction upheld by the Supreme Court, wrote "Comrade" Debs a letter of "personal love," comparing him with Christ, telling him that "thousands of little children" might see in him a savior, and that his conviction proved "the bankruptcy of the present social order." (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1924, for full text.)

Anna Louise Strong, now chief American press agent for Moscow Communists; Moscow correspondent of the Daily Worker and Monthly Worker, official American communist organs, and former "exhibit expert" of the Children's Bureau. Miss Anna Louise Strong, like Mrs. Kelley, Miss Lathrop, and Miss Abbott, was a resident of Hull House, Chicago hotbed of radicalism. In 1911 Doctor Strong conducted a number of "child welfare exhibits" in Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Kansas City, Louisville, etc., in the propaganda campaign for a children's bureau.

She became "exhibit expert" of the Children's Bureau after its establishment, a position corresponding to advertising or publicity director, and the author of its official booklet, "Child Welfare Exhibits," by Anna Louise Strong, Children's Bureau publication No. 14. She went from the Children's Bureau shortly before the American declaration of war against Germany, and in 1919 was a revolutionary ringleader in the Seattle general strike. (See "Americanism Versus Bolshevism," by former Mayor Ole Hanson, of Seattle, who refers to Miss Strong as the writer of the most radical "proclamations" when the strikers attempted to take over the government of Seattle by general strike.)

For five years Miss Strong has been Moscow correspondent for American communist papers, frequently returning to America for lecture tours, at which times, according to the radical "Federated Press Bulletin," December 15, 1923, "she can be reached at Hull House, 800 South Halstead Street, Chicago," headquarters of Miss Jane Addams, and the radical settlement "training school," from which both the former Chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, and the present chief, Miss Grace Abbott, graduated into a Federal Government position of tremendous power.

In the Forum, April, 1924, Miss Strong praised Lenin as "the greatest man of our time," and her book, "The First Time in History," on communism in Russia, contains an introduction signed by Leon Trotsky as an indorsement of Miss Strong.

If the Biblical test, "Ye shall know them by their fruits," be applied to the Federal Children's Bureau, and Miss Strong, its former "exhibit expert," be regarded as a fair sample of its best-trained social worker after graduation from the bureau, Miss Strong's prompt and vigorous postgraduate work as an "open red revolutionist" in Seattle (as Mayor Ole Hanson called her) and as a communist press agent at Moscow is not without deep significance.

Miss Strong has continued to be associated with Mrs. Kelley, Miss Addams, Miss Lathrop, Miss Grace Abbott, etc., in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which has led the campaign in this country for recognition of Soviet Russia, telling women that "Russia leads the world in her attempt to establish peace" (W. I. L. official bulletin, June, 1923), notwithstanding the great soviet red army. This Women's International League has also led the pacifist campaign to "disarm America first" as an "example" to the rest of the world; has urged women to take slacker oaths and pledges against all service to their country in time of war (see official W. I. L. report, Second International Congress of Women, at Zurich, 1919, pp. 156, 160, 161, 262, and official W. I. L. report, Third International Congress of Women, at Vienna, 1921, pp. 195, 196, 262).

The W. I. L. has also gone on record for "the gradual abolition of property privileges," another name for the gradual establishment of communism. (See W. I. L. official report, Third International Congress of Women, Vienna, 1921, pp. 101, 261, and Outline History of Women's International League, issued by same.)

When the Moscow communists in America in July, 1923, organized a communist Federated Farmer-Labor Party, it was too red even for radicals like John Fitzpatrick, of Chicago, the old Farmer-Labor Party, and the Nonpartisan League, who withdrew, and in 1924, when it invited Senator La Follette to address its St. Paul convention he scathingly denounced it.

But the Women's International League, along with the communist Workers' Party, the Proletarian Party, and various other communist organizations, is listed in the Worker, official communist organ, July 21, 1923, as one of the organizations represented at this convention of communists.

For further proof of the communist nature of the "peace program" of the W. I. L. the attention of Senators is invited to the W. I. L. "cahier" for "a new international order" adopted by the last W. I. L. international congress at Washington, May 7, 1924, which provides for the government of the world's labor, raw materials, and food supply

by an international representing trades and occupations in each country—a straight soviet system, although the W. I. L. carefully avoids calling it by its right name.

That the W. I. L. leaders have been advocating such doctrines for years is shown by the following report of a speech by Miss Jane Addams immediately after America entered the World War:

"We should have a central distribution system for the world, administered by a commission located in Athens, Greece," said Miss Addams. "This commission should have charge of the food of the world and should prescribe the treatment of the people of the world."

The only basic difference between the scheme of Miss Addams and that of the Communist International at Moscow for central dictatorship over the "distribution system," "food of the world," and "treatment of the people of the world" is that Miss Addams favors Athens instead of Moscow as the capital of world communism. The reported speech by Miss Addams quoted above appeared in the Chicago Herald, May 8, 1917, and has never been denied or modified by Miss Addams, to our knowledge.

In her own book, "Peace and Bread in Time of War," by Miss Jane Addams, issued in 1922, taking the revolutionary slogan of the Bolsheviks as her title, as she admits, "not because the first two words were the touching slogan of war-weary Russian peasants but because peace and bread had become inseparably connected in (her) own mind," Miss Addams shows conclusively that she desired the aftermath of the war to be international communism. Her chapter "A food challenge to the League of Nations" (pp. 199-222) can not be fairly interpreted otherwise than as a restatement of her Chicago speech advocating centralized international control of the world's food. Among other things, she writes:

"Must not the league evoke a human motive transcending and yet embracing all particularist nationalisms before it can function with validity?" (p. 201).

"During the first year of the league the popular enthusiasm seemed turned to suspicion because it was so indifferent to the widespread misery and starvation of the world * * *." (Ibid.)

"In their earlier days men so lived that each member of the tribe shared such food and safety as were possible to the whole" (p. 205).

"Human nature * * * has never quite fitted its back to the moral strain involved in the knowledge that fellow creatures are starving * * * it has lain at the basis of many religious communities and social experiments and in our own generation is finding extreme expression in governmental communism. In the face of the widespread famine following the devastation of war it was inevitable that those political and social institutions which prevented the adequate production and distribution of food should be sharply challenged. Hungry men asked themselves why such a situation should exist, when the world was capable of producing a sufficient food supply" (p. 206).

"To different groups of men all over the world, therefore, the time had apparently come to make certain that all human creatures should be insured against starvation" (p. 207).

"The demand for food was recognized and acknowledged as in a great measure valid, but it was being met in piecemeal fashion while a much-needed change in the world's affairs threatened to occur under the leadership of men driven desperate by hunger" (pp. 207-208).

"If from the very first the League of Nations * * * had evinced the daring to meet the new demands which could have been met in no other way, then, and then only, would it have become the necessary instrumentality to carry on the enlarged life of the world * * *." (208.)

"* * * For two years after the war the League of Nations was in dire need of an overmastering motive forcing it to function and to justify itself to an expectant world." (209.)

"But what could have afforded a more primitive, genuine, and abiding motive than feeding the peoples of the world on an international scale, (209.)

"Such a course would have forced them to * * * the function of a recognized international economic council for the control of foodstuffs and raw material, the world-wide fuel shortage." * * * (210.)

"The situation presented material for that genuine and straightforward statesmanship which was absolutely essential to the feeding of Europe's hungry children." (210.)

"The adherents of the league often spoke as if they were defending a too radical document whereas it probably failed to command widespread confidence because it was not radical enough." (211.)

"It was self-evident that if the league refused to become the instrument of a new order, all the difficult problems resulting, at least in their present acute form, from a world war, would be turned over to those who must advocate revolution in order to obtain the satisfaction of acknowledged human needs." (212.)

"* * * The League of Nations must abandon its political treatment of war-worn Europe and consider the starving people as its own concrete problem. * * * If the coal, the iron, the oil, and above all the grain, had been distributed under international control from the first day of the armistice Europe might have escaped the starvation from which she suffered for months." (213.)

Can this be considered as anything else but an argument that if the league had appealed to proletarian hunger, and promised international communism, it could have found a "human motive transcending" the desire for private property and the duties of patriotism? Can it be denied that Miss Addams criticises the league for not promising bread and centralism to break down nationalism and private property—"above all the grain" in the farmer's cribs to be "distributed under international control?"

MISS ABBOTT'S RECORD AS A PACIFIST

Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau, is one of the two "consultative members" of the executive board of the Women's International League. There are only two such officials in each country, who probably constitute the most powerful inner ring in control of the Women's International League, as no list of them is published, and the other member in America has not been announced. Miss Abbott's colleague may be Miss Anna Louise Strong, Mrs. Kelley, or some other person with a record too radical for the Women's International League to advertise.

At the Fourth International Congress of the Women's International League, at Washington, May 1-7, 1924, Miss Jane Addams, international president, announced Miss Abbott's position as "consultative member" of the executive board, and the announcement is also made in an official report of the Women's International League held by your petitioners in proof of this statement.

At the original "Internationaler Frauenkongress," called at The Hague in April, 1915, at which the organization now known as the Women's International League (it has changed its name several times) held its first "International Congress of Women," Miss Grace Abbott introduced a resolution for dismantling the fortifications of the Panama Canal and making it and other international waterways "a property of all the nations." Miss Abbott made a speech criticizing the United States for fortifying the Panama Canal, which was quoted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1924, and may be seen in full text in the official proceedings of the Internationaler Frauenkongress, April 28-May 1, 1915, pp. 147-148, issued by the Women's International League.

That original "Internationaler Frauenkongress" at The Hague in 1915 was gathered together chiefly by Frau Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary, who came to the United States in September, 1914, as secretary of the International Suffrage Alliance (of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was then president), but Frau Schwimmer was "in reality a German agent," says the revolutionary radicalism report of the New York Legislature, 1919 (vol. 1, p. 971).

After accompanying Mrs. Catt in a visit to President Wilson, September 14, 1914, at which alleged petitions from "the women of the world" for an "immediate armistice" were presented (just after the German repulse at the first Battle of the Marne and the high tide of German penetration and occupation of France), Frau Schwimmer conducted a lecture tour enlisted American women in a "woman's peace party," gathered a delegation for the "Internationaler Frauenkongress" in 1915, organized the Ford "Peace Ark" expedition and other ventures, all having the common object—to "keep us out of war" with Germany and get America to demand "peace" with Germany occupying nearly all of Belgium and a fourth of France.

Miss Grace Abbott, at the Internationaler Frauenkongress, regarded Frau Schwimmer's propaganda as "especially fortunate" for American women to have, as it "told us what our duty was," saying:

"Miss ABBOTT. The United States women have been especially fortunate in having with them during the last months Mme. Schwimmer, who told us in the same way as she told you what our duty was. * * * We therefore bring in an amendment which comes forth from American experience." (Internationaler Frauenkongress proceedings, 1915, p. 147.)

Miss Abbott thereupon denounced the United States for fortifying the Panama Canal and proposed that the canal "shall be a property of all nations." (Ibid. p. 148.)

After the war Frau Schwimmer became "Hungarian Bolshevik ambassador to Switzerland" (Revolutionary Radicalism report, N. Y. Legislature, vol. 1, p. 971), and some time after the fall of the Hungarian Revolution returned to the United States, and for several years past has been making her headquarters at Hull House, Chicago. Frau Schwimmer was also one of the chief speakers at the Fourth International W. I. L. Congress at Washington, May 1-7, 1924.

Judge Ben Lindsey, of the Denver Juvenile Court, was also one of the assistant propagandists in the seven-year campaign to establish the Children's Bureau. He came to Washington with the head of the Colorado "Society for the Protection of Children and Animals," in 1909 to speak with Mrs. Kelley and others for a children's bureau at the 1909 hearings.

In 1912, just before the establishment of the Children's Bureau, Judge Lindsey triumphantly wrote in a signed article in the Woman's Journal, February 10, 1912:

"An economic earthquake has shaken the 'old home' to pieces. The foundations are crumbled, the walls are spread, the winds of the world blow through. * * * The Nation, the State, the municipality,

these have stepped in, assumed practical control of the family in its most intimate relations, and are overparents. * * * If I were a woman in 1912, these two fundamental things—the real meaning of politics and conception of government as an overparent—are what I would consider primarily and resolve upon understanding."

Thus it has been shown not only that the establishment of the Children's Bureau, as the Woman's Journal (April 6, 1912, p. 107) declared, was the "outcome of seven years of indirect influence by Mrs. Florence Kelley"—a revolutionary communist trained by Friederich Engels—and "many other earnest women" whose radicalism has been shown scarcely less than that of Mrs. Kelley, but it is also demonstrated that even the mildest "noncommunist hands" who helped build the bureau, such as Judge Ben Lindsey and the Woman's Journal, hold this "conception of government as an overparent" and glorified it as much as any revolutionary communist has done.

(b) Origin and Passage of the Maternity Act of 1921

The original maternity act was introduced by Miss Jeannette Rankin (now field secretary of Mrs. Kelley's National Consumers' League) July 1, 1918, within a month after the Supreme Court had held the first national child labor law unconstitutional, June 3, 1918 (Hammer v. Dagenhart). House hearings were held January 15, 1919. Miss Julia C. Lathrop, then chief of the Children's Bureau, was away on a junket to Europe, investigating "maternity systems" and "infant welfare" in central Europe, making her headquarters mostly in Prague.

Several mere physicians from the Children's Bureau attended the hearings, but Mrs. Kelley assumed her customary leadership, saying: "It is remarkable that Uncle Sam should care so much for the young lobsters and so little for the American children. I talked with the Chief of the Children's Bureau about this bill before she sailed. She wished it made clear * * *," etc. (House hearings, Labor Committee, January 15, 1919, p. 38.)

Mrs. Kelley went on to explain why certain words were put into "Miss Rankin's" bill.

THE "HEROD" CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONGRESS

As previously noted, Mrs. Kelley also headed the "maternity act drive" of 1920-21 as chairman of the maternity act subcommittee of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

Mrs. Kelley also headed the publicity drive to make the country believe Congress a body of Herods. In addition to magazine and newspaper articles, such as "Women and children last," by Mrs. Kelley (Pictorial Review, February, 1921), Mrs. Kelley repeatedly flaunted the Herod charge before Congress. She declared:

"The question that is arising amazingly in people's minds now is, Why does Congress wish to have mothers and babies die? Why does it wish to have this go on? (Senate hearings on S. 3259, May, 1920, p. 52.)

Again, she made a direct threat to use this Herod charge publicity until Congress passed the bill:

"* * * If Congress adjourns without having taken effective action—no mere committee report will answer; we want a committee report, but we want a committee report as a basis for action * * * if this bill is not passed—it will be one of the most interesting questions that will go on and on in the press, because our organization will see that it does go on if no other organization does. Why does Congress continue to wish to have mothers and babies die?" (Ibid. p. 53.)

The chairman (former Senator Joseph I. France) meekly inquired: "Have you any answer to that question, Mrs. Kelley?"

"Mrs. KELLEY. We look to Congress for the answer." (Ibid.)

At the next hearings Mrs. Kelley hurled the Herod accusation—and threat—into the faces of Congressmen even more insolently:

"This is the week of the Child, who was born and laid in a manger; and this is the time when people's minds turn especially to the children; and those people who will go to church on Christmas Eve and on Christmas Day will be reminded, not only of the Child who was born that day but of the circumstances under which that Child was born. And the story of Herod will be in everybody's mind.

"We do not know how many children were slaughtered by the order of Herod; history does not record that. But the deaths of those children have remained in the minds of the human race for nearly 2,000 years; and the Congress now, after its long delay and its failure to interest itself in those daily deaths of 680 children—or 20,000 children a month—has to choose where it will be recorded in history." (House hearings, H. R. 10926, December 20-29, 1920, p. 27.)

Again:

"What answer can be given to the women in a myriad of organizations, who are marveling and asking 'Why does Congress wish women and children to die?'" (Ibid., p. 29.)

This is the sort of publicity, pressure, and argument that was used by this communist legislative general in favor of a bill providing nothing whatever but "investigations and reports," salaries, traveling expenses, administration, etc., and that prohibited the use of a cent of the fund for maternity and infancy "equipment," maternity hospitals, etc.

And yet, when Senator Moses introduced a bill for maternity hospitals, and the training of women in maternal nursing, this powerful communist was able to kill it in 10 minutes, and exclude it from the Senate hearings by calling it "bricks and mortar," etc., as previously shown.

Can it be denied that the entire campaign for this legislation has been one of insolent threats, juggled statistics, false charges against Congress, and constant fraud and trickery to capture control of all American mothers and children?

Although the two Federal child labor laws, declared unconstitutional, are dead, brief review of their history is necessary to illustrate the methods of the same group of lobbyists regarding pending legislation.

(c) *Origin and Passage of National Child-Labor Legislation*

Here again Mrs. Kelley is first and foremost. She says:

"I made a speech 15 years ago in Washington at which Senators and Congressmen were present, when I reproached them about their zeal for hogs and boll weevils and ticks in comparison with what they did and left undone for the working children; and they took it to heart enough to pass a very poor, feeble child labor law for the District of Columbia in 1906." (Senate hearings on S. 3259, May, 1920, pp. 52, 53.)

Mrs. Kelley began the campaign for uniform child-labor legislation in 1889, with a pamphlet entitled "Our Tilling Children." In 1902 the National Consumers' League (of which Mrs. Kelley was and is general secretary) started the "invidious comparison" method of attacking State legislation. In 1903 a New York State Child Labor Committee was formed, and in 1904 a National Child Labor Committee, with Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Jane Addams, and Miss Lillian D. Wald on the original board of trustees. Mrs. Kelley also interested the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National American Woman Suffrage Association in uniform child-labor legislation, becoming vice president of the latter in 1905. At the same time John Spargo, then a socialist leader (who turned against socialism, however, in 1917, and who denounced and opposed the child labor amendment in 1924 as "foolish and dishonest, insincere, and uncandid") wrote *The Bitter Cry of the Children* which became popular among socialists not only but many others. In 1906 Senators Beveridge and Lodge were persuaded to introduce national child labor laws. But, as Mrs. Kelley says:

"Lingering doubts as to the power of Congress to deal with child labor beset the minds of members of the National Child Labor Committee, and deprived Senator Beveridge of whole-hearted, unanimous backing of his bill." (The Federal Child Labor Law, by Florence Kelley, Survey, August 26, 1916.)

The first legislative success was scored by Mrs. Kelley in the "hog-story" campaign, leading to the District of Columbia law in 1906. In 1907 Owen R. Lovejoy, a socialist, became general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. In 1908, as previously shown, the socialists in their national convention made prohibition of "the interstate transportation of the products of child labor" one of their chief industrial "immediate demands."

The National Child Labor Committee, with its "lingering doubts," did not come into the campaign whole-heartedly until 1915. Even its pamphlet, "The Extent of Child Labor Officially Measured," issued in November, 1914, does not mention the necessity of a Federal law, the National Child Labor Committee having other official "objects"; "to promote the welfare of society with respect to the employment of children in gainful occupation; to investigate and report the facts concerning child labor; to raise the standard of public opinion and parental responsibility with respect to the employment of children; to assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against premature or otherwise injurious employment; to aid in the enforcement of laws relating to child labor; to coordinate, unify, and supplement the work of State or local child labor committees," etc.

In 1915, however, the National Child Labor Committee was swung into line behind the socialist "immediate demand" of 1908—for prohibition of interstate transportation of the products of child labor—and a Federal law became its "one controlling purpose," its "most important work" (National Child Labor Committee Bulletin, November, 1915), and "Help us to secure a Federal law" the slogan on all its literature. It held two conventions in 1915 to promote a Federal child labor law, one at Washington January 5-6, 1915, to influence Congress, and one at San Francisco May 28-31, 1915 (to take advantage of the Pan American Exposition) at both of which Mrs. Kelley spoke on "Child Labor and Illiteracy," "Child Labor and the Consumer," and "Responsibility of the Federal Government," while Miss Jane Addams and Miss Julia C. Lathrop, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, spoke on "The Child, a Ward of the Nation." Immediately after the 1915 Washington convention of the National Child Labor Committee Federal child labor laws were introduced in the House January 26, 1915, by Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, and in the Senate February 21, 1915, by Senator Robert L. Owen. It passed the House February 15, 1915, by 233 to 43, but was killed in the Senate by objections of Senator LEE S. OVERMAN March 4, 1915. In the next Congress the Keating-Owen bill to prohibit the interstate transportation of the products of child labor

was passed, notwithstanding the fact that the House Judiciary Committee had held that "Congress could not possibly pass a child labor law." (Child Labor Bulletin, May, 1916, p. 56.)

And thus, in spite of an adverse opinion by the House Judiciary Committee and the "lingering doubts" of the National Child Labor Committee itself, as well as of many Congressmen, this part of the Kelley program, dating back to 1889 on her part, and following the "immediate demands" of the Socialist National Convention of 1908 to the letter, became an act of Congress, approved September 1, 1916 (Public 249, 64th Cong.). It was held unconstitutional June 3, 1918, by the United States Supreme Court; passed again as a "tax on employment of child labor" in the act of February 24, 1919 (Public 254, 65th Cong.), held unconstitutional May 2, 1919, by Federal Judge James E. Boyd at Greensboro, N. C., and three years later, May 15, 1922, held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*

It has already been shown how the Children's Bureau, after the first Federal child labor law was held unconstitutional, promoted the maternity act and the education bill as "indirect" methods of standardizing children and education. (See pp. 13 and 14 of this memorandum.) Also it has been shown (p. 12 of this memorandum) that Miss Grace Abbott (administrator of the first Federal child labor law) and Miss Julia C. Lathrop began a political campaign to interest the National League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party in an amendment and a "maternity act" shortly after Federal Judge Boyd had held the second Federal child labor law unconstitutional.

The determination of this Children's Bureau to circumvent the Constitution and the Supreme Court's decision is also illustrated in the 1919 annual report, where the chief admits that the bureau began a "back-to-school drive" as a measure "to decrease child labor" (Annual Report, Children's Bureau, 1919, p. 9) and called an international conference to frame "minimum standards for the health, education, and work of normal children and for the protection of special classes of children in the United States." (Annual Report, 1919, p. 13.)

In addition, the bureau chief (then Miss Lathrop) expressed hope that the "standards" of this international conference for "children of the United States" might prove a strong influence in securing attention to two "measures worthy of consideration" which "are really implicit in the standards," as she said:

"1. Federal aid to States for universal elementary education for the prompt and immediate abolition of illiteracy and of child labor.

"2. Federal aid to States for the universal public protection of maternity and infancy." (Annual Report, Children's Bureau, 1919, p. 24.)

There, officially stated by the chief of the Children's Bureau, is the proof of that bureau's resort to an international convention and its "standards," and to the education bill and the maternity act ("implicit in the standards") for securing control of American children by a central bureau, regardless of the Constitution and the courts.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF CHILDREN

Not only did the Children's Bureau call an international conference of foreigners to frame "minimum standards for the health, education, and work of normal children and for the protection of special classes of children in the United States" (Children's Bureau Annual Report, 1919, p. 13), but it has constantly sought to subject all American legislation for children to foreign "standardization."

The Children's Bureau Annual Report, 1919, also declares:

"Child welfare is a national, even international, problem of first magnitude, and the economic aspects of the problem are now most urgent" (p. 29).

Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau, in a signed article in the radical *New Majority*, September, 1923, and in the *New York Call* (socialist organ), September 23, 1923, urges the "child" labor amendment, with the following as one of her main arguments:

"A large part of the civilized world has adopted not only a national standard but an international standard with reference to the employment of children. The most important nations of Europe have joined in a child labor convention drafted at the International Labor Conference (of the League of Nations) * * *.

"Ought it not to be possible for Congress to say that in no section of this country will children be allowed to work below standards now established by international agreement among many nations?"

Miss Grace Abbott served as "unofficial American observer" in 1923 on the commission on international traffic in women and children of the League of Nations. (*Woman Citizen*, August 25, 1923, p. 18.)

Miss Abbott is quoted in the same article as saying: "It might well be argued that the problem of securing world peace is a fundamental problem in child welfare. * * * To prevent war, we shall need certain guaranties for children." (*Woman Citizen*, August 25, 1923, p. 18.)

Shortly after Miss Abbott's service as "unofficial observer" on the commission on international traffic in women and children there began to appear in the press frequent dispatches regarding international control of children. For example:

"Henceforth the children of the world will be under the protection of the League of Nations. * * * The council of the league, with the consent of the interested parties, has authorized the concentration of all child-welfare activities here. A special department will be created by the league to handle all matters concerning the protection of children." (Geneva dispatch to New York Times, March 16, 1924.)

"GENEVA, September 19.—Steps have been taken in the commissions of the League of Nations Assembly to place children under the protection of the league. The projects provide for reorganization of the permanent commission on traffic in women and children under a new name, with two groups of experts, one for questions relating to traffic in women and children and the other for all matters promoting the welfare of children. The latter group will include representatives of the principal associations concerned with children, especially the International Federation for Promoting Child Welfare, with headquarters at Brussels, the work of which will henceforth be undertaken by the league." (Geneva dispatch to New York Sun, September 19, 1924.)

In addition, Albert Thomas, French socialist, head of the International Labor Office, was brought to America to lobby for the child labor amendment.

The testimony of Thomas for the amendment appears at page 73 of the Senate Hearings on Child Labor, January 10 and 15, 1923, Part II.

Thomas admitted, after some dodging, that he is a socialist (p. 78) and that he represented the International Association for Labor Legislation as well as the labor office of the League of Nations. (P. 76.)

The "International Association for Labor Legislation" is a product of the Second Socialist International, the socialists, after their defeats in 1848 and 1871 in attempting revolution "by force and violence," going in for revolution by fraud and legislation in the name of "labor," "consumers' leagues," "workingmen's associations," etc., etc.

Is it not almost inconceivable that the League of Nations, solemnly pledged to respect "the territorial integrity and political independence" of all nations—and most eager to get the United States as a member and not to offend American sentiment—should thus inject itself into the most intimate local and domestic affairs of the American people unless it had been urged and invited to do so by the same Federal bureau of internationalists that brought Japs and others here to standardize American legislation for children in 1919?

Among other things Albert Thomas, head of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, said:

"We have, in addition, a proposition to protect the children before birth. * * * You see, gentlemen, it is, I believe, a full development of this effort of international protection." (Senate hearings, January 15, 1923, p. 76.)

"In the first conference we voted also a draft convention for the situation of children in agricultural work. * * * Children under the age of 14 years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking or any branch thereof except outside of the hours fixed for school attendance. * * *

"Senator SHORTRIDGE. Do you mean farm labor?"

"Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; farm labor." (Ibid. 76-77.)

That the league labor office has been acting under "unofficial" American suggestion in these matters is indicated by the following dispatch (at a time when the fate of the child labor amendment was hanging in the balance):

"GENEVA, February 13.—At the request of Miss Grace Abbott, of Washington, the initial meeting of the League of Nations' Reorganized Commission for the Protection of Women and Promotion of Child Welfare, scheduled for next week, has been postponed to May 20." (New York Evening Post, February 13, 1925.)

The league was apparently told, however, that it could go ahead with international "education" propaganda. Thus:

"GENEVA, February 18—(Associated Press).—The League of Nations is taking a new step to educate the youth of all countries in the ideals of world peace, with the encouragement of contact between the young people of different nationalities. * * * The league believes that the basis of the suggested education of the younger generations should be teaching the principles and work of the League of Nations as training in international cooperation and normal methods of conducting world affairs." (Associated Press, February 18, 1925.)

Does it not appear that the league was asked to postpone its "child welfare" meeting until after the child labor amendment was acted upon by the many legislatures in session in January and February, 1925, only because it was feared that the appearance of league interference then would be represented by our legislators and react against the amendment?

On the other hand, after 32 State legislatures had rejected or refused to ratify the amendment up to April 1, 1925, the league labor office was apparently requested to exert international pressure for reconsideration.

Thus the following dispatch:

"GENEVA, April 2—(Associated Press).—Child-labor conditions in some sections of the United States were condemned to-day by labor members of the governing board of the international labor office, which opened a three days' session.

"Yan Oudegest, president of the Dutch Labor Federation, and Leon Jaudaux, of France, president of the General Federation of Labor, urged publication by the bureau of all possible information on conditions in America, expressing the belief that world public opinion could thus be brought to bear on the Americans and culminate in an improvement. * * *

"The discussion of conditions in the United States was the sequence of the recent apparent rejection of an amendment to the Constitution authorizing Federal laws on the subject of child labor, and arose from a fear of labor leaders that rejection of the proposed amendment would prevent an amelioration of the conditions of children in certain States. The American conditions were discussed together with those in the mandated countries and China." (New York Times, April 3, 1925, p. 21.)

The same dispatch, however, explains that Albert Thomas told the governing board of the labor office that it had "no right to interfere in what the United States Government or the State governments were doing on the child-labor question.

"He said, however, it was the bureau's duty to publish all statistical information, because of its bearing on general industrial conditions. Mr. Thomas added that he already had requested the bureau's representative in Washington to collect and forward facts." (Ibid.)

Here it has been shown conclusively that if the "standards" of the Children's Bureau prevailed "no section of this country" could allow children to work even on farms without being "blacklisted" and discussed "together with the mandated countries and China," until it conformed to the "international standards" of European socialists.

Miss Jane Addams, in her book, *Bread and Peace*, praises the recommendations of the British Labor Party (socialist) for "measures for the special relief of children everywhere, without regard to the political allegiance of their parents," as "simple, adequate, and yet how far-reaching in their consequences." (*Bread and Peace*, p. 210.)

Our dual system of divided and limited Federal and State authority, when the balance is destroyed, becomes peculiarly oppressive, literally a double Government.

The Federal Government when it encroaches on the State governments does not wipe out the latter. It superimposes itself upon them, with the result that we have two governments on our backs to support and obey in performing the same function.

If the standards, rules, and regulations of an international agency are added, as the Children's Bureau and the socialists desire, the American people exchange local self-government for a triple tyranny, with three governments on their backs and three sets of bureaucrats trying to standardize children before they are born and up to the age of 18 years.

We respectfully urge that our dual system of government requires the division of administrative powers, and that neither individual liberty, local self-government, nor the Federal Constitution can survive if we go on with the duplication of functions of the States by Federal bureaus, illustrated in the most absurd and extreme form by the maternity act.

What can be more intimate, personal, domestic, and local than the relation of mother and child? What form of tyranny, national or international, can be challenged if this crime against common sense, this conspiracy against the Constitution, this unscientific and dangerous dictation of "social and economic" fanatics over the health of mothers and babies, is renewed and extended after its failure, its menace to the lives of mothers and infants, and its communist nature, origin, and object are all demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt?

(d) *Origin, Text, and Passage of "Child" Labor Amendment*

The first Federal child-labor law, even before it was held unconstitutional, was deemed by Mrs. Kelley only as "a step toward equality for American children." And even then, she showed her determination to secure Federal legislation eventually against rural child labor, despite the specific exemptions made by Congress in the act of September 1, 1916. Mrs. Kelley wrote:

"The factory children and mine children having at length caught the attention of Uncle Sam, so long blind and deaf to their need, the enormously larger numbers engaged in agriculture can not forever be ignored; the inevitable logical sequel of this law is Federal aid to education." (*The Federal Child Labor Law*, by Mrs. Florence Kelley, Survey, August 26, 1916.)

In the same article, she again stated:

"Not until the National Child Labor Committee stationed Alexander J. McKelway in Washington * * * to promote the Federal child labor bill in Congress, did the committee deserve its name. Henceforth, however, its task will be truly national * * *. Upon it will rest the burden, also, of extending to the rural wage-earning children the benefits which the present law promises to those in a limited number of industries * * *. Under the guidance of its secretary, Owen R. Lovejoy, whose patient statesmanship has achieved the success of to-day, the National Child Labor Committee may reasonably hope to free the Republic from the cruelty and shame of child labor."

In spite of Mrs. Kelley and of Owen R. Lovejoy, a socialist on the National Child Labor Committee as general secretary, since 1907, that committee with its "lingering doubts" and its legitimate other

objects and nonsocialist supporters, has always lagged far behind Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau in demanding national control of child labor. It has already been shown that Miss Grace Abbott was out for an amendment giving Congress power to "establish minimum labor standards" in February, 1920, after the second child labor law had been held unconstitutional by a Federal judge in North Carolina, May 2, 1919, and while the case was pending in the Supreme Court of the United States.

When the Supreme Court held the second child labor law unconstitutional, efforts for an amendment were redoubled by Mrs. Kelley and Miss Abbott.

On the contrary, neither the American Federation of Labor nor the National Child Labor Committee then demanded an amendment. (See the testimony of Samuel Gompers and Owen R. Lovejoy at the original House Judiciary Committee hearings, June 1, 1922.) Mr. Gompers, in fact, advocated and brought in a brief about an "involuntary servitude" bill. But Mrs. Kelley insisted they would be "morons" who "learn nothing by experience" unless they backed an amendment. As usual, Mrs. Kelley's views prevailed. Mr. Gompers's "involuntary servitude" bill was discarded, and the Federation of Labor and the National Child Labor Committee were swung into line by this powerful communist. In 1923, they, as well as 10 of the "Women's Joint Congressional Committee" organizations, were all marshaled behind Mrs. Kelley's amendment, together with the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was Mrs. Kelley's amendment that prevailed and was finally proposed by Congress—all the proposals of Senators Lodge, Johnson, Townsend, Walsh of Montana, and of the National Child Labor Committee, through its counsel, William Draper Lewis, being discarded, like the Gompers's "involuntary servitude" bill, when Mrs. Kelley insisted upon the "spacious wording" of the McCormick resolution, representing the objectives of herself and the Children's Bureau.

That Mrs. Kelley was the chief draftsman of the McCormick-Foster amendment and assumed direct leadership whenever Senators on the subcommittee or counsel for the National Child Labor Committee proposed any interference with its "spacious wording" is demonstrated in the Senate hearings, January 10, 1923.

For example, Mrs. Kelley says:

"When we were laboring over the drafting of it," etc. (p. 89).

At page 49 Mrs. Kelley declares her participation in the drafting of the amendment and "in the selection of a Senator who should be asked to introduce the bill," and that she had made the adoption of that particular amendment her "chief occupation in relation with Congress until an amendment should be adopted" (p. 49).

Further tribute to her leadership and responsibility for the text of the amendment is revealed in part as follows:

Senator WALSH of Montana. "Mrs. Kelley, evidently you had something to do with drafting of this resolution. Will you tell us what idea was intended to be covered by the concluding words of the resolution—what it means?" (Senate hearings, January 10, 1923, p. 91.)

When Senators presumed to suggest constitutional complications and effects, she retorted:

"I might say that I am myself an attorney; I have been admitted to practice before the bar since 1894. I have been dealing with constitutional things under the guidance of one of our present justices of the Supreme Court for the long term of nine years, when he was advocating the constitutionality of legislation for both men and women in the matter of having their hours of work contracted. My attention has not been limited exclusively to statutes" (p. 90).

Finally, Senator WALSH of Montana asked:

"Before you leave us, Mrs. Kelley, I understand the purport of your talk now to be that you would like to have us report this amendment exactly as it is in the McCormick resolution?"

Mrs. KELLEY. "No; I am not insisting upon its being reported exactly as it is there. I am only hoping that we may not have so great a multiplicity of amendments coming in" (p. 91).

William Draper Lewis, counsel for the National Child Labor Committee, had wanted the following amendment:

"That Congress shall have concurrent power with the several States to limit or prohibit the labor of children." (Ibid. p. 81.)

But Mrs. Kelley—not Miss Abbott—took the field of leadership against that, too, objecting to the word "children," etc., in her testimony and in a subsequent letter to the committee at page 121.

Senator WALSH, of Montana, declared:

"Mrs. Kelley, you would be helpful to us if you would take the draft now proposed by Professor Lewis and tell us what you feel ought to be added to it" (p. 91).

Instead of adding to the Lewis proposal, Mrs. Kelley denounced it as "astonishing, being introduced without previous conference with the Chief of the Children's Bureau or the organizations that the National Child Labor Committee is supposed to be cooperating with," in a letter to the committee (p. 121), and William Draper Lewis himself was persuaded to abandon it. (Letter from Mr. Lewis to Senator SHORTRIDGE, p. 123, Senate hearings, January 10, 1923.)

Thus the socialist origin and control of the text of the "child" labor amendment—including the elimination of any reference to "child" or "children"—is indisputable.

All the proposals that did not include the full power demanded by Mrs. Kelley and Miss Abbott were ruthlessly discarded, whether they came from Republican and Democratic Congressmen, or from Mr. Gompers, or Mr. Lewis, counsel for the National Child Labor Committee.

Representative VICTOR BERGER put it all in a nutshell when he said: "It is a socialist amendment, and that is why I am for it." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 29, p. 7738.)

COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH INDIVIDUAL FARMING

The intense interest of Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau in "rural" provisions of the original maternity act; the Children's Bureau effort in 1919 "to abolish rural child labor by an indirect attack" through national control of education; and the demands that the child labor amendment cover unpaid labor as well as employment, and that no exemption be made in the amendment, even for persons under 18 "in the homes and on the farms where they reside," or "in the home of the parent or parents" (see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 26, 1924, pp. 7483, 7485, first edition) can not be explained otherwise than as part of the communist effort to "socialize" farming and destroy the independence of the individual farmer. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated as such.

For over 70 years communists have predicted and promoted the doom of the small farmer and the concentration of agriculture into huge industrial plants, with "agricultural armies" working them, as absolutely essential to communist success.

In the communist manifesto Marx and Engels praise capitalism for rescuing "a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life." They advocate "establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture."

In *Das Kapital*, Marx says that in agriculture "modern industry has a more revolutionary effect than elsewhere, for this reason, that it annihilates the peasant, that bulwark of the old society" (vol. 1, p. 513), while Engels expresses the hope that the vast prairies of America and the steppes of Russia will "ruin all the great European landlords" (vol. iii, part ii, p. 260).

It was also the French peasantry which twice destroyed socialist dictatorships after they had been established in Paris in 1848 and 1871, leading Engels to write: "In France no lasting revolution against the small farmers is possible." (*Die Neue Zeit*, 1895, I, p. 301.)

VICTOR BERGER, at the 1908 National Socialist Convention, said:

"I belong to the working-class movement—it is a movement that wants to win, a movement that wants to get control of this country. Now, I tell you, comrades, that you will never get control of the United States unless you have the farming class with you. The farmers do not even need to fight. If the farmers refuse to bring produce to the city of Chicago for six weeks, no matter whether we have control of Chicago or not, we are gone up. If the farmers of the country surrounding Milwaukee refuse to bring supplies to the city of Milwaukee for three weeks, no matter whether we control the city or not, by force of arms or any other way, we lose." (Official proceedings, p. 15.)

VICTOR BERGER, member of the platform or resolutions committee of that 1908 National Socialist convention, also said:

"There is no intention and no inclination on the part of the platform committee to deny that we stand for the common ownership of the land. I fully agree with Comrade Carey on that point. It is simply a question of how he expresses it." (Proceedings, p. 183.)

In short, the only anxiety was to keep the farmer from finding out what the Socialists really wanted from the way they wrote the platform! There were too many small farmers for "common ownership of the land" to be a popular political issue.

The 1908 Socialist National Convention did adopt a declaration for "public ownership of all land," but it proved so unpopular that it was withdrawn within three months. Explaining this incident in the 1912 convention, Delegate Stallard (Kansas) declared:

"I believe that some time in the far-distant future that no man will privately own a place to bury himself or a garden spot, but I do not believe that social development has reached the point that we should demand that now." (Proceedings, 1912, p. 79.)

Socialists are admittedly playing a confidence game on the farmers. In fact, Friederich Engels, in a letter to the American Socialist Sorge, characterizes it as a "confidence game" (*bauernfängerii*), while Schippel, another Socialist leader, calls their "agrarian program" a "piece of political charlatanism." (See *Marxism Versus Socialism*, by Prof. V. G. Simkhovitch, of Columbia University, p. 64 et seq.)

Thus BERGER in 1908, fearing the small farms might continue, urged caution in the way Socialist demands for confiscation of lands were

VICTOR BERGER added:

"* * * Centralization in land has not taken the same form as it did in industry.

"In other words, the prediction of the Marxians that we would some day have centralized the small farms into big farms of 100,000 or a million acres has not come true.

"We do not know what the future of agriculture is going to be. We do not know whether in the future agriculture will be conducted on a very large scale or whether the future of agriculture will be the intensive farming of very small tracts. There is a great deal to be said on both sides. * * * And the truth is that centralization has not taken place in agriculture, as it has in the field of industry." (Ibid. p. 183.)

What was the reason given by Miss Grace Abbott for including farm labor in the child labor amendment? It was the Marxian reason, the validity of which even Victor Berger himself doubted.

Miss Abbott testified:

"We do not know what will develop with reference to agricultural labor in the future at all. We may have in the next 10 years or the next 100 years a totally changed situation from what we have now. We may have a vast growth of large-scale agriculture, and children will not be employed on the home farm but under conditions approximating industrial employment." (House hearings, February-March, 1924, p. 35.)

In short, the child labor amendment was admittedly framed with the socialization of farming on a large scale, as predicted by Marx and Engels, in full view, with the Chief of the Children's Bureau using even the exact jargon of the Socialists.

At the 1912 National Socialist convention the report of the committee on farmers' program, made by A. M. Simmons, a Kansas delegate, urged them not to repudiate the communist manifesto as to land ownership; he saw encouragement of large-scale agriculture in "the disappearance of the horse," and suggested that if the agricultural experiment farms could be made "not primarily experimental but primarily productive, operated by society," they could make such large-scale governmental farming in the United States "the foundation of social production by giving us a grip upon the source of food supply." (Official proceedings National Socialist convention, 1912, p. 67.)

In short, the socialist effort since 1848, and particularly after the French peasants wrecked the two Paris "communes," has been to destroy the small farmer with his love of private property, "socialize" his land, and thus drive him into the ranks of the industrial workers in cities or into "agricultural armies" on the vast farms which Karl Marx, Engels, and Miss Grace Abbott have pictured.

If the child labor amendment were adopted and farm labor prohibited up to 18 years, the average small farmer, who can not hire outside labor in competition with the demand for industrial labor in the cities, but must depend upon his sons for help during harvest, and with chores, would be forced to give up farming and enter into the class of farm or industrial laborers.

The Socialist National Convention proceedings, 1908, declare:

"We are just as much opposed to children working on farms as we are to children working in the factories, and we stand to abolish the whole present system of production" (p. 186).

Thus the child labor amendment, principally drafted by Mrs. Kelley, socialist, was not only designed to serve socialism by increasing centralized governmental power—a necessity to any dictatorship—and by making it impossible for parents to support their children without "Federal aid" doles for persons under 18; and by giving adult labor stronger control of essential industries by elimination of youthful apprentices, etc.; but it is also shown to have been designed to pave the way and fit the conditions of the "large-scale" industrialized agriculture on which the sole hope of communism for a "lasting revolution" rests.

At the 1912 Socialist National Convention, A. M. Simons, chairman of the committee on farmers' program, said:

"We are making tremendous inroads into the factory workers. The only hope that capitalism has to sweep back the on-rolling tide of revolution is to back up against us the workers of the farms." (Proceedings, p. 67.)

It was also shown at the same convention that socialists, in Germany and elsewhere, "had tried not to scare the farmers by demanding the socialization of land." (Ibid. p. 77.)

In 1924 the socialists "tried not to scare the farmers" in demanding national guardianship of their sons and daughters up to 18—but the farmers were not fooled.

In a bitterly sarcastic attack on the American farmer for taking pride in "his" farm and "his" crop, entitled "The Tin Lizzie Peasantry," in the Daily Worker, March 14, 1925, in which the communists argue at great length that the farmers are "obsessed with this property concept" that is "one of the strangest illusions of present-day life," is this final admission:

"A proletarian revolution with the mass of the farmers in active and organized opposition is wholly impossible."

(E) ORIGIN AND PROPAGANDA FOR SMITH-TOWNER EDUCATION BILL

At the Senate education bill hearing, January 1, 1924, Mrs. Kelley said:

"I was one of a group of five persons to draft the preliminary rudiments which afterwards grew into the bill introduced by the commission, the bill which was a sort of germ of the Smith-Hughes bill; but

the war came, and the action was deferred, and then came the commission, and then the bill" (p. 54).

Thus Mrs. Kelley was one of five persons who got up the bill recommended in the 1914 Report of the Congressional Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education—finally enacted February 23, 1917, as the vocational education act—the parent "Federal aid to education" bill.

At the May, 1915, annual conference of the national child labor committee Mrs. Kelley said:

"The most effective child labor law has always been a compulsory education law keeping children in school 40 weeks in the year. * * * For more than a generation school attendance laws and child-labor restrictions have been, as it were, Siamese twins." (Child Labor Bulletin, May, 1916, p. 76.)

At the same conference Mrs. Kelley also declared:

"For 30 years this country has locked its vital statistics in the vault of the Census Bureau. We do not know how many children are born, or how many fathers and mothers, or how many mothers work for wages. * * * The Children's Bureau has worked out a system of its own for interesting people in the subject of birth registration and should receive your interest and support that its appropriation may be increased and its work extended, for without birth registration there can be no enforcement of child labor laws. (Ibid. p. 14.)

"Without universal, complete registration of births how are Federal attorneys to prove to the satisfaction of Federal judges and juries that a manufacturer * * * employs children below the age of 14 years?" (Ibid. p. 74.)

Here it is shown how Mrs. Kelley's interest in education, birth registration, etc., all revolved around her economic and industrial legislative program; and later it will be shown that the "Siamese twins" of Mrs. Kelley's program are the same as those of the communist international for the "complete transformation of the conditions of juvenile labor and its socialist reorganization."

In 1920 the National League of Women Voters, at its Chicago convention, February 12, indorsed and began a big drive for the Smith-Towner education bill.

There, again, it was Mrs. Kelley who "showed the need of Federal legislation for education." (National League of Women Voters Campaign Bulletin on Citizenship, May, 1920, p. 3.)

After Mrs. Kelley showed them the need the league proclaimed:

"Immediate work for league members—members of the League of Women Voters should become trained propagandists for the education of public opinion as to the importance of this bill (Smith-Towner bill) using the same methods which won the Susan B. Anthony amendment. * * * State chairmen should send personal letters addressed to their Senators and Representatives in Congress. * * * An answer stating the point of view of the man addressed should also be requested and this reply forwarded to your chairman." (Ibid. p. 2.)

On the front page of this campaign bulletin the National League of Women Voters boasted:

"Before the league assembles for the convention of 1921 the United States will be far on the road to equality of opportunity for education for men, for women, and for children, native and foreign born. This is to be accomplished through the medium of the public schools by means of Federal and State legislation promoted and engineered by the members of the National League of Women Voters." (Ibid.)

Since Mrs. Kelley "showed the need of Federal legislation for education" to the National League of Women Voters, as it admits, in the same bulletin, "by an analysis of industrial and economic conditions," holding that "Federal legislation is imperative" to protect children from "moneyed interests," which she charged, were the "determining factor" of the school age in the various States—all of which is set forth in the above campaign bulletin—is it not eminently more fair and accurate to note that this legislation was in reality "promoted and engineered" by Mrs. Kelley, with the members of the league simply acting as assistant propagandists and as a collecting agency of Congressmen's replies?

However, Mrs. Kelley herself objected, in 1924, to the provisions of the Sterling-Reed education bill—because it left too much to the States and did not provide "that the money shall be used in due proportion for all the children," white and black. At that time Mrs. Kelley spoke on behalf of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, an organization on which she has served as a director for 12 years.

In short, the education bill was not radical enough for Mrs. Kelley after Senator Sterling and others modified it slightly. She wanted more absolute and direct Federal control, more socialist "equality," and an exact per capita "distribution" of money among white and negro children. She said:

"This bill ought to be safeguarded, better safeguarded than it is as to the money and as to the * * * unfavored children of the Republic."

CHILDREN'S BUREAU SOCIALIST BASE

By securing after seven years of effort the establishment of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, with Hull House appointees as chiefs, Mrs. Kelley gained a foothold in the Federal Govern-

ment, an agency through which to operate, as well as a "front" behind which to work for her socialist program.

True to the intentions of its founders, the Children's Bureau has been steadily spreading socialistic doctrines and sponsoring socialist legislation.

It has been shown conclusively that both Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau have worked together constantly, under the leadership of Mrs. Kelley, for central control and standardization of children; that their main effort has been for a revolutionary socialistic amendment to the Constitution of the United States specifically granting power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of all persons in all occupations up to 18 years, and implicitly granting Federal power to standardize education, guardianship, relation of parent and child, etc., as a condition prerequisite to the right of youth to earn a living or even work their way through school or college. It has also been shown that both Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau have sought to abolish "rural child labor," including the unpaid chores of children on the home farm, both in the amendment and in working for "education."

Now it will be shown that the exact things contained in the child labor amendment are the "aim of the economic program" of the Communist International at Moscow, as well as a part of the socialist program in the communist manifesto of 1848, by Marx and Engels.

The official "resolutions adopted at the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International," officially published by the Young Communist International executive committee at Moscow and sold by the Young Worker, official organ of the Young Communist International in America, declares:

"The problem of the method of approach to the masses was solved by the third congress—the nucleus as the means and the economic and antimilitaristic struggle as the end.

"The aim of the economic program was clearly defined as 'The socialist reorganization of juvenile labor,' the recognition of the right of the youth to educational training up to the age of 18 years at the cost of the state." (Foreword.)

The third congress of the Young Communist International at Moscow, November 7 to December 3, 1922, declared:

"The militant program of the Young Communist International * * * must proclaim * * * the complete transformation of the conditions of juvenile labor and its socialistic reorganization. * * *

"The basis and aim of our program is the—

"Socialistic reorganization of juvenile labor.

"This means:

"Abolition of wage slavery for all young workers up to 18 years, who must be cared for by the state and treated from an educational point of view until they have attained this age." (Programs of the Young Communist International, issued by its executive committee, February 20, 1923, p. 49.)

The Young Communist International is called the "right hand" of the Communist International by Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Communist International and founder of the Young Communist International. (Resolutions of fourth congress, Young Communist International, p. 6.)

Likewise the Young Workers' League of America (American branch of the Young Communist International) at its second national convention, Chicago, May 20–22, 1923, carrying out the order direct from Moscow, made its first demand, as follows:

"Demands of the Young Workers' League—

"1. Abolition of child labor.

"The militant program of the Young Workers' League * * * must proclaim the ultimate and fundamental aim of the young worker, the complete transformation of the conditions of juvenile labor, and its socialist reorganization. This means abolition of all wage slavery for all young workers up to 18 years of age. The young workers must be cared for by the state and treated from an educational point of view until they have attained this age." (Resolutions and theses of the Young Workers' League of America, 1923, p. 12.)

It will be noted that the demands of the Young Workers' League of America are, with the exception of one or two slight verbal changes, absolutely identical with those of the Young Communist International cited above.

Thus it is demonstrated by documentary evidence that before, during, and after Mrs. Kelley's insistence on the "spacious wording" of the child labor amendment, it was "the basis and aim" of the program of the Young Communist International at Moscow, and the first demand of its American branch, to do the exact things which Mrs. Kelley's amendment provided power to do in the United States!

Moreover, there is the direct personal testimony of Senator WILLIAM H. KING, of Utah:

"Of course, it is obvious that under the guise of the amendment they will in time take charge of children the same as the Bolsheviks are doing in Russia, and control not only their labor and their education, but after a time determine whether they shall receive religious instruction or not, the same as the Bolsheviks do in Russia. It is a scheme to destroy the State, our form of government, and to introduce the worst form of communism into American institutions.

"* * * Every Bolshevik, every extreme Communist and Socialist in the United States is back of the measure. The Bolsheviks of Russia were familiar with the scheme that was about to be launched to amend our Constitution. In conversation with one of the leading Bolsheviks in the city of Moscow, one of the educators, when I was there last September and October, I was remonstrating with him about the scheme of the Bolsheviks to have the state take charge of the children. 'Why,' he said, 'you are coming to that,' and he called my attention to the statutes in many of the States in regard to compulsory education. Then he said, 'A number of Socialists in the United States,' and he mentioned a number of names, but I shall not mention them here, 'are back of the movement to amend your Constitution of the United States, and it will be amended, and you will transfer to the Federal Government the power which the Bolshevik Government is asserting now over the young people of the state.'

"Of course, this is a communistic, Bolshevik scheme, and a lot of good people, misled, are accepting it, not knowing the evil consequences which will result and the sinister purposes back of the measure." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1924.)

At the time the "child" labor amendment was submitted to the States for ratification, Miss Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street settlement, New York, Mrs. Kelley's lifelong friend and the originator of the idea of a "children's bureau," in 1909 had a sudden call to take a trip to Moscow to investigate "health conditions," etc. (See Survey Graphic, December 1, 1924.) Miss Anna Louise Strong—former exhibit expert of the Children's Bureau—was already in Moscow as correspondent for American communist papers. Shortly after Miss Wald's return to America from Moscow, in the fall of 1924, the full force of communist strength in America was openly proclaimed to "compel" the State legislatures to ratify the amendment, and the Daily Worker, official communist organ, December 1 and December 5, 1924, placed the child labor amendment at the head of its "united-front" campaign, saying:

"State legislatures must be compelled to ratify immediately the child labor amendment to the Constitution. Capitalism's Congress and State legislatures must be compelled to pass laws providing for full Government maintenance of all school children of workers and poor farmers." (December 5, p. 2.)

The same number and article, by the editor of the Daily Worker, bitterly attacked President Coolidge and complained of the "niggardly appropriations" to the United States Children's Bureau and the United States Women's Bureau, and said:

"Salaries in the Children's Bureau are to be cut and general expenses are to be slashed. The disappearing minimum of protection offered will thus be further crippled.

"Promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy gets a stab in the back by having its appropriation sheared for the sum of \$19,172.

"Similar treatment is meted out to the Women's Bureau, the Bureau on Labor Statistics, and every other activity that might show the least tendency to ease the burden of labor.

"These are only some of the truths of Coolidge's 'economy' program," etc. (Ibid.)

The Daily Worker, December 15, 1924, editorially declared:

"No cannibal was ever born who devoured his human meal with greater relish than the joy with which capitalism feeds upon its youth. Capitalism will always fight for the right to send children into the maw of the great industrial machines as competitors with their fathers and mothers, their grown brothers and sisters in the slave market of the wageworkers.

"The problem of child labor, like * * * other ills inherent in the present social system, will endure as long as capitalism lasts.

"The struggle against child labor, the struggle against unemployment, is fundamentally the struggle to end the capitalist system and

"That is the struggle of the Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers (Communist) League in their joint war against child labor. Labor must learn that the fight against child labor is a fight to abolish the capitalist state, an effort to establish soviet rule, * * * and the ushering in of the communist social order under which children will become heirs of their childhood for the first time since human history began."

The same editorial bitterly ridicules the late Thomas R. Marshall for having upheld the "God-given right" of youth under 18 to earn a living in an article Mr. Marshall had written against the child labor amendment.

The Workers' Monthly, official monthly communist organ in the United States, likewise took up the ratification campaign, January, 1925, with a leading editorial and also a feature article by Anna Louise Strong, picturing in glowing colors communist care of women and children in Soviet Russia.

The editorial declared:

"What will happen under a proletarian régime is strikingly illustrated by the story in this issue by Anna Louise Strong, formerly of Seattle and now in Russia. Anna Louise Strong tells about the one spot on the globe where the life problems of the working class are being solved in a comprehensive manner.

"It is only when the workers of the United States have similar power to control, through their own government of workers' councils, the social and economic life of the country that child labor will cease its destructive work."

"The prohibition of child labor, unless it is accompanied by governmental maintenance of the children, is absolutely ineffective. * * * And such pressure upon the capitalist government, in order to have any effect whatever, must be given point and substance by demands for governmental maintenance of all children of school age, such maintenance to be paid for by special taxes upon large incomes. The rich, who appropriate the wealth produced by the working class, must be made to disgorge a part of it for this purpose as one of the first steps toward making them disgorge all * * * to make way for the new system of society."

Thus the Children's Bureau program of legislation, including an amendment providing power to effect "the complete transformation of the conditions of juvenile labor and its socialistic reorganization," is shown to be the official "basis and aim" of the Young Communist International.

Even the communist age limit of 18 years, adopted at the Third Congress of the Young Communist International at Moscow, November, 1922, was forced into the amendment by Mrs. Kelley and Miss Abbott in 1923, when the National Child Labor Committee and the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee wanted to use "child."

Even the so-called antimilitarist campaign of the communists, which, as they explain, is only "the struggle against bourgeois militarism" and "is therefore the preparation of the proletarian revolution * * * to transform each imperialist war * * * into the civil war and revolution," is found reflected exactly in the pacifism of Mrs. Kelley, Miss Abbott, Miss Lathrop, and Miss Jane Addams in their Women's International League, which has led the campaign against "bourgeois militarism" in the United States and at the same time praised and defended Soviet Russia with its vast red Army and its "militarization of labor" and conscription of women, saying, "Russia leads the world in her attempt to establish peace." (W. I. L. Official Bulletin, June, 1923, p. 2.)

Again, Mrs. Kelley's "Siamese twins" (centralized power over the labor and education of all youth) are found in the proposed twentieth amendment and in the propaganda of Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau hitherto cited no less than they are found in the official communist demands.

Senator KING, one of the best-informed investigators of revolutionary legislation and propaganda, called the child labor amendment a scheme to destroy our form of government and "to introduce the worst form of communism into American institutions."

There is much more documentary evidence of the truth of Senator KING's observation than could be cited in a single volume. We present only a few of many possible citations showing, we believe, beyond reasonable doubt, that the "worst form of communism" to be found in the theories of Engels, Marx, and Bebel, as well as the worst form of communism put into practice by the Bolsheviks in Russia, is that form which makes women and children the wards of the state, to remove the "economic foundations" of marriage and of morality.

Furthermore, it will be shown that the worst communist in Soviet Russia of whom there is official record, a communist who was too radical even for Lenin and Trotski to approve her entire program—Alexandra Kollontay, first Commissar of the Soviet Department of Social Welfare—was indorsed in an official booklet of the United States Children's Bureau, No. 57, "Maternity Benefit Systems in Certain Foreign Countries," issued in May, 1919, as the author of "the most comprehensive study of maternity benefits and insurance which has yet appeared in any language." (Children's Bureau publication No. 57, p. 175.) This was done over six months after Alexandra Kollontay had been exposed by the United States Government and American newspapers as a German-paid traitor (see "The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy," issued in October, 1918, by U. S. Bureau of Public Information, Document No. 7, etc.) and after a storm of world-wide protest had been aroused by the measures taken under Mme. Kollontay's "most comprehensive" system in Soviet Russia.

And the Children's Bureau has never withdrawn or modified that indorsement, notwithstanding severe criticism in the United States Senate and elsewhere, since Senator JAMES A. REED of Missouri first exposed and denounced it in June, 1921. It persists in recommending Kollontay's book—at the expense of American taxpayers—and although the Children's Bureau has "investigated and reported" almost everything under the sun, from the illegitimacy laws of Norway to the amount of "hoeing in the home garden" done by children in North Dakota (Child Labor in North Dakota, p. 13), it has not published one word of exposure or of criticism of the Bolshevik corruption and nationalization of children in Soviet Russia—the greatest crime against childhood and motherhood recorded in history. In fact, it appears that Anna Louise Strong, former exhibit expert of the United States Children's Bureau, has actually become a sort of successor to Kollontay in colonizing children in Russia! The Daily Worker, official American communist organ, March 3, 1925, declared:

"ANNA LOUISE STRONG, AMERICAN JOURNALIST, IS HEAD OF CHILDREN'S COLONY MOVEMENT IN SOVIET RUSSIA"

"A new children's colony in Russia has been started by sympathizers in this country, another will be begun in a few days, and two or three more will have their inception in probably less than a month. Our correspondent, Anna Louise Strong, who has just returned from Russia, will return to the Soviet Republic in May to begin the new John Reed colony in Novgorod Gubernia, started by subscriptions of lovers of Russia and her children, in a group in New York. * * * A dinner was given to Miss Strong by these sympathizers * * * 60 to 70 women and men in the New York group. * * * The Soviet Government has given Miss Strong about 900 acres of land and a monastery and buildings in Novgorod."

The communist paper mentions no names of the "New York group."

"THE CENTRAL TRAGEDY OF THE BOLSHEVIST RÉGIME"

What is this "colonization of children" in Soviet Russia? Sir Paul Dukes, one of the greatest authorities on Russia, writes:

"The central tragedy of the Bolshevik régime in Russia is an organized effort to subvert and corrupt the minds of children * * *. It has always been a Bolshevik principle to fight the institution of the family. Mme. Kollontay's writings can leave no doubt on that score, even in the minds of the skeptical. The idea is to remove children at an early age from parental care and bring them up in colonies." (New York Times, July 17, 1921.)

Prof. Boris Sokoloff, although a socialist and member of the first all-Russian constituent assembly of January, 1918, writes:

"I am prepared to forgive the Bolsheviks many things, almost everything; but there is one thing which I can not and will not forgive them, namely, those experiments, positively criminal and worthy of the most savage tribes of the African jungle, which the Bolsheviks have been making all this time with our young generation, with our children. This crime knows no parallel in the history of the world. They have destroyed morally as well as physically a whole Russian generation." (Volia Russii, Will of Russia, February 16, 1921.)

Lieut. A. W. Klieforth, who was assistant military attaché in Russia when the Bolsheviks came into power, and who was one of the State Department's leading witnesses at the recognition of Russia hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1924, described communist socialization of children in February, 1920, in part as follows:

"If you want to visit your children—that is to say, those who were once your children—who have been removed to the communal schools, you will get a permit, because the children are not really yours at all, but have become wards of the state. All the children have been deported from their homes to those schools. The younger generation in Petrograd is systematically herded into freight cars and sent away from 800 to 1,000 miles to completely isolated institutions, where they are trained in the principles of communism."

"Deportation, however, is but the first step. Parents have a habit of loving their children * * * and by whatever influence or bribes they are able to bring to bear, seek to discover and rejoin them. Therefore, the soviet carefully destroys all records of birth and relationship, leaving nothing undone to completely isolate every child in Russia from all human ties, except those relations advocated by bolshevism."

"If you live in Petrograd and your mother is dying in Moscow, you say, 'I want to visit my mother who is dying in Moscow.' The invariable reply is, 'That is no excuse. Your mother has no more relation to you than any other woman citizen of this Soviet Republic.'" (New York Times, February 15, 1920.)

That this doctrine was not only practiced, but officially preached by the communists is proven at length in Alexandra Kollontay's "Communism and the Family," but the best short and comprehensive official statement is by the wife of the president of the Communist International.

"We must nationalize the children."

Madam Lelina, wife of Gregory Zinoviev (president of the Communist International) and commissar of social welfare of the northern commune (Petrograd), in the official journal of the Soviet Commissariat of Public Education, No. 4, says:

"We must nationalize the children. We must remove the children from the pernicious influence of the family. We must register the children—let us speak plainly—we must nationalize them. Thus they will from the very start remain under the beneficial influence of communist kindergartens and schools. To compel the mother to surrender her child to us, to the Soviet State, that is the practical task before us."

Alexander Holchbarg, chief editor of the law bureau of the Soviet Commissariat of Justice, in his preface to the marriage code of Soviet Russia, declares:

"As long as 70 years ago, Marx and Engels showed in the Communist Manifesto, that the proletariat, when they have attained power, can take a number of measures in the most advanced countries paving the way to socialism, among others the abolition of the right of inheritance,

* * * expropriation of landed property, a progressive tax on incomes, * * * the concentration in the hands of the state of credit and the means of communication, obligatory labor, free communal education of all children, etc. * * *

"Guardianship in this (soviet) code is wholly within the province of the Bureau of Social Welfare (under Alexandra Kollontay). * * * It should show the parents that the care of society lavished upon children gives far better results than the private, individual, unscientific, and irrational care of particular parents, 'loving,' but ignorant, lacking the resources, the means, the methods which society has at its disposal. * * * Guardianship so instituted is revolutionary, for it breaks abruptly with the previous system and is socialistic, * * * preparing the way for applying the care of the community to all children, * * * removing the last foundations of bourgeois marriage." (Contemporary Review, March, 1920, p. 441.)

The Overman committee of the United States Senate, after exhaustive investigations of bolshevism in 1919, declared:

"The apparent purpose of the bolshevik government is to make the Russian citizen, and especially the women and children, the wards and dependents of that government. * * * It has destroyed the natural ambition and made impossible of accomplishment the moral obligation of the father to provide, care for, and adequately protect the child of his blood and the mother of that child against the misfortunes of orphanhood and widowhood. * * * It has expressly abolished and prohibited all right of inheritance, either by law or will. * * * They have promulgated decrees relating to marriage and divorce which practically establish a state of free love. Their effect has been to furnish a vehicle for the legalization of prostitution by permitting the annulment of the marriage bonds at the whim of the parties." (Senate Document No. 61, 66th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 36-37.)

"Applying the care of the community to all children, * * * removing the last foundations of bourgeois marriage," making "women and children the wards and dependents" of a central government—that is the "central tragedy of the Bolshevist régime," according to all the honest investigators; that is "the worst form of communism."

And the entire legislative program of Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau is subtly, insidiously, but steadily "preparing the way for applying the care of the community to all children."

AMERICAN FEMINISTS SEEK COMMUNIST POWER

That this communist power to make children the wards and dependents of government, instead of parents, has been sought and claimed by leading American feminists, as well as by socialists, is shown as follows:

Miss Grace Abbott, Chief United States Children's Bureau:

"The Children's Bureau has the whole field of child welfare and child care. It has developed three main divisions—the child hygiene, the social service, and the industrial division. * * *

"The question of the present time comes down to a constitutional amendment * * * whether we should have a child-labor amendment at all, it shall not have something more than child labor; that is, whether we should include in the amendment more in the way of language giving us constitutional authority to do some of the other things in the Federal field that we might like to do, and whether that is tactically the thing to do at the present time is the question." (Official proceedings, National Women's Trade Union League Convention, at Waukegan, Ill., June 5-10, 1922, p. 90.)

Miss Abbott thus admitted seeking an amendment with power over "something more than child labor"; power to do "other things * * * we might like to do," and that only the question of whether it was "tactically" expedient to let Congress and the country know her plans for taking charge of "the whole field of child welfare and child care" influenced the language of the amendment. Miss Abbott was addressing a formal convention of the National Women's Trade Union League.

That league itself is the founder of the "International Federation of Working Women," and thus affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam—the Amsterdam International—an organization so radical that it has been repeatedly denounced by the American Federation of Labor. It is headed by Purcell, the British communist who was flayed by President Green of the American Federation of Labor at the last convention of the federation at Atlantic City, September, 1925. Samuel Gompers and the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, November 22, 1922, in refusing an invitation to participate in a congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions at The Hague, declared:

"If the American Federation of Labor were to participate in the congress at The Hague, it would be compelled to join in this renunciation (of national entities), even to renunciation of the national entity of the Republic of the United States." (New York Times, December 23, 1922.)

But the Women's International League participated in that congress, sending delegates who sat beside the delegates from Soviet Russia, and Miss Jane Addams, president of the Women's International League, in a signed letter, November 1, 1922, declared her league and the International Federation of Trade Unions "striking out for the same goal." If Mr. Gompers and the American Federation of Labor execu-

tive committee was right, that goal was a "renunciation of the national entity of the Republic of the United States."

The National Women's Trade Union League, affiliated with the Amsterdam International through its International Federation of Working Women (a creature of the National Women's Trade Union League), seeks to "cooperate more and more closely with the International Federation of Trade Unions." (Report of Congress International Federation of Working Women, at Vienna, August, 1923, printed by International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, and circulated in America by National Women's Trade Union League, p. 12.)

At the Vienna congress of this International Federation of Working Women the following resolutions were agreed upon:

"3. That every service needed for the health, education, or welfare of mothers and children should be provided by the community and free to all.

"4. That commodities such as milk, food, or school clothes, which are needed in similar qualities or quantities for all children, should be provided for all by the community.

"5. That an inquiry should be made into the possibility of a scheme of pensions for all children in the period during which they are normally dependent upon their parents." (Ibid. p. 11.)

The office of the International Federation of Working Women is at 32 Eccleston Square, London, England. (Ibid. p. 13.)

Is it any wonder that the socialist International Federation of Trade Union, headed by a communist, which has so often met only with the criticism of stalwart American labor leaders, both in regard to its pacifism and in regard to "doles" (which John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, has denounced more scathingly, perhaps, than any capitalist has done) should turn to women radicals of the W. I. L. and the National Women's Trade Union League to introduce its "peace" program and "doles" program into the United States!

At the Rome Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, in April, 1923, the following proposition was unanimously agreed to:

"The International Trade Union Congress considers it to be a matter of urgent necessity that the trade-unions in the various countries devote their whole attention (sic) to the organization of women workers." (Ibid. p. 4.)

Not a single legitimate American labor leader can be found advocating the pacifist or doles programs of European Communists. But the W. I. L., the International Federation of Working Women, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (the three feminist internationals) and the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Woman's Party, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association are all found on record, through official resolutions or statements of their leaders, working for this part of the communist program, "with noncommunist hands." Some of these records follow:

Women's International League, at Zurich, 1919, adopted resolutions for a "maternity benefit" which "shall not be inferior to the minimum wages established in the region" for "any woman, whether gainfully occupied or not." (Official Report, Zurich Congress, 1919, p. 272, issued by W. I. L.)

International Federation of Working Women, in addition to the doles, food, clothes, etc., demanded in the resolutions already cited, was, when organized at Washington, November 6, 1919, by Mrs. Raymond Robins (then president of the National Women's Trade Union League) and Miss Mary Anderson (afterwards made chief of the United States Women's Bureau) advocating "legislative reforms for the purpose of protecting maternity," including "State grants to mothers for each child born," "free medical, surgical, and nursing care" for every woman, and "in addition a monetary allowance adequate for the support of the mother and child during this period." (Woman Citizen, Nov. 15, 1919, p. 479.)

Mrs. Raymond Robins, founder of the International Federation of Working Women and former president of the National Women's Trade Union League, has a very radical record, and is directly linked up, like Miss Jane Addams, with the "bread and peace" propaganda for international communism, especially designed to appeal to "noncommunist women in capitalistic countries."

As far back as 1907, according to the Chicago Inter-Ocean, May 20, 1907:

"Mrs. Raymond Robins led 3,700 cheering, boisterous socialists, anarchists, trade-unionists, members of liberal societies, and sympathizers through down-town and West Side streets in a demonstration designed to create sympathy for W. D. Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George A. Pettibone, leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, on trial in Idaho charged with the murder of former Governor Sternberg."

The demonstration Mrs. Robins headed at that time was so radical that even John Fitzpatrick, the radical labor leader of Chicago, declined to take part in it. (See also Chicago Tribune, May 20, 1907.)

The National Women's Trade Union League was organized in 1904, to get "nonindustrial women" to aid women workers in strikes, legislation, etc. It was admittedly a "feeble attempt to reach out to the working woman" on the part of "nonindustrial" social workers. (See Life and Labor, article by Mary E. Dreier, sister of Mrs. Robins, June, 1921, p. 163.)

"The first meeting was held January 4, 1904, at Hull House, and was called to order by Miss Jane Addams. Twenty-five persons responded to the call and 23 joined. * * * The first piece of work the league attempted was to assist the locked-out corset workers of Aurora." (Ibid. p. 163.)

"The league not only organized women into trade-unions and assisted in the strikes of women but helped also where the men were on strike, too," participating in the great garment-workers' strikes in Philadelphia and New York, 1904-1911, but the league "did not meet with wide success. It lacked contact with the organized workers. * * * It derived its funds wholly from friends of the league, but not from organized labor direct." (Ibid. pp. 170-172.)

In short, it never was a women's trade-union but a "league" of nonindustrial social workers "farming" as well as aiding their "industrial sisters." Gradually a number of real working women were also enlisted, but membership is not restricted to trade-union members as in bona fide labor organizations. Anyone, man or woman, can join who subscribes to the platform, four-fifths of which is a legislative program.

While American labor has cooperated with the National Women's Trade Union League, when both happened to be on the same side of a particular measure, it is not unaware of the "league's" radicalism. James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, for example, testified before the Lusk committee in 1919 that the National Women's Trade Union League had "adopted resolutions in favor of the Soviet Government" and for the previous year or two had been "a tail to the Socialist kite." (See National Civic Federation Review, July 30, 1919.)

Testimony and documentary evidence show that Mrs. Raymond Robins paid part of a bill, dated May 1, 1919, made out from the Rand (Socialist) School to Senteri Nuorteva, secretary to Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the unrecognized "soviet ambassador" in New York, for a number of copies of Lenin's "Soviets at Work." (National Civic Federation Review, July 30, 1919, pp. 3, 12.)

The close contact of Mrs. Robins with the soviet embassy in New York in 1919 thus established seems to have borne immediate fruit.

The Communist International, in June, 1919, organized, under Alexandra Kollontay, an "International Congress of Women Communists" for world-wide propaganda among noncommunist "housewives in the home" and "peasant women" and working women, to show "the slave of the family and the home" the "freedom" of communal "houses, kitchens, laundries," social "protection of mother and child," etc., in comparison with the "former home life" that "oppressed and exploited them." Also the communist committees working among women were instructed to "fight against nationalism and the hold of religion on women's minds." (See Theses and Resolutions, Third World Congress of Communist International, pp. 157-175.)

At the same time, June, 1919, the committee on social and industrial reconstruction of the National Women's Trade Union League urged the calling of an "international congress of working women." Mrs. Raymond Robins and Miss Mary Anderson (then an organizer for the National Women's Trade Union League, now chief of the United States Women's Bureau) issued the call in August, 1919, and the first congress met at Washington, November 6, 1919, adopted the name, "International Federation of Working Women," made Mrs. Robins president, and went in for "legislative reforms for the purpose of protecting maternity" with "maternity benefits," etc. (See Woman Citizens, September 6 and November 15, 1919.)

At the International Congress of Communist Women, at Moscow, June 15, 1921, Alexander Kollontay—

"painted rosy pictures from the communist point of view, excepting in the United States, where, according to Madame Kollontay, the position was extremely difficult for the reason that the Communist Party there had been driven to the cellar. She went on to assert, however, that there were 700,000 organized women workers in the trade-unions in America among whom the communists must find a way to conquer." (New York Times, June 16, 1921, p. 3.)

The "700,000 organized women workers" referred to by Madame Kollontay are the members of Mrs. Robins's National Women's Trade Union League. The Moscow communists, forced "underground" in America in 1919, followed "the general rule, to use a woman."

The close contact is also illustrated by the "department of education and social welfare" agitation in America.

Alexandra Kollontay, commissar of social welfare in Soviet Russia, wrote an article entitled "Communism and the family" for Soviet Russia (New York Communist Magazine, organ of the "Soviet Embassy"), December 13, 1919, describing the communist "commissariats of public education and social welfare," showing how they furnished "children's colonies, free lunches at school, free clothing, shoes," etc., under sovietism. In a former article, August 16, 1919, about her own department, Kollontay showed that it covered health, social service, and care of veterans.

Within a year Mrs. Robins had all the feminist organizations clamoring for a "department of education and social welfare" for the United States with four divisions, covering education, health, social

service, and care of veterans—modeled on the soviet "commissariats of education and social welfare," and the idea taken nearly 100 per cent from Kollontay's "Communism and the family."

October 1, 1920, Mrs. Robins arranged a "women's welfare day" at Marion, Ohio, to get Senator Harding, then a candidate for President, to approve a Federal department of public welfare. At that time neither the presidential candidates nor other conservative Americans knew anything about the communist origin, nature, and effect of such a department.

Mrs. Robins was also chairman of the "women-in-industry" committee of the National League of Women Voters and got that organization to approve "world-wide standardization of industry" as one of the measures expressing "the goal of the league's efforts and as expressing principles the organization loyally supports." (Program for work of the National League of Women Voters, reports of standing committees, approved at Chicago, February 16, 1920, and issued by National League of Women Voters.)

Mrs. Catt, founder and real head of the League of Women Voters, then personally took up the "department of education and social welfare" agitation, shortly after President Harding's election, and blazed on the front page of her Woman Citizen for weeks:

"Wanted: A department of education and social welfare." (See Woman Citizen, January 8, January 15, January 28, 1921.)

Again, shortly after the 1921 joint session of the Communist International and World Congress of Communist Women, at Moscow, June-July, 1921—where Kollontay had referred to the "700,000 organized women workers" in the United States as communism's best hope here—Mrs. Raymond Robins, with her "International Congress of Working Women" met at Geneva, Switzerland.

There, on October 17, 1921, Mrs. Robins (although a professed Republican, like her husband, who has served with her on Republican committees) declared:

"Let us say to the governors, masters, and rulers of all nations, 'We are weary of your haggling and debates and theories. The earth is rich with the means of life. * * * We demand such use of the land and labor of the world as will insure us bread and warmth and education and peace.' * * * At each election we intend to test the party in power by the facts of our human welfare. When we are hungry and homeless and idle, or slaughtering our brothers and killing our sons, let us vote against the administration without regard to party. Let the working women of the world bring the world back to reality. Let us refuse to be beguiled by party shibboleths or hypnotized by party leaders. Together let us demand bread and security for our homes. * * * This is direct action in politics. It will liberate us from the divisions of theories and unite our power in support of realities—bread and peace." (Official report, issued by Women's Trade Union League.)

Can it be denied that the "bread and peace" agitation conducted by Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Raymond Robins is propaganda for international communism only slightly concealed under the appearance of "bread and peace"—the original slogan of the Bolsheviks in Russia, also?

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, then under the presidency of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, made Eleanor F. Rathbone, one of the authors of the socialist book, "The Endowment of Motherhood," the chairman of the standing committee on "maintenance of motherhood and treatment of illegitimate children" of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (Woman Citizen, December 25, 1920).

National American Woman Suffrage Association, in a booklet, entitled "Bondwomen," copyright, 1912, by the chairman of its literature committee and issued by the association, declared:

"Many will say that this responsibility on the mother is too hard. What are the responsibilities of the father? Well, that is his business. Perhaps the State will have something to say to him, but the free woman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be; and this she can only do if she is earning money for herself, or is provided for out of some common fund for a limited time."

It has already been shown that in the same year (1912) the Woman's Journal, official organ of the above association, was printing Judge Lindsey's "conception of government as an overparent" and "economic earthquake has shaken the old home to pieces" propaganda (Woman's Journal, February 10, 1912), just before the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau, and that immediately afterwards the Woman's Journal, May 11, 1912, declared:

"We shall not be willing to let the establishment of the Children's Bureau mean simply investigation—it must mean power to change things."

The Lindsey article and the Bondwoman booklet were scattered over the country by the National American Woman Suffrage Association the year the bureau was established.

It will be noted that the next big "drive" for "maternity benefits" came in 1919, with the Children's Bureau "Maternity Benefit Systems in Certain Foreign Countries," indorsing Kollontay as author of the "most comprehensive" study of the subject, and the Women's

International League and International Federation of Working Women conventions advocating maternity or childbirth doles.

In 1920, upon the proclamation of the nineteenth amendment, began an open drive for the "endowment of motherhood," Miss Alice Paul issuing a statement, cautiously marked "release after ratification," announcing that as the next step.

Then appeared the Endowment of Motherhood book, by Eleanor F. Rathbone; Maud Royden, radical feminist preacher; and Kathleen D. Courtney, former secretary of the British National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies and a member of the Women's International League.

Miss Rathbone became not only chairman of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance's standing committee on "maintenance of motherhood and treatment of illegitimate children," in December, 1920, but in 1925 was chosen as the representative of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the International Council of Women, the International Federation of University Women, and the Women's International League on the "advisory committee on traffic in women and children" of the League of Nations. (Woman Citizen, April 18, 1925.)

The Endowment of Motherhood book, whose chief author has thus been honored by feminist societies, is exceeded in its socialistic doctrines, perhaps, only by Kollontay's Communism and the Family, Engels's Origin of the Family, and Bebel's Woman and Socialism.

Among its significant passages are these:

"If mothers are to get on the pay roll of society at all they will have to be willing to begin at the bottom.

"In the event of wage disputes the workers will know that a large number of their dependents are secure and that the call on strike funds will be less.

"To those who are looking to the socialization of industry in one form or another, we would point out that a scheme such as the one advocated here will be found essential.

"The State will have to deal increasingly with the mother directly and less through the agency of the father as a middleman."

The publication of this socialistic book moved the National Woman's Party to give it an enthusiastic review under the title, "Wages for mothers" (Suffragist, November, 1920), in which was the following statement:

"Such an endowment should, according to the committee, be extended to all children until school-leaving age. * * * The United States can well afford to invest the needed billions in the establishment of motherhood upon a sound basis" (p. 274).

Miss Alice Paul herself declared:

"We intend to insist also that the State assume entire responsibility for the maintenance and education of children until they become of age. * * * When the women of the world have junked the battleships and other impedimenta of war, enough money will be released to take care of these reforms." (Washington Herald, October 25, 1920, p. 7.)

Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a socialist, a leader of the National Woman's Party, wrote:

"The enfranchised women of America, through pressure brought by a woman's party, broadening perhaps to an international woman's party, could be instrumental in bringing political freedom to the women of the world * * * and behind all such social and economic demands lies the most important item in the woman's program, namely, the endowment of motherhood." (Suffragist, official organ National Woman's Party, October, 1920, p. 235.)

Miss Helen Todd, a leader of the "Birth Control League" and former campaign speaker for the New York State Suffrage Association, said:

"Place the mothers on the Government pay roll and pay them the money which would otherwise be spent in preparing for war. * * * Every woman, rich or poor, should receive Government endowment." (Washington Times, October 13, 1920.)

Equal Rights, official organ of the National Woman's Party, July 14, 1923, leading editorial, states:

"Why is it that the greatest service that can be rendered to humanity has entailed a condition comparable to chattel slavery? * * * The involuntary nature of motherhood heretofore, the complete lack of organization among women * * * and, more than all, custom, have conspired to render motherhood more of an ignominy than an advantage in practical economy. But back of it all is a misapprehension of the very nature of the service rendered.

"Woman has borne children to a certain man—her husband. She has brought up his children; she was worked in his home. It has been a personal affair between man and wife, and the racial aspects of the matter have been forgotten. Each individual woman has been dependent on an individual man not only for her own bed and board but for the maintenance of her children. This, it would seem to us, is the crux of the matter. What is really a contribution to the race and Nation has been regarded as a sort of personal service to some one man, and standardization of the service rendered on this basis has been impossible. * * * In any event it is important for women to turn their minds to the problem of standardization of service rendered through motherhood" (p. 172).

Equal Rights, official organ of the National Woman's Party, in its leading editorial, entitled "Maternity legislation," declares:

"There is an overwhelming social need for an intelligent treatment of maternity as a fixed social charge." (Equal Rights, April 26, 1924, p. 84.)

"A FULL GRANT OF POWER"

All this feminism—"standardization of the service" of motherhood, "maternity benefits," "wages for mothers," "maintenance of motherhood and treatment of illegitimate children"—was to be accomplished through the Federal Children's Bureau and the maternity system.

Senator BORAH's little "statistical agency" with "no administrative power" of 1912, with appropriations of \$21,936 (1913), the "lowest figure possible to still maintain something like an active and vital bureau" (Senator BORAH, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 8, 1912) in a few years, was out with 460 pages of "minimum standards" of administration and legislation, 1,370 pages of propaganda for legislative "treatment of illegitimate children"; demands for \$8,000,000 a year (State and Federal) for "maternity and infancy care" (original Rankin maternity bill, July 1, 1918); the "standardization of education," the abolition of rural child labor by an "indirect attack," and finally, for a "full grant of power" over all youth in America!

The "statistical agency" grasped for more power than any people have ever intrusted to a government—for the soviet power over youth was obtained by communist dictatorship, not by popular sanction.

To get full control, they began at the bottom with the mere bureau. Miss Lillian D. Wald, of Henry Street Nurses Settlement, New York (a lifelong friend and associate of Mrs. Kelley), who originated the idea of a "children's bureau," testified in 1909:

"Whereas the Government as such has been acting * * * for a great many interests in the community, by a strange and almost incomprehensible way the children, as such, have never been taken within the scope of the Federal Government." (House hearings, Committee on Expenditures in Interior Department, January 27, 1909, p. 3.)

"The full responsibility for the wise guardianship of those children lies upon us * * *. But no longer can a civilized people be satisfied with the casual administration of that trust. In the name of humanity, of social well-being, of the security of the Republic's future, let us bring the children within the sphere of our national care and solicitude." (Ibid. p. 35.)

"Casual administration," of course, means the parents and "wise guardianship" that of a Government bureau.

Once established, the bureau soon sought administrative power under bills drawn in the bureau for its own self-aggrandizement. At the 1921 Senate hearings on the maternity bill the chairman (Senator Kenyon) asked:

"Did you originate this bill? Was it a product of yours?"

"Miss LATHROP. The bureau did (p. 19). * * * I want to say I have had much to do with the drafting of this bill (p. 75, Senate Education and Labor Committee, April, 1921).

A year later Miss Lathrop's successor was telling the Women's Trade Union League the bureau had "the whole field of child care," as previously shown.

In another two years Miss Abbott demanded "a full grant of power":

"I think the amendment should be inclusive. * * * It seems to me a full grant of power to Congress is in line with the other grants of power in the Constitution. * * * I favor the general grant of power." (House hearings, child labor amendment, February-March, 1924, p. 36.)

"AN ENTIRELY NEW GRANT OF POWER."

It was demonstrated in the Senate that this was "an entirely new grant of power":

"Senator REED of Missouri. It proposes to confer a power upon the Federal Government never possessed by any or all of the States under their police power. * * * There is no power in any State to limit the right of a healthy boy or girl to work for a living in a perfectly healthful and proper place; there is no power in any civilized government worthy of the name to do it. It is proposed here to confer that despotic and destructive power upon the Congress of the United States. * * *

"It strikes at the very fundamental of the Declaration of Independence. * * * It is at war with our whole system of government.

"So let us discuss this amendment as it is. It is not a child-labor amendment; it is revolution. * * *

"When was there ever a proposition to confer upon the Congress the power to prohibit the labor of all persons under 18 years of age?"

"Senator SHORTRIDGE (who introduced the final child labor amendment resolution, S. J. Res. 1, and led the debate on the floor for it). Never before.

"Senator REED of Missouri. The Senator will not pretend to say to me or to this body that there is a single State in this Union under the existing Constitution of the United States that can absolutely 'prohibit the right of a person under 18 years of age to work.'

* Senator SOUTHRIDGE. Oh, broadly stated, perhaps not. * * *

"Senator REED of Missouri. * * * The grant of the power to Congress to limit, to regulate, to prohibit labor is a right that the States never possessed except in the limited sense that they could prohibit or limit labor in unhealthful or destructive avocations or under dangerous conditions. Always the police power of the State had to have back of it something aside from the arbitrary will of the legislative body. Police regulations were always required to be based upon some reasonable conditions of fact warranting and justifying legislative interference."

"This proposition proposes a grant of absolute and unlimited power over the labor of every person under 18 years of age * * * an entirely new power that the Federal Government never possessed, that no State ever possessed * * *." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 2, 1924.)

In an official release for newspapers recently issued by the Children's Bureau, entitled "What the Children's Bureau is," it declares:

"When the United States Children's Bureau was formed in 1912 it was the first bureau of its kind in any national government. Since then many nations have followed Uncle Sam's example, and most of our States have created bureaus or divisions dealing with various aspects of child welfare."

"The Children's Bureau has one of the most important and most interesting constituencies in the world. To this bureau the welfare and the interests of nearly 40,000,000 children in our country is intrusted, so far as our National Government is concerned."

Such is this bureau's conception of its own powers, without the slightest basis in the Constitution for any Federal administration of child labor, health, education, or welfare laws, and with the "full grant of power" over the labor and education of all persons under 18 years demanded by the bureau, to be found in no other place on earth except in the official program of the Young Communist International. Even the Bolsheviks in Russia do not prohibit the labor of all persons under 18. That program is for America. And the Federal Children's Bureau is trying to put it into effect as diligently as if it were an agency of the communists.

STRAIGHT FROM THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

This communist legislative program of the Young Communist International, of Mrs. Kelley, of the Children's Bureau, and of the feminist "internationals" goes straight back to the communist manifesto of 1848, by Marx and Engels.

Of course, the "noncommunist hands" among the members of the rank and file in women's organizations probably know nothing of the origin, meaning, and communist effect of these doctrines when disguised as "endowment of motherhood," a "children's amendment," etc. Some of them are enlisted by the simple device of concealing the socialist snake under a flower bed of beautiful phrases and sentimental slogans. Others are enlisted as pure mercenaries, looking for places on the public pay roll or profitable employment as Washington "legislative agents" of women's organizations. But they also serve the socialist cause better than conscious and known socialists, for they give socialist measures the tone of respectable, nonsocialist support, and with their resolutions, telegrams, and letters to Congress urging such measures they manage very often to mislead legislators also, who therefore introduce and vote for so-called "women's measures" which it would be impossible to get a Democrat or Republican to introduce if he knew they came from the Communist Manifesto and Karl Marx or Friederich Engels were the originators.

The feminist part of the communist program has been almost entirely overlooked, even by the vast majority of the critics and opponents of communism. They have seen and exposed the "economic" fallacies of communism, the dangers of confiscation of property and class war, but they have been almost blind to social, moral, and biological fallacies of communism, the destruction of the family, and the sex-war program and propaganda of Marx and Engels.

Yet Marx and Engels were feminists and wrote an unpublished feminist manuscript two years before they issued the communist manifesto. Engels, in his "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," says:

"In an old unpublished manuscript written by Marx and myself in 1846 I find the following passage: 'The first division of labor is that of man and wife in breeding children.' And to-day I may add: The first-class antagonism appearing in history coincides with the development of the antagonism of man and wife in monogamy and the first-class oppression with that of the female by the male sex (p. 80)."

"In the great majority of cases the man has to earn a living and to support his family. * * * He thereby obtains a superior position that has no need of any legal special privilege. In the family he is the bourgeois; the woman represents the proletariat (p. 89)."

In the same book Engels declares:

"The modern monogamous family is founded on the open or disguised domestic slavery of women, and modern society is a mass composed of molecules in the form of monogamous families."

"Monogamy * * * enters as the subjugation of one sex by the other. * * * Monogamy was * * * the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism (p. 79)."

"We are now approaching a social revolution in which the old economic foundations of monogamy will disappear. Monogamy arose

through the concentration of considerable wealth in one hand—a man's hand—and from the endeavor to bequeath this wealth to the children of this man, to the exclusion of all others (p. 91).

Under communism, he says:

"The situation will be very much changed for men; but also that of women, and of all women, will be considerably altered. With the transformation of the means of production into collective property, the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society. The private household changes to a social industry. The care and education of children becomes a public matter. Society cares equally well for all children, legal or illegal. This removes the care about the 'consequences' which now forms the essential social factor—moral and economic—hindering a girl to surrender herself * * *." (p. 92).

Here is conclusive evidence that the communists designed to destroy the monogamous family (as the "molecule" and "economic" unit of society) by arousing women (as the "proletariat") against men (the "bourgeoisie"), precisely as they designed to destroy capitalism by abolishing private property through the class war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Engels's Origin of the Family was written for that purpose. Many of its indecencies are unquotable, as are those of Woman and Socialism, by August Bebel, written with the same object of arousing women against men and picturing primitive promiscuity among savages and the mythical "matriarchy," of which Morgan and other socialists pretend to have found traces among savage tribes, as the most free, natural, and desirable state for women.

Yet Mrs. Kelley in her lecture on "The need of theoretical preparation for philanthropic work" to the New York Association of Collegiate Alumnae, May 14, 1887, other parts of which have been quoted on page 15 of this memorandum, declared that Engels's Origin of the Family is a "fundamental work," a "most brilliant popularization" "which is warmly to be recommended," and recommended Bebel's Woman as "another useful preliminary work" which is "most suggestive and well worth reading."

In preparation for "philanthropic work" college women were urged to study Marx, Engels, Bebel, and Morgan—four months after Engels had instructed Mrs. Kelley to introduce socialism "into the flesh and blood" of Americans, as elsewhere noted.

THREE OBJECTS OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The three main purposes of the communist manifesto of 1848, by Marx and Engels, are destruction of the monogamous family, destruction of private property, and destruction of countries and nationalities.

The manifesto declares:

"Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the communists. On what foundation is the present family * * * based? On capital, on private gain. * * *

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course * * * with the vanishing of capital."

"Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty."

"But; you will say, we destroy the most hallowed relations when we replace home education by social. * * * The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor. * * *

"You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. * * * You reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend. This person (the owner of property) must, indeed, be swept out of the way and made impossible."

"The communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities."

"The workingman has no country."

This communist philosophy was used so much in the campaign for the "child" labor amendment, throughout which the 647,000 children who occasionally work on farms (569,824, or 88 per cent of them on the home farm under their own parents) were included with the alleged "million children who slave") that Mr. Gray Silver, Washington representative at the time of the American Farm Bureau Federation, declared:

"The farmer resents, and rightly so, * * * the idea that he raises a family for the purpose of harvesting a cotton crop." (A. F. B. News Letter, March 6, 1924.)

Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau, on the contrary, sought to make all opponents of this communist amendment appear as "exploiters" of children, saying:

"It is a controversy between groups, and one group is for the protection of the children and another comes in and wants to exploit the children." (House hearings, February-March, 1924, p. 45.)

In the 1919 Annual Report of the Children's Bureau we find this:

"* * * Experience indicates the need of basic governmental responsibility for maternity and infancy * * *." (p. 27).

After alluding to cash "maternity benefits"—child-birth doles—in England, and holding that the English laws clearly express "a belief that no provision already in existence is adequate," the Chief of the Children's Bureau (then Miss Lathrop) says:

"As applied to the United States, it may be said with certainty that any public provision for safeguarding maternity and infancy must be universal. It must afford a dignified service which can be utilized with the same self-respect with which the mother sends an older child to the public school." (Ibid. p. 27.)

In a Children's Bureau newspaper release on "The fundamental rights of childhood," after enumerating many desirable conditions for "all children," such as "the best of care before birth * * * care of the mother before the baby comes * * * pure food * * * well-prepared meals * * * a clean, well-kept home, not overcrowded * * * warm rooms and warm clothing * * * a long sleep every night in a comfortable bed * * * properly fitting shoes * * * regular health examinations * * * education to the limit of their abilities," as "rights," etc., the bureau declares:

"Now, all of these rights are usually best secured in a normal family home. We may say, without any doubt, that every child has a right to home life, with an income on the father's part that will allow him to provide the things just now summed up. If the father's income does not enable him to give his children all they ought to have, the community must help."

In its 460-page book on Standards of Child Welfare the "general summary" of Children's Bureau "minimum standards" says:

"The logic of the evidence adduced seemed to indicate that a very large ratio of the families of the United States obtain incomes too small to make possible the rearing of children in the manner which scientific and humane considerations, as well as the prosperity of the Nation, demand." (Bureau Publication No. 60, p. 18.)

At page 65 of the same book:

"Every child must have a garden in his home, or two months a year of country life. In fact, he ought to have the latter, anyway * * *"

In short, if the "fundamental rights" of "all children" to "well-prepared meals," "comfortable beds," "properly fitting shoes," gardens, country vacations, etc., are beyond the income of the average, or of a "very large ratio of the families," America should adopt the "doles" systems of Europe, with the warning from the bureau that even in them "no provision already in existence is adequate."

At page 43 of the "standards" it is insisted that there be established—

"A minimum below which no income can go, no family maintenance be put, * * * the giving to all of the opportunity to remain on or above that level, * * * thus enabling the mother to specialize in the exercise of the maternal function."

Miss Abbott also declares:

"When you undertake to get rid of child labor then you must make some other provision for the care of those children." (House hearings, February-March, 1924, p. 264.)

Mrs. Kelley, speaking for the child labor amendment, told the Senate subcommittee:

"It's unsafe to leave children to the tender mercies of the pressure of ignorant parents." (Senate hearings, 1923, p. 51.)

Again, Mrs. Kelley:

"* * * For it is still the rule that fathers maintain their own children." (Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1922, p. 61, signed article by Mrs. Kelley.)

"* * * As long as we have competitive industry," [private ownership]. Women's Industrial Conference, Washington, January, 1923, official report by United States Women's Bureau, p. 129.)

As Senator REED of Missouri declared in the Senate June 29, 1921, speaking on the maternity act:

"The fixation of an economic level and the maintenance of all the people on or above that level necessarily involves the control of the business affairs and individual life of the citizen."

"That was the very doctrine taught by Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, and all the leading socialists of Europe. It is the quintessence of socialism."

"MODESTY" OF THE MATERNITY ACT

Mrs. Florence Kelley, in the 1920 hearings on the first Sheppard-Towner bill (then providing "free medical and nursing care" and for a \$4,000,000 annual Federal subsidy to be matched by the States), said:

"The characteristic feature of this bill throughout is its modesty. It is recognized throughout that the bill is a new departure; it is an innovation. It is not perfectly certain how the States will respond to it. It is the first experiment of this kind in this country." (House hearings, December, 1920, p. 29.)

Can it be denied that the maternity act is only the "camel's-nose-under-the-tent" measure of a Marxian Communist and of a radical Children's Bureau seeking arbitrary, unlimited, "full grant of power" to standardize and socialize "the whole field of child welfare and child care"?

It has already been shown that only tactical considerations limited the demands of Mrs. Kelley and the Children's Bureau for Communist power over the American home.

It has been shown that Mrs. Kelley, herself a communist, started out in 1889 urging college women entering so-called "philanthropic work"—now called "social work" with a significant change of implication and of financial backing by society at large—to study Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," the "Origin of the Family," by Engels; "Woman and Socialism," by Bebel, etc.

These were warmly recommended as "fundamental works" for "philanthropic workers" by Mrs. Kelley.

And these are the fundamental works of revolutionary communism—the "quintessence of socialism"—Marx's Kapital—written mostly and published by Engels—being the fundamental "economic" work, and Engels's "Origin of the Family," and Bebel's "Woman and Socialism" being the fundamental communist works against the monogamous family.

It has been shown that "the worst form of communism," as Senator KING well calls it, is found in the feminist phase of communism—arousing women against men, wives against husbands, and providing community care for children, legitimate and illegitimate, to "remove the economic foundations of monogamous marriage," etc.

It has been shown that the feminist societies, international and national, have indorsed these communist policies in terms which are no less radical and sweeping than those of the communists.

It is also worthy of note that the feminist societies which originally proclaimed a desire for woman suffrage as their reason for existence, have not in the least discontinued their sex war campaigns, but, in fact, have intensified them, purporting to represent women voters—without ever consulting women voters on any feminist measure—en masse, as a class, aligned against men and the regular political parties, through a so-called "National League of Women Voters" and a "National Woman's Party" with the communist philosophy of sex war their only remaining excuse for existence.

It has also been shown that Alexandra Kollontay, first commissar of the soviet department of social welfare, head of the infamous Bolshevik colonization of children schemes in Russia, was indorsed by the Federal Children's Bureau as the author of "the most comprehensive" work on maternity doles, etc. (Children's Bureau publication No. 57, p. 175), the Kollontay book, Society and Motherhood, being as fundamentally communist as Engels's Origin of the Family.

It is shown that the most distinguished graduate from the Children's Bureau—its former exhibit expert, Anna Louise Strong—has succeeded Kollontay as a colonizer of children in Soviet Russia.

Now it will be shown how far and by what agencies these communist doctrines concerning children have been introduced "into the flesh and blood" of many of our noncommunist educators and social workers, and how others have been attracted as mercenaries.

COMMUNISM UNDER THE MASK OF "EDUCATION"

Mrs. Florence Kelley has not only preached communism and urged a study of the fundamental communist books by college women taking up philanthropic or social work, but as president of the Intercollegiate Socialist League—the organization chiefly responsible for socialist propaganda in American schools and colleges—Mrs. Kelley has had great influence for a number of years in promoting radicalism among youth while in school.

The Intercollegiate Socialist League changed its name in 1922 to the "League for Industrial Democracy," but continues its socialist propaganda.

As chief factory inspector in Chicago (1893-1897) she obtained leadership among industrial women; as a resident of Hull House, Chicago, and subsequently of Henry Street Nurses' Settlement, New York, she obtained leadership among social workers, public-health nurses, etc., and as a university woman, a lawyer specializing on social legislation, and as general secretary of the National Consumers League she has obtained other opportunities for communist propaganda and influence upon legislation.

It is of the utmost significance that practically all the radicalism started among women in the United States centers about Hull House, Chicago, and the Children's Bureau, at Washington, with a dynasty of Hull House graduates in charge of it since its creation.

It has been shown that both the legislative program and the economic program—"social-welfare" legislation and "bread-and-peace" propaganda for internationalization of the food, farms, and raw materials of the world—find their chief expression in persons, organizations, and bureaus connected with Hull House.

And Hull House itself has been able to cover its tracks quite effectively under the nationally advertised reputation of Miss Jane Addams as a social worker—who has so often been painted by magazine and newspaper writers as a sort of modern Saint of the Slums—that both she and Hull House can campaign for the most radical measures and lead the most radical movements, with hardly a breath of public suspicion.

Nevertheless, Miss Addams herself, according to the Survey Graphic number, December 1, 1924, editorial, page 291, bore witness to the

leadership of Mrs. Florence Kelley in starting Hull House itself on the road of socialistic legislation.

The editorial, indirectly reporting Miss Addams's remarks, declares: "Miss Addams bore witness to this faculty [of Mrs. Kelley's]. Chicagoans had been used to talking about the corn crop; sometimes they had pointed with pride when they counted a hundred thousand more harassed creatures run through the stockyards in a year. But Mrs. Kelley was the first to drive home to them that their's had become the third industrial city of the United States and what this meant, humanly speaking.

"At Hull House they had seen men, women, and children trudging past with huge bundles of clothing; they had read the Webbs [British Socialists]; but they had done nothing about it until Mrs. Kelley came. * * * One thing after another happened; so swiftly that the years before and the years since have seemed slow by comparison. Her wish for Mrs. Kelley was a 'long life and a great many more tough situations'; that she might live to see no children in America unprotected by congressional legislation," etc. (Survey Graphic, December 1, 1924, p. 291.)

Thus while all the pacifism, internationalism, and socialist legislative schemes among women in America, together with the Women's International League, the National Women's Trade Union League, the International Federation of Working Women, the United States Children's Bureau, and the United States Women's Bureau have been cradled at Hull House, we find that Hull House itself was first taught to walk the socialistic road by the ubiquitous Mrs. Florence Kelley.

The second-hand radicalism of Miss Addams, Mrs. Robins, Miss Lathrop, Miss Abbott, Mrs. Catt, etc., is none the less important to show, because they "build communism with noncommunist hands" in working for Mrs. Kelley's program. Further testimony as to the supremacy of Mrs. Kelley's leadership is found in the official proceedings of the Women's Industrial Conference, called by the United States Women's Bureau, January 11, 12, and 13, 1923 (Women's Bureau publication No. 33, pp. 184-185).

Talking to all the assembled leaders (Miss Lathrop, Miss Abbott, etc.), Miss Mary McDowell, of University Settlement, Chicago, herself a leader in "welfare" legislation, said:

"The first woman factory inspector in Illinois, who set up such a standard that we can never forget her, is with us to-night—Mrs. Florence Kelley. I do not think we have maintained that standard since, but that does not make any difference. The standard is there. * * * I think Mrs. Kelley not only set up the standard but she helped us start public opinion.

"And then here's Miss Lathrop," etc. (pp. 184-185).

The secondary position of Miss Lathrop (former Chief of the Children's Bureau) to Mrs. Kelley, the real originator and director of all this socialist standardization legislation, was thus attested and acknowledged at a session of the Women's Bureau conference, over which Miss Lathrop was presiding at the time. (Ibid. pp. 170, 174, 184, 190.)

Josephine Goldmark, a friend and associate of Mrs. Kelley in many activities, writes:

"It is probably not too much to say that no single individual has done more than Mrs. Kelley, through her long years of keen participation in local, State, and Federal campaigns, toward securing the body of social legislation which exists in the United States to-day." (New Republic, November 12, 1924.)

Mrs. Kelley's participation in educational legislation, her part in the drafting of the vocational education act of 1917, her part in showing the National League of Women Voters "the need" of the Smith-Towner education department bill, her advocacy of education laws to abolish child labor, have been set forth elsewhere in this memorandum.

The point is that one of the fundamental designs of the communists is to capture and control not only the content of education but the teachers themselves as an "apparatus of power" and of propaganda, and that Mrs. Kelley has been in a key position for many years to spread communist propaganda in schools and colleges and among teachers, as well as to foment industrial unrest among women in factories and promote socialist legislation generally.

Nicolai Lenin saw the strategic importance of the education system as an apparatus of power:

"Hundreds of thousands of teachers constitute an apparatus that must push our work forward. The fact that the masses of teachers are permeated with the heritage of capitalistic culture must not and can not prevent us from placing them in the service of communistic education.

"The communist active in the field of popular education must learn and understand to conduct this mass, which runs into hundreds of thousands. * * *

"It is important and necessary that he should be capable of guiding the masses of teachers." (From a signed article by Nicolai Lenin in The Workers' Dreadnaught, subsidized by Lenin and edited by Sylvia Pankhurst, May 25, 1921.)

Nowhere else have the communists had as "capable" and well-trained a person to place masses of teachers "with the heritage of

capitalistic culture" in "the service of communistic education" as in America.

The reflection of communist views has now become almost a matter of course among many leading educators of the type who demand Federal control of all schools and children.

Dr. William B. Owen, president of the Chicago Normal College, Chicago, Ill., the then president of the National Education Association, in an address before the World Conference on Education, June 23, 1923, in San Francisco, showed that he also, like Lenin, saw the possibility of the educational system as a revolutionary factor, and referred in his speech to—

"Education as a practical instrumentality for the creating of a new world order." (N. E. A. official report, p. 13.)

He added:

"* * * In spite of what we write and say, the world does not believe that education as a form of social control is comparable with armies, navies, diplomacy, and statecraft. * * * We should spend our time and efforts in shaping a constructive educational program that will demonstrate what education can do." (Ibid. p. 14.)

Education "as a form of social control" comparable with armies, etc., for "creating a new world order" is the new idea of an education system as a central apparatus to rule society, and is as far removed as the poles from genuine education that imparts knowledge and discipline by which children are prepared to become free, self-governing citizens of sovereign States and of a Republic whose constitution guarantees that no legislative body or educational soviet shall use the schools of America as a single "system" to promote a new political or economic "world order."

It is clear that the intention to use education as a complete machinery of dictatorship, moral, intellectual, political, over the minds of the young obsessed at least some of the National Educational Association leaders.

Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, commissioner of education, Augusta, Me., president of the World Federation of Educational Associations, in his opening address at Edinburgh, July 21, 1925, at the biennial meeting of the federation, said:

"We are the keepers of the young and can direct their interest and their attitude." (Official Report World Federation of Educational Associations in National Educational Association addresses and proceedings, 1925, p. 923.)

"This necessitates an international attitude or mode of thinking, which we call the 'international mind.' The peoples of the earth must now live together and we, the teachers of the world's children, must prepare them for these new relations." (Ibid. p. 926.)

Doctor Thomas refers later to "the new world citizen."

At the previous biennial meeting of the World Federation of Educational Associations, at San Francisco, Doctor Thomas defined "the real spirit of internationalism" in these terms:

"Citizenship to-day must be broader than nationalism. There must be an international consciousness; there must be an 'international heart' and a 'world mind.' This 'world mind' is largely an attitude or habit of thinking in the larger units of the world," etc. (Special booklet issued by the National Council for the Prevention of War, covering 1923 San Francisco conference of World Federation of Educational Associations, p. 11.)

Again, at the same conference, of which he was chairman, Doctor Thomas said:

"In order to change the ideals of the nations, we must begin with the child when he first becomes teachable; because the child is unprejudiced, and as we lead him up through the winding path of education and experiences we gradually instill into him our own prejudices." (World Conference on Education, National Education Association official report, p. 9.)

"There was a day when a person was simply a citizen of his locality and possibly of his country. * * * To-day the citizen must be a citizen of the world. * * * Therefore the children of to-day must receive that larger viewpoint and that larger understanding. That understanding and viewpoint must come through the teachers." (Ibid. p. 10.)

The Bulletin of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, July-October, 1923, also contains a report of the World Federation of Educational Associations Conference at San Francisco entitled "A disarmament conference of educators in America," by Rosika Schwimmer. She writes:

"This conference was of greatest importance for the pacifistic movement. * * * The intention to find pacifistic methods of education having clearly been put as the basis of the conference" (pp. 89 and 91).

She referred to—

"An enthusiastic atmosphere of growing international patriotism.

"The most important result of this conference seems to be a claim for the 'disarmament of textbooks.' * * * It was considered the basis of all other pedagogical reforms.

"All the pacifists of the world may be very much indebted to Doctor Thomas, who presided over the conference * * * and became

thereby the leader of those educators who want to develop a cosmopolitan mind.

"Again and again he pointed out the close connection that exists among all human beings; he claimed unhesitatingly an education for world citizenship," etc. (p. 89).

Frau Schwimmer then turns to Miss Charl O. Williams:

"Miss Williams, former president of the National Educational Association and member of its present board, proclaimed a kind of intellectual strike against the patriotic methods which are bringing about an increasing roughness among young people. * * * 'We, the teachers of the world, have decided to refuse to teach on such lines.'

"A stormy, passionate applause followed the final words of Miss Williams: 'If we are not allowed to educate the children for peace, it is not worth while to educate them at all (pp. 89, 90).

Miss Charl O. Williams, former president of the National Educational Association, is now field secretary, and has been the chief National Educational Association lobbyist for a Federal department of education.

Thus we find "conservative" National Educational Association leaders, some of the most distinguished advocates of a Federal department of education, saturated with the doctrines of internationalism and pacifism that owe their origin to the communist manifesto "to abolish countries and nationalities" and their development to include "world citizenship," "teachers of the world," and "children of the world," while less brutally stated, is in fact even more obnoxious than the "workers of the world have no country" of the communist manifesto, because there is not the slightest excuse in social or economic interests for teachers to form a world union against nationalism under the false banner of "peace."

The greatest investigation of communism ever made in America, and reported in four large volumes by the New York Legislature under the title "Revolutionary Radicalism" declares:

"The very first general fact that must be driven home to Americans is that the pacifist movement in this country, the growth and connections of which are an important part of this report, is an absolutely integral and fundamental part of international socialism. It is not an accretion. It is not a side issue. European socialism concentrated its efforts in three directions: * * *

"The third purpose was the creation of an international sentiment to supersede national patriotism and effort, and this internationalism was based upon pacifism in the sense that it opposed all wars between nations and developed at the same time the class consciousness that was to culminate in relentless class warfare. In other words, it was not really peace that was the goal, but the abolition of the patriotic, warlike spirit of nationalities." (Vol. 1, p. 11.)

It will be noted that the National Education Association leaders quoted in this connection are the official leaders, the persons responsible for the education department "drive," etc., and that nowhere in this memorandum have your petitioners cited any but the highest official authorities and true leaders of the movements it has been necessary to mention in connection with this radical legislative program.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA THROUGH MATERNITY CENTERS

The Moscow communists declare:

"The most difficult task is that of getting at the housewives. * * * The petty bourgeois psychology of the peasant woman, her ignorance, her dependence on her husband and her family, all these are obstacles which must be overcome. * * * The work in the village among the female farmers and women workers * * * plays a great part in revolutionary work." (Soviet Russia, New York Communist Magazine, March 26, 1921, p. 307.)

Again:

"It was necessary to create a special technical mechanism for work among women." (Ibid.)

One of the secret communist documents captured at Bridgman, Mich., in 1922, was "Instructions on organizing women in America," in part as follows:

"Contacts must be established at all maternity and infant-welfare centers. In this connection it is recommended that communist women should be trained for first aid and home nursing. This training should serve the useful purpose of enabling our members to gain the confidence of larger and larger circles of women by practical assistance in time of need." (Portland Press-Herald, January 30, 1923.)

Can it be denied that the centralization of power over maternity and infant-welfare centers in the maternity act constitutes a "special technical mechanism for work among women," and that they can thus be used for propaganda purposes, communistic and otherwise?

Mrs. Florence Kelley says:

"I have lived for 20 years with the nurses who nurse the poor in their homes in New York City." (House Hearings, December, 1920, p. 31.)

Mrs. Kelley alluded, of course, to her long residence at Henry Street Nurses Settlement, and went on to argue the merit of maternity centers as life-saving stations. But there is no doubt that whatever merit maternity centers may possess, from the standpoint of public health, are due to the technical instruction imparted by the physicians and

nurses "on the local job." There is no health reason for placing them under the control of one distant bureau of social workers at Washington; no health reason for having them all conform to "plans" approved by graduates of Hull House and Henry Street Settlement, who have been shown, on their own testimony, considerably more interested in obtaining centralized power than in health matters, as quoted elsewhere in this memorandum.

Is it likely, for example, that Mrs. Kelley, with all her passionate repeated denunciations of Congress as a body of Herods who "wish to let mothers and babies die," has gone about the poor of New York for 20 years without telling such things to mothers themselves and instructing them in regard to pressure on Congress, as well as care of the baby?

Dr. Charles E. Humiston, of Chicago, then president of the Illinois Medical Society and now head of the Illinois department of health, when speaking against the adoption of the maternity act in July, 1921, said:

"The oldest baby welfare center in the world is in a country for which our young men made the supreme sacrifice. Twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago it was established, and it still exists, or others like it, in that country which we all love and are willing to fight for, and have been fighting for, a country in which the people are past masters of the game of avoiding parenthood, and where the death rate exceeds the birth rate, where this baby welfare station has existed for 27 years. In that country where the first one was established they have a death rate of babies of 140, almost double that of a city in this country comparable in size. Now, I am not going to charge that welfare center, nor that instruction, nor the public-health nurses, nor the doctors connected with it with the responsibility for the loss of babies in that country or for the avoidance of motherhood, as has been suggested before this committee, or at least before the Senate committee. I have as much right, however, to charge those results which follow as the health department of New York City has to claim so great a degree of credit for their activities. * * *

"This is a medical question, and it is supervising the practice of medicine in the different States, through a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, that this bill provides. That is why we object to it * * * and when I say 'we' I mean the doctors of Illinois, and I might just as well say the doctors of the American Medical Association in this wider sense, because at their meeting in New Orleans a year ago a resolution was passed * * * condemning every form of State medicine. * * * We object to placing the practice of medicine or any part of it under the supervision of a lay board. We object to any form of State medicine. * * * We are opposed to this bill, root and branch. It is wrong in principle. The central Government has no proper activity in this field. We object to this excursion into socialism." (House hearings, July, 1921, p. 83.)

Thus it will be noted that whether maternity and infant welfare centers promote public health or not, that it is not safe to have them all centralized and standardized by one radical bureau—which has in fact published far more pages of socialistic "standards" and socialistic propaganda regarding illegitimacy than it has published in relation to the care of mothers and babies.

In addition, centralized control of maternity centers, sooner or later, offers opportunities for another form of vicious propaganda indicated by Doctor Humiston.

Of the 22 members of the "Sheppard-Towner emergency committee" to promote the maternity act in 1921 (listed on page 266 of the House hearings, July, 1921), 8 are also listed as indorsers of the "Voluntary Parenthood League." Miss Jeannette Rankin, of the executive council of the "Voluntary Parenthood League (birth-control advocates), introduced the original maternity act July 1, 1918.

At the Voluntary Parenthood League meeting October 27, 1921, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, one of the leaders, declared:

"We have, as you know, in America a really very large and elaborate existing health machinery of different sorts. We have hospitals and welfare associations of different sorts. We have maternity center associations and health centers. Large amounts of health advice are given both verbally and in published form. Presently, of course, at every one of these health centers this sort of service to parents should be available."

The Birth Control Review, August, 1921, page 5, declares:

"It is not intended to make it purely a birth-control clinic, but to work it on the lines of the already existing maternity and child welfare centers, with the addition of birth-control information, the object being to show how this feature may be incorporated with the existing organizations."

The Birth Control Review, September, 1921, declares it sent a questionnaire to "members of various boards of health and other officials," and out of 85 who replied, all except 7 answered the following question in the affirmative:

"Do you believe in a controlled birth rate?"

The well-known opposition of physicians to this pernicious propaganda would seem to indicate that the 76 persons in public-health work who told the Birth Control League they favored "a controlled birth rate" represented very few physicians.

At present, of course, with the Federal statutes against birth-control propaganda, there is none openly in evidence under the maternity act, although at least one prominent physician has thought that decreased birth rates in several communities may be ascribed to it. (See *Indiana Medical Journal*, March 15, 1926, pp. 130-131.)

However that may be, the point made here is that centralized control of maternity and health centers by a radical lay bureau of the Federal Government offers a most dangerous "technical mechanism" for propaganda among women, no matter which particular cult of propagandists uses it—communists, advocates of birth control, or lobbyists and bureaucrats seeking "pressure on Congress" for more power and appropriations.

There is no more reason, from a health or medical standpoint, for having all the maternity and infancy centers standardized and controlled by one bureau than there is reason, from an educational standpoint, for having all the schools of America under one department head at Washington.

Such control is sought, not to promote health or education, but to set up "an apparatus of power" and propaganda system for "a new world order," and whether it be communism or some other ism, that is in the back of the heads of these fanatics does not alter the nature of this "full grant of power."

We should object to centralized bureaucratic despotism over American mothers and children in any case, by any cult whatever, benevolent or revolutionary. But the tragedy and trickery of it all is illustrated by the fact that everybody knows that if any regular American political party, or any established church in America, sought legislation giving it power to standardize and control education, health, maternity, and infancy, child labor legislation, etc., that it would be denounced, exposed, and opposed by 99 per cent of the political leaders and newspapers in this country. But the communists, socialists, bureaucrats, birth-control fanatics, and interlocking Washington lobbyists try to do it, under the legislative leadership of the chosen lieutenant of Friederich Engels—and editors, legislators, and political leaders are cowed into silence and submission for fear of being called Herods, or enemies of mothers and babies unless they support the communist legislative program in America to "capture the child" and "get at the housewives!"

COMPULSORY REGISTRATION OF EXPECTANT MOTHERS

In the Standards of Child Welfare, Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, the first standards that appear, under Section III, entitled "The health of children and mothers" (p. 145), are "Standard requirements for obstetrical care."

Under this standard the professor who covered the subject for the bureau (and whose doctrine has been circulated by the bureau, at public expense, ever since) declared:

"I take it that the first step in such a campaign of education for the improvement of obstetrical conditions must consist in the compulsory registration of pregnancy, through the local health officer. In this event, it will be possible for every pregnant woman throughout the entire country to be supplied gratis with certain of the publications of the Children's Bureau." (Bureau Publication No. 60, p. 146.)

We have failed to find, even in the most revolutionary books of Friederich Engels, August Bebel, and Alexandra Kollontay, or in any of the Bolshevik codes of communist Russia, a doctrine so extreme and tyrannical as this compulsory registration of all expectant mothers, an invasion of the privacies of life unknown to the worst despotisms of history, including the present communist dictatorship in Russia.

In Children's Bureau publication No. 137, dealing with the administration of the maternity act, there appears on page 10 the following indication of the bureau's intense interest in getting the names of expectant mothers so that special letters and literature may be sent them:

"In an effort to reach individually a large number of expectant mothers, the use of serial prenatal letters has been increased * * *. The number of women reached in this way apparently varied directly with the importance attached to it in each state and with the methods employed in obtaining names of expectant mothers. Usually the physicians of the state were notified by the state child-hygiene division of the availability of these letters, and many responded by requesting that such information be sent to their patients. Recent reports indicate that this cooperation on the part of physicians provides by far the largest single source of names."

Here, of course, no compulsion in this matter is indicated as yet in the administration of the maternity act. But the interest of the Children's Bureau "in obtaining names of expectant mothers" is indisputable, regardless of "the methods employed." For what purpose—health or propaganda?

A "FRIGHTFULNESS" CAMPAIGN AGAINST MOTHERS

In an undated newspaper release by the United States Children's Bureau, entitled "The Child's Right to Be Well Born," which may be considered a fair sample of the bureau's constant mixing of political propaganda with maternity and infancy health questions, is the following opening statement:

"Perhaps you are so fortunate as to have a baby in your household. If so, do you realize that if that baby had chosen its home in

any of five other countries it would have had a better chance at life than in the United States? For in the birth registration area of this country, out of every 1,000 babies born alive 76 die, while in New Zealand only 42 babies out of every 1,000 die, and four other countries have an infant death rate lower than ours.

"And how about the baby's mother? She would have run less risk of death in Germany, Finland, Uruguay, Japan, or South Africa, or in any of 14 other countries, than she did in giving birth to her baby here. Of 25 nations, only two are more careless than we right here in America are of the lives of our mothers.

"Studies by the Children's Bureau and other agencies have shown clearly what causes our high death rates among mothers and young babies. These causes are all susceptible to human control; we can eliminate them if we want to hard enough. What are they? Briefly, poverty and ignorance."

On the face of it, this miserable, disloyal, and pernicious socialist propaganda is false and self-contradictory, telling mothers, in effect, that they would have a better chance of life in Japan, South Africa, etc., on account of less "poverty and ignorance" in other countries than in the United States. Here we find the bureau's perpetual effort to promote the propaganda with which its chief is associated, leading it into an absurd self-contradiction. But some of the internationalist poison—the stuff that makes every other country appear better than America—and some of the socialist poison, ascribing all ills to "poverty and ignorance," both had to be introduced somehow into "the flesh and blood" of a circular on care of mothers and babies, "The child's right to be well born," and the two poisons in this case happen to work against each other when both are analyzed.

It has already been shown in this memorandum, pages 9-10, on the highest authority, that "there is no basis" for these unfavorable comparisons of America with foreign countries.

The Children's Bureau has been engaged in a campaign of "frightfulness" against mothers—in order to secure power over maternity and infancy for itself.

The Children's Bureau booklet, *Maternal Mortality*, page 32, says:

"The method of computation of death rates which gives the clearest picture of the hazards of childbirth is that which takes into account only the woman giving birth to children in that year. This is the method in use in a large number of foreign countries. The advantages of the method are self-evident."

Here the bureau shows two things: That it is chiefly concerned with picturing "the hazards of childbirth" in collecting maternal-mortality statistics; and that the different method in use in "a large number of foreign countries" is not statistically comparable with American vital statistics.

In addition, death registration in the United States is fairly complete, and there are several checks on each death. The doctor must write a certificate, the undertaker must keep a record, a burial permit must be obtained, etc. But birth registration is not universally required, nor fully enforced in the birth-registration area. If a busy physician forgets to notify the public of an occasional birth, and the happy parents neglect to get anything but a baptismal certificate at a church, the child may live and thrive with no public record. The Vital Statistics Division of the Census Bureau, for example, allows States in the birth-registration area when it is considered that 90 per cent or more of the births are registered. In Europe, on the contrary, birth registration has been enforced for many years.

How many Members of the United States Congress to-day, for example, can show a birth certificate?

Naturally, the better registration of deaths than of births in the United States makes the mortality figures appear higher than they actually are.

And this radical bureau takes advantage of this to proclaim, "It is safer to be a mother" in Germany, Japan, and South Africa than under the Stars and Stripes.

As a matter of fact, if the bureau were interested in encouraging expectant mothers, it could tell them with truth that it is safer to be a mother than it is to be a man in the United States. The mortality statistics of the Census Bureau show that the death rate among men over 20 is about double the death rate, per thousand, of actual mothers from puerperal causes.

Maternal mortality (6.7 per 1,000 live births, 1923) is little more than half the mortality rate (12.3 per 1,000 population, 1923) for the country. In other words, with only a different mental attitude and a desire to tell encouraging truths to mothers, instead of worrying them with "the clearest picture of the hazards of childbirth" that the bureau can paint with juggled statistics and odious foreign comparisons, it could show mothers the safety of this normal function, which over 993 mothers in every 1,000 perform without loss of life, while only 987 out of every 1,000 of the general population can expect to live another year.

Why should country-wide lists of expectant mothers be furnished a bureau always trying to "picture the hazards" of their condition, and trying to make them believe also that America is carelessly neglecting mothers in comparison with Japan and South Africa?

It is only reasonable to suppose that this campaign of frightfulness is dangerous to the life and health of mothers. There are even statistical indications of it.

Miss Jeannette Rankin, introducer of the first maternity act, testified at the House hearings, December, 1920:

"When I came down here (1915) I met Miss Lathrop and discussed this matter. That summer Miss Lathrop made a study of Montana and found these conditions were actually as bad as I had feared," etc. (p. 87).

The Children's Bureau sent one of its four physicians and five "social workers" into Montana. They prepared a 100-page report, saying:

"Agents of the Children's Bureau interviewed every mother in the area who had a baby during the five years preceding the study. * * * A few were not at home at the time the mothers were so visited. * * * It is estimated that possibly 10 or 12 mothers were thus missed."

In 1915, when Miss Rankin thought conditions were bad, the maternal mortality rate in Montana was 19.4 per 100,000 population. In 1916, when the agitation and "study" began, it rose to 22.2. In 1917, with the Children's Bureau agents canvassing all but a few homes in the area they covered, the rate rose to 28.4, or 9 points above the 1915 rate. In 1918 the rate was 35.9, but this was a "flu year." In 1919, although partly also a "flu year," the Children's Bureau workers having left on account of lack of funds to continue the Montana survey, the rate went down to 26.2, but was still nearly 7 points higher than in 1915. (See Mortality Statistics for 1919, p. 95.) For puerperal septicemia, the particular affliction most influenced by abnormal fear among mothers, the Montana rate rose from 7.8 in 1915 to 10.4 in 1919, the highest rate being in 1917 (14.1) while the Children's Bureau "field workers" were there. The rate of maternal mortality for Montana is given by the 100,000 population, because Montana did not come into the birth-registration area until 1922, so that the census could not tell the rate per 1,000 live births for these years. But the deaths were known as Montana was in the death-registration area in those years. The latest census report on maternal mortality shows a Montana rate of 7.5 deaths of mothers to 1,000 live births, compared with the average of 6.5 for the country at large. Also, Montana, according to "Mortality Statistics, 1923," issued by the Census Bureau, page 61, Montana has the highest puerperal septicemia rate of any State in the Union (3.8), the mortality among mothers in Montana from this dreaded infection, which affects mind as well as body, being equaled only by the mortality of the colored mothers of Mississippi. (See "Puerperal Septicemia" column, p. 61, Mortality Statistics, 1923.) There is a very strong indication here that invasion of homes by social workers picturing "the hazards of childbirth" to expectant mothers is as physically dangerous to their lives as it is opposed to their constitutional rights.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND JOBS

The communist principles and propaganda systems involved in this legislation have been clearly demonstrated. The range and scope of this propaganda is far beyond our ability to set forth in this memorandum. Its general object is to use not only every existing institution to further communist philosophy but to create vast new systems, by Federal legislation or amendments, for centralized control of education, health, labor, care of women and children, etc., to pave the way for dictatorship.

It has been shown that the first—and worst—form of dictatorship sought is over women and children; that the first victims are the families of the poor, as Senator Heyburn predicted in 1912.

It has also been shown that all this power has been sought by deliberate fraud and trickery, exposed again and again in this memorandum.

When they talk about "education" they are trying to "abolish rural child labor by an indirect attack," as Miss Lathrop declared. (Bureau Publication No. 60, p. 102.) When they inquired about "a baby in your household," as shown by the circular, "The Child's Right to be Well Born," already quoted, they must first get in some internationalism and socialism, telling you how much better it is to be born a Jap, and that America's "poverty and ignorance" compared with other countries is responsible for an alleged higher American death rate—that has no basis for existence.

But it is not to be expected that five years of maternity act administration, 40 years of Mrs. Kelley's socialist propaganda, and 14 years of Children's Bureau operation have been completely covered in this memorandum.

"Your petitioners have presented merely a fair outline of the 'thousands of ramifications' of a movement which Mrs. Kelley admits has 'more interlocking directorates than business has.'"

We had hoped to be able to present a number of quotations regarding the mercenary side of this subject; to show how lobbying has been conducted for these measures on a contingent basis, the chief lobbyist getting an administrative position when the bill passes; how bureaus have been duplicated to provide jobs for faithful lobbyists, and Federal departments and commissions packed by one of the most radical organizations in this country. But the available quotations on that subject would take many more pages.

Consequently, on that point attention is invited to the speech of the late Speaker, Hon. Champ Clark, October 11, 1919; the speech of former Representative Lester D. Volk, November 19, 1921, regarding the "new fat jobs" in the education bill, and "social work as a paying profession" as related to the maternity act, and also the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 31, 1924, regarding group self-interest behind the "child" labor amendment. Much more than is set forth there is available now, of course, and will be submitted to any committee or Senator interested in investigating the interlocking radical lobby further along that line.

But the point is that all these lobby "congressional committees" and professional "social workers" who are working most assiduously for jobs for themselves are also working, consciously or unconsciously, for the Kelley program of revolution by social legislation.

Mrs. Kelley is a past master in the art of getting "noncommunist hands" to promote socialism. Even the most innocent public library can hardly escape her propaganda, or even escape paying for it, to boot.

For example, at the Intercollegiate Socialist League dinner of 1911 (a year before Mrs. Kelley secured a more powerful broadcasting station in the Children's Bureau) the New York Call, socialist organ, January 1, 1911, says that Mrs. Kelley, then president of the Intercollegiate Socialist League:

"Scored the socialist press for not urging its readers to see to it that socialistic books are to be found in every library. 'There are some 4,000 libraries,' she said, 'in the United States.' They could easily be made to buy every important book on socialism. This alone would dispose of 4,000 copies of every important socialist publication and would be of tremendous educational value."

Of course, now that the Federal taxpayers can be required to pay for the nation-wide circulation of socialist propaganda, "standards" and administrative control of health boards, maternity centers, etc., by simply calling a socialist agency of Hull House and Henry Street Settlement a "Children's Bureau" and giving it \$1,000,000 a year to purchase submission to its dictatorship, Mrs. Kelley no longer needs to bother with mere libraries to introduce socialist doctrines "into the flesh and blood of Americans."

AMERICA AROUSED IN DEFENSE OF OUR CHILDREN

Mayor Ole Hanson, of Seattle, who put down the first attempt at a "general strike" in the United States (which was led, by the way, by Anna Louise Strong, former exhibit expert of the Children's Bureau, who is now colonizing children for the communists in Russia), says in his "Americanism versus Bolshevism."

"A patient man will endure almost any oppression until you begin to interfere in his family affairs."

Americans are a patient people, busy with their own normal duties, who, as a rule, are so occupied with minding their own business that they often exhibit an indifference to political questions, which is mistaken for docility. Good-natured and easy-going, the average American doesn't care much what the politicians say or the legislatures do so long as they let him alone.

But when once convinced that communists, lobbyists, bureaucrats, and politicians plan "to interfere in his family affairs" the American to-day shows no lack whatever of the "spirit of 1776," and he rises in his might with a nation-wide, spontaneous mobilization of resistance as remarkable for its speed as for its strength.

Such was the spirit that rejected the miscalled "child" labor amendment. It is ridiculously untrue for any advocate or opponent of that amendment to claim that any one organization or group mobilized three-fourths of the people, three-fourths of the legislators, and 150 or more separate organizations against that amendment. These great masses of citizens mobilized themselves in their several States and local communities as soon as they learned the rights of parents and of children were in actual danger. The fact that two-thirds of Congress had passed the amendment, all presidential candidates indorsed it, 99 per cent of the magazines and metropolitan newspapers praised it, all the great lobby and propaganda organizations supported it meant nothing whatever when the plain common sense of American parents was aroused against it.

"We can understand plain English!" declared the national master of the National Grange when the socialist general secretary of the National Child-Labor Committee attempted to tell the National Grange Convention that the amendment "was not meant" to apply to 17-year-old boys and girls in the home and on the farm.

"The sky is the limit. There can be no proof offered as to how Congress will be guided in the future concerning it. The proposed amendment would put a congressional mother (probably a spinster) in the Child Labor Bureau, which would make the proverbial stepmother blush with shame. * * * The congressional stepmother would take the place of the real fathers and mothers. * * * The amendment is wide open. * * * We have the word of some of the Federal officers themselves that the purpose of this amendment is to regulate the employment of the boys and girls on farms," declared the president of the powerful American Farm Bureau Federation in a news letter of the federation.

Such was the reaction among farmers and parents, who didn't even bother to be polite, but called a spade a spade when they learned the truth about the amendment.

Some of the States formed a "citizens committee to protect our homes and children"; others fought the amendment with existing organizations of farmers, women, patriotic societies, constitutional leagues, etc. Organizations of manufacturers also fought the amendment (after some of them had originally favored a national, uniform law on child labor under the impression that it would "eliminate competition" of factories in States alleged to have poor child labor laws). In Massachusetts, for example, early in 1924 the legislature unanimously memorialized Congress to submit the amendment for ratification, largely at the request of commercial organizations as well as of the social workers. They had been told so many falsehoods about "child labor in the South" that they wanted a national law to stop "southern cotton mills" from underselling them by "exploiting children." Later, when they learned the truth—that clever socialists had gained their support for a revolutionary measure by false statements concerning "children of tender years in southern cotton mills"—the manufacturers, like their fellow citizens, opposed it.

But no association of manufacturers can produce ready-made opinions for 75 per cent of the legislators and citizens of this country!

The nation-wide revolt of parents against the amendment was not a factory product. It was a great instinctive rising of nature, as resistless as the tides of the ocean, when American parents aroused themselves in 1924-25 "to protect our homes and children"—against the Federal Children's Bureau as an "overparent" of the Nation's youth.

Sooner or later, the force of the facts in the case must arouse an equal opposition to the maternity act, and other schemes of the Children's Bureau and of Mrs. Kelley to "standardize children" in the United States.

The mothers and fathers, the farmers and city parents, the hard-working, straight-thinking, plain people of America—the people for whose parental rights Senator Heyburn pleaded so eloquently in vain, in 1912—will surely learn the truth about the maternity act, as they did about the child labor amendment.

The statesmen in Congress, who vote according to the reasons and facts now, can not doubt that eventually, those same reasons and facts must likewise appeal to the overwhelming majority of their fellow citizens in all of the States.

Therefore Senators who are inclined to vote in favor of extension of the maternity act, saying "Forty-three States have accepted it and only five have rejected it," or "I have 50 letters in favor of it and only 5 against it" are most earnestly requested to remember that eventually you can not outnumber the truth in a free country.

It is not to be expected that private citizens with limited resources, and many other duties, are going to send Congressmen as many letters and resolutions against this legislation, as the \$1,000,000-a-year Children's Bureau, assisted by self-interested employees under the act in 43 States, and a score of almost equally self-interested organizations, maintaining resident lobbyists at Washington, will present in favor of it.

We respectfully suggest that the weight of evidence alone be considered in voting on the maternity act and that self-interested propaganda no more reflects the people's ultimate verdict in this case than it did in the case of the child labor amendment. In the end the facts and the people get together.

From the President of the United States to the mothers in the homes and on the farms comes the rising tide of public protest against the entire philosophy on which the maternity act is based.

The President in his Williamsburg speech, May 15, 1926, says:

"No plan of centralization has ever been adopted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, reaction, and decline.

"The States should not be induced by coercion or favor to surrender the management of their affairs."

How can anyone who agrees with the President about the results of centralism vote for a "plan of centralization" over American mothers and infants?

Nature, reason, statistics, health, history, experience, and the Constitution of the United States all condemn this adventure into the den of the communist wolf, with American babies being made to lead the way.

The appeals of the people against communist control over children are not confined to any section or group.

Senator THOMAS F. BAYARD, of Delaware, says:

"So many people have said to me, regardless of party, within and without my State, since the passage of the amendment, 'Can not something be done to prevent the United States Government coming between parent and child?'" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 28, 1925.)

Something has been done by the defeat of the child labor amendment, and something can be done again by rejecting the maternity act.

In conclusion, we respectfully present the opinions of only two mothers, living on farms 3,000 miles apart, a mother of eight children in Idaho, and a mother with three babies in up-State New York, 10 miles from a hospital:

Mrs. E. R. Hanford, mother of eight children, Boise, Idaho:

"Last Tuesday I visited a rural Parent Teachers' Association to explain the Sheppard-Towner 'maternity' act as it looks from my position as a mother of eight children, five of whom were born on a dry-farm homestead.

"Although the members of that circle, as well as those of every circle in the State were supposed to be on record as favoring the bill, not a person at that meeting had heard of the Sheppard-Towner Act until that day. The room bristled with indignation as thrifty, intelligent farmers' wives learned of the 'kind interest' national and State club women had taken to create jobs. All seemed to feel an injustice when it was learned that the State Parent Teachers' Association president had taken advantage of her office by working for a measure and accepting the position of 'State nurse,' thus using a trusted and honored office to further personal interests. They did not know until then that the legislative committee from the women's clubs had lobbied for the maternity bill, seeming to claim a true representation of all rural mothers as well, as they made it appear that the bill covered the wishes of every club woman in the State. All such authority on the part of the women lobbyists was bitterly questioned by rural Parent Teachers' Association members.

"In discussing the bill there was a feeling that not lectures, clinics, or pamphlets were needed since these from better authorities may be obtained from magazines and other sources. This opinion is also shared by many city members of my State. The set of maternity letters sent out by the maternity board seems to me to be but a feeble effort to advertise a worthless act. At the County Burbank Federation of Rural and City Clubs many spoke against the maternity bill and no one had courage to uphold it. From that time since political women seem to wish all discussion hushed. A meeting planned to 'educate the public' was postponed and has not yet been called.

"At the State Parent Teachers' Association convention, rural mothers were told by the national president—who was a guest—to do what sounded like: 'Sit down,' 'shut up,' and to 'sh, sh.' My ears are fairly reliable, but this was so hard to believe I asked others if I heard right. It sounded like that to many present. * * *

"How long will the daughters of the framers of the Declaration of Independence permit such King George manners?

"How long will plain mothers be ordered meekly to bow to the lordly dictation of political women? Just how far may job-seeking women go before another famous tea party will be held to declare no more advocating of bureaus by women until the results of honest discussion are proved."

Mrs. Charles S. Fayerweather, Fair Weather Farms, New Lebanon, N. Y.:

"Hon. Samuel E. Winslow, chairman, I am sorry to have to enter my protest to the Sheppard-Towner bill by written word. I wish I could be in Washington to-morrow. But a farmer's wife with three babies does not get to Washington. * * * We women in the country, educated or uneducated * * * bring our babies into the world and rear them with a minimum of human help, medical or otherwise.

"Those of us who, like myself, have some hospital experience try to help the others. We all go to the nearest hospital, 10 miles away, when we can manage it. If we did not have to pay the taxes, if Federal appropriations fell from heaven, as most socialists and social workers seem to think that they do, we should like to see Federal money available to help us build our own little county hospitals. But we shall get them somehow anyhow in time, and we know that educating ourselves and our neighbors to want and to pay for them and for a decent doctor is worth more to our children than any Federal agencies for nontechnical instruction, which, like the present well-intentioned State clinics in rural districts, would slide like water off a duck's back. There is plenty of instruction, technical and nontechnical, within our reach. Moreover, we being born and bred American of many generations don't like the idea of a Government that makes everything its business. We think a pretty plain lesson might be drawn from Germany. Their statute books were full of compulsory government welfare work from the cradle to the grave. And people before the war called our attention to their fine example. We know what sort of state-reared children grew into what sort of state-reared characters in the German nation.

"This maternity legislation sounds to us like the entering wedge to all that sort of government, and we don't want it.

"There are things that a children's bureau can do. It can get and publish nation-wide statistics about America. We don't support it to tell us what goes on in Austria or how much better they do things in Soviet Russia.

"American statistics help us Americans to go about our work of improving America in a characteristic American way. Volunteer work, assisted but never controlled by city, county, or State, and certainly not by nation, has solved many of our health problems and will solve others.

"We in the country think the American form as originally conceived very fine and worth keeping, and don't see in Prussia or Russia any improvement on it. And if most country women could crowd your committee room I am sure they would ask you to come out like American

men, husbands, and fathers against this futile and dangerous innovation in the name of the mothers and babies that we all are working for." (House hearings, July, 1921, p. 270.)

Very sincerely yours,

MARGARET DOANE FAYERWEATHER.

The Idaho mother's letter was written to this publication July 15, 1923, after the act had been in operation more than a year. The common sense of these farm mothers is not limited by a date line. The right of mothers to care for their own children without unreasonable government interference is eternal; it is the protest of the human family against the animal herd, the appeal of American motherhood against communist maternity systems. We pray for the constitutional rights of the home to be restored and the usurped powers of the maternity act to be abolished by the United States Senate.

A Children's Bureau that functions as a socialist propaganda agency; that devotes itself for five years to circumvention of the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court; a bureau that imports a convention of internationalists to frame "minimum standards" of legislation for the American Congress and State legislatures; a bureau that constantly seeks despotism over American youth for a dynasty of Hull House graduates and graduates its own exhibit expert into a full-fledged revolutionary communist; a bureau whose present chief defied the positive statute of Congress when she went before the House Appropriations Committee, December, 1922, and demanded \$440,000 more than the President's Budget provided, so that "the amount available to the bureau for administrative purposes" would be \$50,000 instead of \$28,000, thus seeking a commission for the bureau even on funds not allotted to the States (see House Appropriations Committee hearings, December, 1922, p. 275), a self-interested, self-power seeking bureau that juggles statistics in favor of foreign nations and poisons the minds of American mothers against their country as the most "careless" with their lives, simply to bring political pressure on Congress for bureau expansion; a bureau that demanded a "full grant of power" over every person under 18 on every farm, in every home and school of America; and that claims "the whole field of child care" without grant of power—by what right or reason can it be claimed that such a bureau should be placed in the worst form of control—financial control—over the plans of State health boards, the practice of physicians, nurses, midwives, etc., relating to maternity and infancy throughout America?

President Coolidge at Williamsburg May 15, 1926, said:

"Of all forms of Government, those administered by bureaus are about the least satisfactory. * * * Being irresponsible, they become autocratic; being autocratic, they resist development. Unless bureaucracy is constantly resisted it breaks down representative government and overwhelms democracy. It is the one element in our institutions that sets up the pretense of having authority over everybody and being responsible to nobody."

We pray that the autocratic, irresponsible authority of this bureau over American States, mothers, and children shall be abolished by the Senate.

Respectfully submitted by the board of directors.

The WOMAN PATRIOT PUBLISHING CO.,
8 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Attest:

MARY G. KILBRETH, President.

AFFIDAVIT

Before me, a notary public in and for the District of Columbia, personally appeared Mary G. Kilbreth, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is president of the Woman Patriot Publishing Co.; that she has diligently investigated the facts and documents cited in this memorandum of evidence; that the facts and herein stated of her own knowledge and observation are true, and those stated upon documentary information in her possession she believes to be true and to be accurately cited in this memorandum.

MARY G. KILBRETH.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 17th day of May, A. D. 1926.

[SEAL.]

CHARLES F. PACE,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

(My commission expires February 18, 1931.)

MR. AND MRS. CHARLES VANDERVEER

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I beg the indulgence of the Senate just one minute. I have been very much disturbed a long time about how the mail trucks drive through the streets of New York. They are perfect juggernauts. In this connection there are on the calendar two bills—House bill 2633 and House bill 1692, Orders of Business 1191 and 1193—which I should like to have given immediate consideration. In one case a child was killed by a chauffeur on a mail truck who was known to be intoxicated, and the reports so show.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I must, to my great regret, object to the present consideration of these bills. If we can get through the morning business, we can take up the calendar.

CONSIDERATION OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, at the conclusion of the routine morning business I had intended to ask unanimous consent to take up the calendar and consider unobjected bills for an hour.

I ask that at 11 o'clock we take up the calendar for the consideration of unobjected bills and proceed with the consideration of the calendar until 12 o'clock, commencing where we left off last night.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

ERADICATION OF COTTON HOPPER

Mr. RANDELL. Mr. President, I ask permission to read a telegram on a very important matter from Tallulah, La. It is as follows:

TALLULAH, LA., July 2, 1926.

Hon. JOSEPH E. RANDELL,

Washington, D. C.:

Cotton-hopper outbreak reported at various points in practically all portions Cotton Belt except semiarid sections west Texas and Oklahoma and extreme northeast in North Carolina and Virginia. Damage exceedingly variable, but very heavy in many places. Texas reports over 60 counties seriously infested. Recent survey shows about 40 counties in Georgia similarly injured. Have no summary figures available for intervening places as yet, but evidently damage occurs in about same proportions. In most severely injured fields all fruiting has been prevented to date. In other fields varying degrees of fruiting has been prevented. In northeast Louisiana probably at least 50 per cent reduction in fruiting is a conservative estimate. Duration of damage will vary tremendously in different localities and no way to prophesy when relief will occur. Large number of farmers now using sulphur for control, but not sufficient material available to treat any appreciable proportion of infested area. Cotton can, of course, recuperate somewhat once hopper is eliminated from the fields, but the most severely injured fields can at best make only a partial crop. Impossible at this time to attempt estimate of total loss, but it has evidently been tremendous. Those sections with normal boll weevil abundance will have serious weevil fight after the hopper is eliminated, as we must make a very late cotton crop during weevil migration period, when damage is heaviest. Many farmers now urging combined application of sulphur and calcium arsenate in attempt to save from weevil those few squares which have escaped hopper.

COAD.

Mr. Coad is in charge of the laboratory at Tallulah, La.

SAVANNAH RIVER BRIDGE, GEORGIA

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, out of order I ask leave to report from the Committee on Commerce favorably House bill 12796, for the construction of a bridge across the Savannah River between Georgia and South Carolina, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the States of Georgia and South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Savannah River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation at or near Burtons Ferry, to connect up the highway from Allendale, S. C., to Sylvania, Ga., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to each of the following bills of the House:

H. R. 8048. An act to provide for the leasing of public lands in Alaska for fur farming, and for other purposes; and
H. R. 8903. An act to authorize the sale and disposition of the abandoned tract or tracts of lands formerly used as a lifesaving station in Florida, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 4320. An act for the relief of the State of North Carolina;
H. R. 1252. An act for the relief of John Regan;
H. R. 1257. An act for the relief of Silas Overmire;
H. R. 2042. An act for the relief of Joseph L. Keresey;