

RUBY BLACK

1933 - 1944

RUBY A. BLACK
225 KELLOGG BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

file

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

NEWS BUREAU

100

June 17, 1933.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would enjoy seeking your comments, your clothes, and your conveyance compared with those of Martha Washington, by one who ought to know, in the oldest daily paper in the United States.

We are missing you here.

Find out all you can about Maine, and tell me about it, and do let me tell you some of the things that have happened in banking, in industry, in newspaper control, and in political control there in recent years. It is a fascinating and horrifying story. Besides, there is danger that the present Democratic leaders there will do no better than the Republicans have done all these years in which they sold the state to a few, who wrecked it.

Yours sincerely,

Ruby Black

June 15, 1933

THE ALEXANDRIA GAZETTE, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

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FIRST LADY VIEWS RELICS AT GADSBY'S

Brief History of Collection Is
Given by Mrs. Mark Hen-
derson, Owner

LADIES OF SENATE HERE

Entertained at Tea at Home of
Mrs. Henry Wilder Keyes
on North Alfred St.

By F. A. LONG

Yesterday afternoon at the pre-
view of famous antiques in Gadsby's
Tavern, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roose-
velt, guest of honor, walked through
the rooms once familiar to the tread
of Martha Washington, wife of the
first President and commented, as
the First Lady of the Long Ago
must have commented, upon the
charm of the place.

Mrs. Roosevelt, in contrast to the
elaborate attire of Mrs. Washington
of Colonial days, wore a simple gown
of navy blue with corsage of white
organdy flowers, and a wide-brimmed
blue hat to match her costume. In-
stead of arriving with the pomp and
ceremony of the royal coach of by-
gone days, Mrs. Roosevelt came in
her ultra-modern blue roadster and
was accompanied only by her secre-
tary, Mrs. Malvirna Scheider.

Various questions asked by the dis-
tinguished visitor showed her gen-
uine appreciation of the fine old
furniture and of the historic tavern,
now local American Legion head-
quarters. Mrs. Mark Henderson,
owner of the rare collection, gave a
brief history of several outstanding
relics of particular significance.

The air, fragrant and refreshing
after the recent rains, made ideal
weather for the visit. Sunlight
through the trees made cheerful pat-
terns on the flower beds and cob-
blestones of the ancient courtyard
and through the windowpanes upon
the wide board flooring.

At 3 p. m. the tavern event was
broadcast from the ballroom where
the Birthright Ball was reproduced
in 1932, as part of the Bicentennial
year celebration. The Army Band
from the War College furnished
music.

Following the pre-view, Mrs. Roose-
velt and the ladies of the Senate Club
were delightfully entertained at tea
in the spacious home of Senator and
Mrs. Henry Wilder Keyes on North

Alfred Street. The hostess received
in a gown of blue lace with lace
jacket to match.

Refreshments were served both in
the house and on the rear lawn
where trees, shrubs and old-fashioned
flowers made a charming out-of-doors
setting.

A profusion of summer flowers were
used throughout the house. In the
drawing room, stately white lilies
were used, also huge vases of pastel-
colored larkspur. Roses also and
baskets of pansies made effective
decorations.

The function at the beautiful home
brought to a close an eventful after-
noon, and one long to be remem-
bered in the annals of local history.

Among official guests were: Mrs.
Arthur H. Vanderburg, of Michigan;
Mrs. T. Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois;
Mrs. Nathaniel Dial, of South Caro-
lina; Mrs. Hamilton F. Kean, of New
Jersey; Mrs. Guy P. Goff, of West
Virginia; Mrs. David A. Reed and
Mrs. James Davis, with daughters,
Jane and Jean, of Pennsylvania; Mrs.
Pat Harrison, of Mississippi; Mrs. A.
D. Stanley, of Kentucky; Mrs. Wal-
lace White, of Maine; Mrs. Warren
Robinson Austin, Vermont; Mrs. Dan-
iel O. Hastings, Delaware; Mrs. Bur-
ton K. Wheeler, of Montana.

Mrs. Edward Costigan and Mrs.
J. R. Ash, of Colorado; Mrs. Post
Wheeler (formerly Hallie Ermine
Elves), of Paraguay; Mrs. Emily
Post; Mrs. George Dubois and Mrs.
Dexter Worth of Washington, D. C.;
Mrs. Herbert C. Thompson, Miss
Marie Correy, Colorado; Mrs. James
A. Byrnes, of South Carolina; Mrs.
Claude A. Swanson; Mrs. Felix Her-
bert, of Rhode Island; Miss Stella
Aiken, of Georgia; Miss Mary Doger,
of Arizona; and Mrs. Eleanor S.
Washington Howard, last child born
at Mt. Vernon.

Mrs. Frederick H. Gillett, Massa-
chusetts; Mrs. Harry B. Hawes, Mis-
souri; Mrs. Oille James.

CITY BRIEFS

The regular monthly meeting
Vulture No. 934, Forty & Eight
city, will be held tonight at
o'clock in Hershey's restaurant
business meeting will be pre-
ceded by a dinner at 6:30.

Radio equipment today w
led in the city ambulance
respond to calls while on

Game Warden Harry
gone to Norfolk to
game commission pe

Beginning 8
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August 3, 1933

Dear Ruby:

Of course, I was enormously pleased by your piece and so was the President.

I am glad you miss me and I am coming down the day before the President gets there so we may have a press conference before I go to White Top.

I wish you were up here though the heat is worse, I think, than in Washington. Emma Bugbee was here for two or three days and is now gone but expects to return the end of the week.

There is nothing to report about as I am not doing anything of interest until next Monday when I go to Camp Tera and to a number of the other camps as well.

The numbers of people, however, that we have with us constantly, make life business matter where we are but Tommy and I are getting some work done.

Affectionately

Miss Ruby A. Black
824 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

File

RUBY A. BLACK
~~222 BELKORSE BUILDING~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
324 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

NEWS BUREAU

211 $\frac{1}{2}$ Prince St.,
Alexandria, Va.,
July 31, 1933.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Saturday night when we got home, we found the jar of wild strawberry jam from Searsport, and it has made the usually dull, if nourishing, first meal of the day decidedly interesting yesterday and today. I haven't tried it on Cornelia Jane yet, since she is such a conservative.

I thought perhaps you would be interested in "Puddler Jim" Davis's actions during Miss Perkins's testimony on steel. I wish I could have seen inside his heart and brain, if any, during Miss Perkins's magnificent presentation. "The people's friend and whose life is an open book", as Barger on picturesquely and ungrammatically calls him!

I hope it is not as hot there as it is here, but the boys are writing of terrific heat along the Hudson.

What I meant to say in the second paragraph is that I am sending you herewith a copy of the story I sent my papers, not because I think it is such a grand story but because I thought you would appreciate the former Secretary of Labor's reactions to the present Secretary of Labor. Just throw the copy away when you are through with it.

The policeman in front of your front door told me today the time passes much less rapidly.

The press can hardly say the time passes less rapidly because of your absence, for 7 and 8 p.m. continue to arrive with the work not nearly done, but at any rate Monday is less interesting for a lot of us.

This letter does not require an answer. I do not want to add to your burdens. I just wanted to thank you for the grand strawberry jam and to tell you about Puddler Jim's folded arms and Robert P. Lamont's tremors and sweats during Miss Perkins's relentless unmaking.

With my best wishes to you for a vacation, I am

Yours sincerely,

Ruby A. Black

mailed July 31, 1933.

BY RUBY A. BLACK

WASHINGTON -- "Puddler Jim" Davis, the Welshman who worked his way up from a steel worker at the age of 11 to the post of Secretary of Labor at the age of 47 and held it for a decade, acquiring a fine home in Washington's most fashionable street, sat with his arms folded while the longest applause ever given in a H. R. A. hearing went to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins's plea for improved conditions for steel workers.

James J. Davis, after being Secretary of Labor under Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, then went to the United States Senate and is now engaged in fighting ill health and an indictment on charges of operating a lottery through his 10,000 connections. He sat in the front row during the hearings on the steel code. He heard a plea for abolition of the 7-day week in the steel mills, for time off for lunch so the steel mill workers can "eat the rather meager contents of their lunch boxes in peace, in quiet, and in cleanliness," for higher wages than the \$16 a week proposed in the code, for a work day of not more than 8 hours, for 36 or 30 hours a week instead of 40, for re-employment of 100,000 steel workers, ~~and~~ for steel mill management to apply the same ingenuity they used in eliminating industrial hazards and solving business and production problems to solving the problem of security and greater purchasing power for its workers.

steel hearings--2

Tremendous and prolonged applause followed the fluent, lucid, forceful, well-documented presentation by the first woman Cabinet member, who had just returned for a visit to the steel mills. But the former steel worker and secretary of labor did not join it. Neither did the steel management leaders present.

Another former Cabinet member was involved, too. Former Secretary of Commerce Robert Patterson Lamont presented the case for the American Iron and Steel Institute, of which he is president. He read haltingly from his prepared explanation, often misreading words in ways that entirely changed the meaning, sometimes going back to correct himself, sometimes not. Secretary Perkins skipped through her prepared speech, entirely rearranging its order, but never halted. Her voice could be heard throughout the big auditorium. Slim, precise-looking Lamont's could scarcely be heard at the press tables just underneath.

Perhaps it was solely the heat, which was scorching, that caused Lamont to mop his bald head with its rim of damp, mouse-colored hair, all during Secretary Perkins's presentation of the case for the workers. But the ~~sympathetic~~ ~~concerned~~ ~~sympathetic~~ brow and the slightly graying brown hair of the Secretary of Labor remained unmoistened as she talked, although she wore black silk, with long sleeves. She had on another new black straw hat, and it is not a Gibrone. It has a narrow brim turned on at the right side.

The steel industry was "on the spot," and knew it, put there by a woman. No such plea for workers had ever been made by a secretary of labor.

steel hearings--3

The leaders had already had to withdraw their treasured "open shop" provision of the code they proposed because Administrator Hugh B. Johnson, General Counsel Donald R. Richberg, and Secretary Perkins would stand for no modification or qualification of the statute.

Using her favoritism analogy, Secretary Perkins recounted the fine work of the steel industry in eliminating accidents and diseases, and told them, in effect, they could eliminate insecurity and low living standards if they used their brains.

She told how men work 18 days without a day of rest, and get one day off, and plead for one day of rest in seven.

Pointing out that every single wage rate in the 21 proposed districts is lower than the average of the entrance rates for 1929, she said, "This is not increasing purchasing power. It is merely the policy of sharing the work and dividing wages, which, though helpful in preventing distress, was not able to increase employment and stimulate revival prior to enactment of the Recovery Act."

She praised the industry for proposing to abolish the system of spying on one another's trade secrets, -- "business espionage", she called it -- and proposed that it also eliminate "labor espionage." The steel industry did not want that brought up, just as the textile industry did not want the "stretch-out system" brought up.

But everything is brought up in these hearings. The great expert on "basing points" is to be brought into the steel hearing. An expert on labor espionage will tell all about that.

Gen. Johnson calls the N.R.A. a goldfish bowl, and the hidden dark secrets are being brought with all the clarity ~~of~~ ^{of} the bright tropical fish ^{that} swim around in the aquarium in the basement of the corner building.

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August 26, 1933

Dear Ruby:

Many thanks for your letter. If you are up in this vicinity be sure to let me know. I will see your part of the press at any time. We are having a picnic for all the newspaper fraternity Monday night at 6 o'clock, and if the weather, which has been perfectly excoriable, will allow you, do come and bring your family with you.

On the 31st we will all be leaving, so please come before that.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
Rm. 824
National Press Building
Washington DC

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RUBY A. BLACK
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WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

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NEWS BUREAU

December 7, 1933.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought the attached note from one of my editors would interest you.

With my collaboration, a reporter who has been working for me wrote a series of six articles about the Cugwell bill and sent it to all my papers. I have seen none of the articles printed so far in any of the eight papers, but this is the only reply I have had.

Some time ago I asked you if you could come some evening this winter to a meeting of the National Capital Chapter of Theta Sigma Phi, national honorary and professional fraternity for women in journalism. We usually meet at some member's home every third Tuesday night, but if you can find a time to come, we will meet any night of the week, any week. I hoped you could come to a meeting at my house. I wish it could be when Hick is in town, so she could come too. I'd like Tommie to come with you, also.

Maybe you can find some evening during Lent. Any time you say will suit me and the rest of the girls. Among the members here are Geno, Ruth Finney, Josephine Hemphill of the Agriculture Department information service, who is now coming to your conferences, Flora Orr, Martha Dalrymple, and a lot of others.

I shall never forget, of course, the grand time I had at Warm Springs, and going and coming, and I'll probably be telling my grandchildren about it sometime.

Yours devotedly,

File

Ruby A. Black

Article No. 1

Dear Ruby: I rather suspect cutting off a Washington correspondent would be the first practical effect of the passage of this measure on the Globe-Gazette. We turn down plenty of advertising but we prefer to do it ourselves rather than having it dictated to us by a Rexford Tugwell. We're not using this series. W.S.H.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is the first of a series of articles explaining the proposed new Food and Drug Act and explaining the abuses reported by the Department of Agriculture under the present laws.

THETA SIGMA PHI

National Honorary and Professional Fraternity for Women in Journalism

FOUNDED APRIL 8, 1909, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Founders: HELEN ROSS LANTZ, BLANCHE BRACE, GEORGINA MACDOUGALL DAVIS, RACHEL MARSHALL TERRELL, OLIVE MAUERMAN, HELEN GRAVES HUNTER and IRENE SOMMERVILLE DURHAM

Objects: (1) *Uniting in the bonds of good fellowship college-trained women either engaging or purposing to engage in the profession of journalism.*

(2) *Conferring honor upon women who distinguish themselves in journalism, either as undergraduates or professionals.*

(3) *Accomplishing definite achievements as an organization in the field of letters calculated to raise the standard of journalism, to improve the working conditions for women of the profession, and to inspire the individual to greater effort.*

—Preamble to the Constitution.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President—Gladys Whitley Henderson, 403 W. 13th, Apt. C, Austin, Texas

Vice-President—Amanda A. Thomas, Warden's Residence, Ohio State Penitentiary, Columbus, Ohio

Secretary—Dorothea Lohoff Schlegel, 1612 E. 8th St., Kansas City, Mo.

Register Adviser—Kathryn Shattuck, Room 400, 1020 McGee St., Kansas City, Mo.

Treasurer—Georgina MacDougall Davis, 2306 W. Pacific, Spokane, Wash.

Editor of THE MATRIX—Naomi Buck, 222 St. Louis Street, Edwardsville, Ill.

Organizer—Caralee Strock Stanard, 486 East Big Bend Road, Webster Groves, Mo.

MATRIX Table Committee, Harriett Daily Collins, Chairman, 2320 Tremont Road, Columbus, Ohio

ACTIVE CHAPTER SECRETARIES

- ALPHA—(University of Washington)—Elizabeth Harrnett, 6004 Seventh N. E., Seattle, Wash.
- BETA—(University of Wisconsin)—Mary Sheridan, Chadbourne Hall, Madison, Wis.
- GAMMA—(University of Missouri)—Hilda Butts, 510 Rutlin, Columbia, Mo.
- DELTA—(University of Indiana)—Glendora Ketcham, Zeta Tau Alpha, Indianapolis, Ind.
- EPSILON—(University of Kansas)—Jessamine Jackson, 901 Michigan, Lawrence, Kan.
- ZETA—(University of Oklahoma)—Neil Drennan, 118 College, Norman, Okla.
- ETA—(Ohio State University)—Vera Etinger, 64 Fifteenth Ave., Columbus, Ohio.
- THETA—(University of Oregon)—Esther Hayden, Alpha Gamma Delta, Eugene, Ore.
- IOTA—(Stanford University)—Frances Johnson, 1200 Emerson, Palo Alto, Calif.
- KAPPA—(University of Montana)—Mearl Francisco, Corbin Hall, Missoula, Mont.
- LAMBDA—(University of Nebraska)—Lucille Lindgren, 1516 S St., Lincoln, Neb.
- MU—(Kansas State College)—Virginia Haggart, 1801 Laramie, Manhattan, Kan.
- NU—(University of Minnesota)—Ardis Lundgren, St. Paul, Minn.
- XI—(University of Texas)—Louise Herring, Scottish Rite Bldg., Dallas, Tex.
- OMICRON—(Iowa State College)—Gertrude Hendricks, Mary B. Welch, East, Ames, Iowa.
- PI—(University of Illinois)—Betty Lou Hughes, 907 S. Wright, Champaign, Ill.
- RHO—(University of Iowa)—Jean Ballard, Chi Omega, Iowa City, Iowa.
- SIGMA—(DePauw University)—Geraldine Powell, 4721 N. Capitol Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
- TAU—(New York University)—Hortense Silverman, 1172 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- PHI—(Columbia University)
- CHI—(University of Kentucky)
- OMEGA—(Syracuse University)—Agnes Gleiser, 28 Walnut Place, Syracuse, N. Y.
- ALPHA ALPHA—(University of California)—Florence Millins, 2543 Edin, Berkeley, Calif.
- ALPHA BETA—(Northwestern University)—Arlene Crouch, 630 Emerson St., Evanston, Ill.
- ALPHA GAMMA—(Marquette University)—Alice Doyle, 2152 North Fifty-seventh St., Milwaukee, Wis.
- ALPHA DELTA—(Grinnell College)—Marty E. Hall, Cottage 4, Grinnell, Iowa.
- ALPHA EPSILON—(Baylor College)—Modina Warren, Baylor Station, Belton, Tex.
- ALPHA ZETA—(Washington State College)—Mary Lasher, 601 California, Pullman, Wash.
- ALPHA ETA—(Oregon State College)—Katherine McIntyre, Chi Omega, Corvallis, Ore.
- ALPHA THETA—(University of Michigan)—Marjorie Beck, 1204 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- ALPHA IOTA—(Butler University)—Frances Wysoog, 1114 Reiner St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- ALPHA KAPPA—(Louisiana State University)—Louise Dugas, Route 4, Baton Rouge, La.
- ALPHA LAMBDA—(University of Colorado)—Catherine Sahl, 1011 Sixteenth St., Boulder, Colo.
- ALPHA MU—(Southern Methodist University)—Elizabeth Lynch, 1447 Vermont, Dallas, Tex.
- ALPHA NU—(Baylor University)—Lela Sloas, Memorial Dorm., Baylor U., Waco, Tex.
- ALPHA XI—(University of Georgia)—Dorothy Greene, Millidge Hotel, Athens, Ga.
- ALPHA OMICRON—(University of Southern California)
- ALPHA PI—(Texas State College for Women)—Elizabeth Hurley, C. I. A. Station, Denton, Tex.
- ALPHA RHO—(Drake University)—Glenn Glidden, 4811 Ingersoll Ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
- ALPHA SIGMA—(Temple University)—Esther Klein, 1625 Polat Breeze Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- CHICAGO—Bernice Cranston, 5140 Cornell Ave. Register, Alice Kling, 50 E. Cedar.
- CLEVELAND—Sybil A. A. Cochran, 1504 Sherbrook Rd., S. Euclid. Register, Lillian Hoskins Middlemas, Mentor Headlands, R. R. 4, Palmsville.
- COLUMBUS—Katherine Ferris Dolan, 1721 Summit. Register, Florence Collins Weed, 45 E. Longview Ave.
- DALLAS—Graydon Hearrell, Times-Herald.
- DES MOINES—Mrs. Keith B. Merrill, 1121 Forty-fifth St., Des Moines, Iowa. Register, Josephine Wylie Dripps, Meredith Publishing Co., Des Moines.
- HONOLULU—Katherine Wold, 286 A, Beach Walk, Honolulu, T. H. Register, Same.
- INDIANAPOLIS—Lotys Benning, 1460 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind. Register, Winifred Smith, 108 E. Thirteenth St., Indianapolis.
- KANSAS CITY—Jane St. Clair, 2815 Olive St.
- LINCOLN—Marie Dugan, Lei Lau Farl Apts., Lincoln, Nebr. Register, Ruth Schad Pike, 541 S. Eighteenth St., Lincoln.
- MILWAUKEE—Phyllis Koepen, 614 Washington St., Milwaukee.
- NATIONAL CAPITOL—Geneva Stiffer Booker, 1409 Twenty-ninth St., N. W., Washington. Register, Ruby Black, 225 Kellogg Bldg., Washington.
- NEW YORK—Dorothy Morehouse, 30 Draper Terrace, Montclair, N. J.
- OMAHA—Mrs. Roy Wensberg, 1045 Ida St., Omaha. Register, Ruth Godfrey, 1118 S. Thirty-second St., Omaha, Nebr.
- SAN ANTONIO—Mildred Carson Vogelzang, 2002 West Holmside Ave., San Antonio, Tex.
- SAN FRANCISCO—Mrs. Lewis Lionvalle, 2265 Larkin St., San Francisco. Register, Genevieve Callahan, "The Sunset Magazine," 1045 Sansome St., San Francisco.
- SEATTLE—Mari Brattain, KOL Radio Station, Seattle.
- SPOKANE—Edith Abbott Coleman, 4928 Washington St., Spokane. Register, Georgina MacDougall Davis, c/o Federal Reserve Bank.
- ST. LOUIS—Margaret Welner, 7006 Tulane, St. Louis. Register Adelaide Hazeltine Jones, 1041 Art Hill Pl.
- TWIN CITIES—Mrs. Arthur C. Struchauer, 510 Groveland, Minneapolis. Register, Anna Lou Tasker, The Tribune, Minneapolis.

ALUMNAE CHAPTER DIRECTORY

- AUSTIN—Mary Louise McDonald, 108 W. Sixteenth. Register, Ruth Smith Pool, 2101 Oldham.
- BLOOMINGTON—Cornelia Vos Christensen, 400 E. Second St.

February 21, 1934

Dear Ruby:

many, many thanks for your
kind article. I appreciate it very
much. You are grand to feel the
way you do.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black

RUBY A. BLACK
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

From me to you with love.

It's on page 11, continued to page 33.

I hope it doesn't embarrass any of us!

Ruby

'NEW DEAL' FOR NEWS WOMEN IN CAPITAL

Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conferences, Exclusively for Women, Have Brought New Jobs, Increased Pay, and Raised Writers' Status Generally—Tea Pouring Items Give Way to Big News

By RUBY A. BLACK

THE unprecedented idea of having two news personalities in the White House—man and wife both concerned with public affairs—still has Washington slightly groggy—or, maybe, agog.

Anyway, by grace of Eleanor Roosevelt, it has happened. The President's wife thinks and does things, aids the President in many ways other than pouring the tea, and is an important factor in humanizing the New Deal.

Moreover, in so doing, she has brought a New Deal to the newspaper women of the national capital. She brought jobs to jobless newspaper women, raises to some who had been poorly paid, recognition to those who had been shoved off in a corner, stimulus to every one who goes to her weekly press conferences, who watches her bring vital, sometimes stark, reality into otherwise politely superficial functions or dull meetings.

The best story of Monday, Jan. 29, came from Mrs. Roosevelt's press conference, editors say. That was the story of the policy of the White House on the serving of liquor there after the repeal of prohibition in the District of Columbia.

We had asked Mrs. Roosevelt about this, and she had told us she would give us a statement when the law was approved by the President, as she had done when beer was legalized. At press conference on Jan. 23, it appeared that the President might sign the bill that day, and it was suggested that she might hold a special press conference to tell us about it.

"I'll call him and see when he is going to sign it, and then we'll see about the special press conference," Mrs. Roosevelt said. She left the press conference to talk with him, and, on returning, reported that he had said he wanted nothing given out about the White House policy until her conference the coming Monday.

After we had arrived Monday, Raymond Muir, chief usher, gave us a 5-line statement saying that wine would be served, American wines being given preference, but no distilled liquor.

We were told to hold this until the conference had ended, but one society editor, not understanding this, managed to get away and telephone it to her office. When Bess Furman of the Associated Press and I, of the United

married, to work, and the possibility, in an emergency, that any person, male or female, married or unmarried, with other means of support, might give his job to another, or share it with another, who needed it more.

Even that, however, was a long way from what happened on Jan. 15, when

ing legislative or administrative policies.

Mrs. Roosevelt's importance in the administration has not yet been fully realized by those who edit the news. She herself tries to minimize it. Mrs. Roosevelt's one passion is human beings and their happiness, comfort, and security. The administration has many



Chairs are at a premium and informality is the order of the day when the more than a score of newspaper women gather for Mrs. Roosevelt's weekly press conference each Monday morning. This photograph shows the first of the First Lady's conferences shortly after the inauguration last March.

Mrs. Roosevelt's old friend, Miss Mary M. Dewson, director of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee, was present at the press conference. Miss Dewson, before Mrs. Roosevelt began her part of the conference, handed out a statement from the national committee on the new set-up of the women's Democratic organization and then answered questions about it.

She admitted, under questioning by Bess Furman, that it was the "opening gun" of the women's brigade in the coming Congressional battle.

Mrs. Roosevelt sat silent during most of Miss Dewson's explanation, but occasionally she threw in a comment, an enlightenment. Both Mrs. Roosevelt

activities definitely affecting this dominant interest of hers: Her knowledge of this country and the people who live in it is extensive and intensive, probably unexcelled.

Therefore, she is consulted by many government officials. Her suggestions are gratefully received, and many of them have become realities. She is careful to point out that she merely cooperates with officials, that she does not and cannot direct.

Surplus farm products are being fed to the hungry instead of being destroyed because she asked a government official a question. Stranded miners in West Virginia are about to move into homes, with plumbing, electricity, and "a bed for every member of the family," as

talking and being gaped at by tourists while we wait. Then an usher opens the iron gates to the formal stairway, and we all go up the stairs, down the long second-floor corridor, around a screen, and into the bright room Mrs. Roosevelt has arranged at the East end for morning conferences, small afternoon teas and such things.

After we are all in, Mrs. Roosevelt usually enters from her study, with her secretary, Malvina Thompson. She shakes hands with every one there every time. She sits on a settee, with Miss Thompson beside her, and when we have filled all the chairs and the arms of chairs, the rest sit on the floor. On Monday, Jan. 29, she varied the procedure by being there when we arrived.

For at least an hour, the questioning goes on, the discussion of innumerable topics, Mrs. Roosevelt's own announcements. Often she tells us something which has amused her. Sometimes she reads from some of her thousands of letters which give intimate and often heart-squeezing pictures of life in this country—"off the record," like much else of what she says. We are not supposed to quote from her directly unless she authorizes it, and Miss Thompson reads back the transcript for us to check with our notes.

Admission to Mrs. Roosevelt's conferences must be obtained through Stephen T. Early, the President's press secretary.

Several times Mrs. Roosevelt has held joint conferences with officials doing work in which she is interested. The first and most notable of these was the joint conference with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, at which plans for the camps for unemployed women were announced.

At another, Mrs. Mary H. Rumsey, chairman of the NRA Consumers' Advisory Board, described the plans for consumers' county councils.

Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, director of women's work in the Civil Works Administration, came to one to talk about Civil Works jobs for women.

President Roosevelt has the press men from the government departments at his press conferences. Mrs. Roosevelt now has at hers women executives or editorial workers from the government departments, and the newspaper women ask questions of them when Mrs.

story of the policy of the White House on the serving of liquor there after the repeal of prohibition in the District of Columbia.

We had asked Mrs. Roosevelt about this, and she had told us she would give us a statement when the law was approved by the President, as she had done when beer was legalized. At press conference on Jan. 23, it appeared that the President might sign the bill that day, and it was suggested that she might hold a special press conference to tell us about it.

"I'll call him and see when he is going to sign it, and then we'll see about the special press conference," Mrs. Roosevelt said. She left the press conference to talk with him, and, on returning, reported that he had said he wanted nothing given out about the White House policy until her conference the coming Monday.

After we had arrived Monday, Raymond Moir, chief usher, gave us a 5-line statement saying that wine would be served, American wines being given preference, but no distilled liquor.

We were told to hold this until the conference had ended, but one society editor, not understanding this, managed to get away and telephone it to her office. When Bess Furman of the Associated Press and I, of the United Press, learned this, we told Mrs. Roosevelt, who immediately told us to go into her study and telephone our stories. She found Marie Manning Gasch of International News Service also perturbed, and sent her to another telephone. She held up the press conference until the press associations had their stories on the wire, so that we should not be "scooped."

There was much controversy when Mrs. Roosevelt, before inauguration, decided to have, after inauguration, weekly press conferences to which only women reporters would be admitted. Many thought it was unbecoming of a President's wife and might embarrass the President. Others thought, since she said she would not talk about politics, that the press conferences would produce nothing but stories about her clothes, her parties, her menus, the charity benefits she might aid, and all the other polite things a First Lady does, plus some unusual activities of her own, innocuous even if unprecedented.

Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences began somewhat like that. She squelched any question that had to do with public affairs. Occasionally, as time passed, if some one asked her, for example, a question about the governmental policy, fixed by previous law, of firing married women when economy measures required staff reductions, she quoted something she had said prior to inauguration about the right of any person, male or female, married or un-



Chairs are at a premium and informality is the order of the day when the more than a score of newspaper women gather for Mrs. Roosevelt's weekly press conference each Monday morning. This photograph shows the first of the First Lady's conferences shortly after the inauguration last March.

Mrs. Roosevelt's old friend, Miss Mary M. Dewson, director of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee, was present at the press conference. Miss Dewson, before Mrs. Roosevelt began her part of the conference, handed out a statement from the national committee on the new set-up of the women's Democratic organization and then answered questions about it.

She admitted, under questioning by Bess Furman, that it was the "opening gun" of the women's brigade in the coming Congressional battle.

Mrs. Roosevelt sat silent during most of Miss Dewson's explanation, but occasionally she threw in a comment, an enlightenment. Both Mrs. Roosevelt and "Mollie" Dewson were careful, however, not to reveal whether Mrs. Roosevelt had any part in the new set-up. When Miss Dewson said that the women Democrats had long hoped for such an organization, and were now about to achieve it, "for many reasons," I asked her to "name three." Mrs. Roosevelt gave me a humorously reproving look for my impudence, and Miss Dewson said, after a pause, "This Democratic party really believes in women, and the plan was presented to it properly." All informed women reporters knew that Mrs. Roosevelt had been the major worker in organizing New York women Democrats from 1922 on.

Previously, a President's wife acted as if she did not know that a political party existed, except, possibly, to go once a year to a luncheon given by the women of her husband's party. The "not strictly political" subjects which have been discussed in Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences include: The plans and developments of the subsistence farm-factory projects with which she is closely connected; low-cost housing; wages and jobs for women and equal pay for equal work in NRA codes; ways to find Civil Works jobs for artists, sculptors, musicians, actors, etc.; education; old-age pensions; decentralization of industry; minimum wages; equality between men and women; whether or not women will be employed in the United States Embassy in Soviet Russia. Nearly all these subjects have something to do with pend-

activities definitely affecting this dominant interest of hers. Her knowledge of this country and the people who live in it is extensive and intensive, probably unexcelled.

Therefore, she is consulted by many government officials. Her suggestions are gratefully received, and many of them have become realities. She is careful to point out that she merely cooperates with officials, that she does not and cannot direct.

Surplus farm products are being fed to the hungry instead of being destroyed because she asked a government official a question. Stranded miners in West Virginia are about to move into homes, with plumbing, electricity, and "a bed for every member of the family," as the women asked in a round-robin to Mrs. Roosevelt, on a farm-factory project where they will grow their food and earn cash working in a factory to be built with \$525,000 of public works funds—all because Mrs. Roosevelt and her husband had long dreamed of such a plan and Mrs. Roosevelt could take the time to go to West Virginia and find a place where their dream could readily come true, since the groundwork had been laid by other agencies.

These are merely a few well-known examples. There are many others. Occasionally something is printed on the front pages of newspapers which is old stuff to the women who cover Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences. We have written about it, but our stories got either in the wastebaskets or on the women's page because many editors still think in that kind of pattern about stories written by women about women. Then, when a Cabinet member "reveals" the story, it gets front-page play. Occasionally, too, we are "scooped," or "scoop" ourselves from another source, because Mrs. Roosevelt does not release some of her best stories herself.

The press conferences are very informal, and last a long time. Sometimes she, like everybody else in this administration, is late. They are scheduled for 11 a. m. Mondays. The newspaper women, 30 to 40, and a group of women doing editorial work in government departments, enter the front door of the White House and go to the Green Room, smoking cigarettes and

heart-squeezing pictures of life in this country—"off the record," like much else of what she says. We are not supposed to quote from her directly unless she authorizes it, and Miss Thompson reads back the transcript for us to check with our notes.

Admission to Mrs. Roosevelt's conferences must be obtained through Stephen T. Early, the President's press secretary.

Several times Mrs. Roosevelt has held joint conferences with officials doing work in which she is interested. The first and most notable of these was the joint conference with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, at which plans for the camps for unemployed women were announced.

At another, Mrs. Mary H. Rumsey, chairman of the NRA Consumers' Advisory Board, described the plans for consumers' county councils.

Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, director of women's work in the Civil Works Administration, came to one to talk about Civil Works jobs for women.

President Roosevelt has the press men from the government departments at his press conferences. Mrs. Roosevelt now has at hers women executives or editorial workers from the government departments, and the newspaper women ask questions of them when Mrs. Roosevelt is discussing something connected with their work.

The first story from Mrs. Roosevelt's press conference which really made the newspapermen feel that "the girls" had access to stories they would like to have for themselves was that about serving legal beer in the White House.

The question was asked at the President's press conference, "Off the record," he replied, "You'll have to ask my wife."

Mrs. Roosevelt was in New York. I met her at the airplane on her return, and told her the United Press had asked me to ask her if she, a teetotaler, but a firm believer in other people's rights, would permit beer to be served in the White House after it was legal.

"You'll have to ask my husband," she replied. I told her what had happened at the President's conference, and after her laughter had subsided, she promised to consult her husband and answer my question at the next press conference.

When the time arrived, she had prepared mimeographed statements for distribution. Both Bess Furman and I, confident that we knew what she would say, had written "hold for release by telephone leads which were on our office desks, waiting for our word. We had guessed right, and all we had to do was to dictate the quotation after releasing our leads.

Mrs. Roosevelt, like the President
(Continued on page 44)

'NEW DEAL' FOR WOMEN WRITERS IN CAPITAL
(Continued from page 11)

has many informal and intimate contacts with newspaper reporters, but she, like him, does not permit these to give one reporter an advantage over another. She is scrupulously fair to see that none of us get "scooped" if she can help it. She is particularly careful not to "scoop" us herself, in anything she writes for newspapers or magazines. She has usually said to us, in one form or another, anything she writes for her own columns. By the way, she writes her books, magazine articles, and newspaper syndicate stories herself. She has no ghost.

She invites us to her luncheon table, her tea table, her dinner table, not as a duty or a gesture of "being nice to the press" but as human beings with whom she likes to talk. She does as a good neighbor or a good friend would do if misfortune visits us. On Christmas Eve, she called up Genevieve Forbes Herrick of the *Chicago Tribune*, and found that Geno's husband, John, also of the *Chicago Tribune*, was sick. She simply got in the car and went out to Alexandria, Va., to take flowers and see if there was anything else she could do. When her Scottie, Meggie, bit Bess Furman, while Mrs. Roosevelt was giving Bess a lift in her car, she took Bess to the hospital for treatment, took her home, and banished Meggie. When, on New Year's Day, she learned that Bess's mother-in-law, Mrs. Robert B. Armstrong, wife of one newspaperman and mother of another, had suddenly died, Mrs. Roosevelt was among the first to go out to the house. When I had a cough that seemed permanent, she simply "took" me to Warm Springs with her and made me lie in the sun, eat and sleep regularly and plentifully, sit by her fire-side, and take some exercise.

She does none of these things in a way that puts obligations on any of us. She and the President do similar things, too, for the newspapermen and their families, spontaneous, friendly things, done exactly as they would do them for anybody else they know or like. The policies of the papers for which we write make no difference. If I may be personal, to prove this point, I would like to say that, in addition to covering Mrs. Roosevelt for the United Press, I have my own news bureau with nine papers, including seven normally Republican papers on the continent and *La Democracia* of Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican paper came in from Aug. 12 until Jan. 12

nual "stunt party" of the Women's National Press Club. No other First Lady had done so. She is coming again March 19. Then, when the Gridiron Club had its first dinner of the new administration, Mrs. Roosevelt had a supper party for the women officials, including a Cabinet member and the Minister to Denmark, and the newspaper women who could not, of course, go to the Gridiron Club. At the second Gridiron dinner, she extended her invitation list to the "Gridiron Widows' Party" to include wives of Gridiron members and distinguished guests at the men's function. Katharine Dayton wrote and acted a stunt that couldn't have been beaten by any at the Gridiron Club. Nancy Cook, Mrs. Roosevelt's associate in the Val-Kill furniture shop, showed movies she had made of the Roosevelt family. Mary Eben, of the White House staff, did a take-off. Mary Rumsey promptly dubbed the party the "Flatiron Supper." "Electric Iron Supper" would be a better pseudonym. The "off the record" stories told there nearly all appeared in men's gossip columns later.

When the plans for Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences were announced, May Craig, of the *Portland (Me.) Press-Herald* and *Evening Express*, was greatly disturbed because men were not to be admitted. She feared that the practice might lead to barring women from some of the conferences held by male officials. Mrs. Roosevelt apparently insisted upon having women only for two reasons: As long as newspaper employers employ fewer women than men, it is just as well to have one job that only women can do; as she is not a government official, she can arrange her press conferences as she pleases, while actual officials of the government must admit to their conferences all accredited correspondents.

So far, Mrs. Roosevelt has proved to be right. There are more women at press conferences of the President and the Cabinet and in the Congressional Press Galleries than before, rather than fewer. When Secretary of the Interior and Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes held his legal beer party for the press around Christmas, Mrs. Craig was there, although, like Mrs. Roosevelt, she does not imbibe, and although in the past such parties were for the men only, even if the press conferences were open to the women.

Therefore, Mrs. Roosevelt has raised our morale tremendously, because she does not put up in the class of "women reporters" at all, despite the sex prerequisite for admission to her conferences. We cover her conferences as

Publisher's Interim Statement

(To Audit Bureau of Circulation)

Fort Worth Star-Telegram

Daily Average Net Paid Circulation

3 MONTHS ENDING DEC. 31, 1933

City Zone	- - - - -	55,580
Retail Trading Zone	- - - - -	24,241
All Other	- - - - -	61,850
TOTAL	- - - - -	141,671

(Milline 2.04)

Gain in 3 Months

7,885

Daily Average Net Paid Circulation—ABC Audit 12 Months Ending Sept. 30, 1933

133,786

(Milline 2.16)

Meggie, hit Bess Furman, while Mrs. Roosevelt was giving Bess a lift in her car, she took Bess to the hospital for treatment, took her home, and banished Meggie. When, on New Year's Day, she learned that Bess's mother-in-law, Mrs. Robert B. Armstrong, wife of one newspaperman and mother of another, had suddenly died, Mrs. Roosevelt was among the first to go out to the house. When I had a cough that seemed permanent, she simply "took" me to Warm Springs with her and made me lie in the sun, eat and sleep regularly and plentifully, sit by her fire-side, and take some exercise.

She does none of these things in a way that puts obligations on any of us. She and the President do similar things, too, for the newspapermen and their families, spontaneous, friendly things, done exactly as they would do them for anybody else they know or like. The policies of the papers for which we write make no difference. If I may be personal, to prove this point, I would like to say that, in addition to covering Mrs. Roosevelt for the United Press, I have my own news bureau with nine papers, including seven normally Republican papers on the continent and *La Democracia* of Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican paper campaigned from Aug. 12 until Jan. 12 for the removal of Robert H. Gore, appointed by President Roosevelt to be Governor of Puerto Rico. His resignation was accepted Jan. 12. All the stories I wrote against him made no difference in my reception at the White House or at Warm Springs.

Many of the newspaper women cover general news as well as Mrs. Roosevelt's news conferences and other "women's news." For the first time, we have, because of Mrs. Roosevelt, the opportunity of seeing the President informally, at supper, at tea, at the Presidential fireside. Previously some newspapermen have been accorded this privilege. Their wives were often invited to accompany them. But never before have newspaper women been invited, on their own, with, perhaps, their husbands accompanying them, to Sunday night suppers at the White House and to other informal affairs where they might see the President and talk with him. Thus Mrs. Roosevelt not only has made specific jobs for women by her own press conferences, but she has overcome that old feeling that a publisher sometime had when confronted with the proposal to employ a woman as his regular correspondent, the feeling that a male correspondent would have a better chance to have a close White House contact than a woman.

One of the things which first endeared Mrs. Roosevelt to the newspaper women was her acceptance, before inauguration, of the invitation to the an-

practice might lead to barring women from some of the conferences held by male officials. Mrs. Roosevelt apparently insisted upon having women only for two reasons: As long as newspaper employers employ fewer women than men, it is just as well to have one job that only women can do; as she is not a government official, she can arrange her press conferences as she pleases, while actual officials of the government must admit to their conferences all accredited correspondents.

So far, Mrs. Roosevelt has proved to be right. There are more women at press conferences of the President and the Cabinet and in the Congressional Press Galleries than before, rather than fewer. When Secretary of the Interior and Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes held his legal beer party for the press around Christmas, Mrs. Craig was there, although, like Mrs. Roosevelt, she does not imbibe, and although in the past such parties were for the men only, even if the press conferences were open to the women.

Therefore, Mrs. Roosevelt has raised our morale tremendously, because she does not put up in the class of "women reporters" at all, despite the sex prerequisite for admission to her conferences. We cover her conferences as straight reporters, and it's just a little financial and psychological compensation for us that only women are admitted.

We look forward to her press conferences instead of dreading them, as we dread some "women's stories." We know there will always be a good story and, besides, there will be, to the alert, some insight into the way the government is moving. That helps us, even if we can't always write it.

LUFKIN PAPERS SOLD

The *Lufkin* (Tex.) *Daily and Weekly News*, owned and published for the past 20 years by G. E. Watford and W. C. Binion, were sold Feb. 1 to J. H. Kirth, a lumberman, Jack McDermott, secretary-manager of the Lufkin Chamber of Commerce for two years, and M. G. Boyles, Sweetwater, Tex., newspaperman. McDermott and Boyles took active charge as editor and manager.

EARL JOHNSON RETURNING

Earl C. Johnson, day news director of the United Press, New York, who sailed for a European business trip last October, is returning to New York late in March. This week he left London for Lisbon and Rome. He will return via Paris and London.

39,805 VISITED TRIBUNE

Chicago *Tribune* plant visitors totaled 39,805 during 1933, an increase of 5,757 over 1932.

(Milline 2.04)

Gain in 3 Months

7,885

**Daily Average Net Paid
Circulation—ABC Audit
12 Months Ending Sept. 30,
1933**

133,786

(Milline 2.16)

**AVERAGE CIRCULATION
6 YEARS ENDING SEPT. 30, 1933**

137,655

(Milline 2.10)

	ABC AUDIT.	Circulation.	Rate.
12 mos. ending March 31, 1928.	136,477.	29c	line
12 mos. ending March 31, 1929.	142,657.	29c	line
12 mos. ending March 31, 1930.	140,190.	29c	line
12 mos. ending Sept. 30, 1931.	135,548.	29c	line
12 mos. ending Sept. 30, 1932.	137,372.	29c	line
12 mos. ending Sept. 30, 1933.	133,786.	29c	line

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

Largest Circulation in Texas

From
Rudolf A. Bock

Rudolf A. Bock

Mrs. Roosevelt

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt
I am glad to hear
of your trip to the
islands.

RUBY A. BLACK
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

free

100

May 10, 1934.

*301
4-28-34
100
NEWS BUREAU
b3
10/10
June 12 1934*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Do you suppose that while Hick is here this time, you and she and Tommie could come out to the Theta Sigma Phi journalism fraternity party I want to give? I think the girls would like to hear something about the Puerto Rican trip.

I am also hoping that it may be possible for Luis Munoz Marin to have a real talk with the President while he is here this time. Luis has the largest following on the island; he represents -- and guides -- public opinion there as no one else does.

He has been the only political leader there who has supported the President's sugar policy, from the beginning on, not hesitating to risk his political future to do so. The Republicans are here, still protesting; the Socialist Resident Commissioner is completely lined up with the sugar barons; even the Governor whom the President appointed is still opposed to the measure, according to this morning's papers.

Luis, on the other hand, in the face of the opposition of the sugar people, heretofore the overlords of the island whom no political leader dared oppose or antagonize, has kept majority opinion there in favor of the administration measure, convincing the people of what he himself believes -- that this administration faithfully and earnestly wishes to rehabilitate Puerto Rico, and that the job cannot be done without some means of controlling the sugar industry. The colonos are, for the first time, not dominated by the centrales, and they are supporting the measure because Luis has kept them informed of the truth.

Luis has likewise made a real liberal party out of the Liberal Party, just as the President has made a real liberal and democratic party out of the Democratic Party here. He can do much to aid in the effectiveness of any plan proposed for and by Puerto Rico.

The President, probably as a joke, asked me to make some suggestions about Puerto Rico. This is the one I can most sincerely make, in the interests of the President, and of Puerto Rico.

You must hear what Secretary Wallace said when the sugar barons were introduced to him. It is priceless.

Ruby

Carobello, Aug. 9, 1934.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Today I got the following cable from Luis Munoz-Marin:

COSTIGAN ACT APPLIED AS TO RESTRICTION, UNAPPLIED AS TO
COMPENSATION. CREDIT PARALYZED. CANE DRIED UP. MILLS DECAPITATING
FARMERS. NINETY EIGHT PER CENT CANE WORKERS UNEMPLOYED STARVING STOP
MISADMINISTRATION FROM WASHINGTON OF POLICY INTENDED TO DO OPPOSITE
HAS ACCELERATED TREMENDOUSLY COMPENSATION PROCESS OF LAST THIRTY
YEARS. (this seems to me to be an error in some word, as I do not
quite understand it, beginning with ACCELERATED). CHARDON PLAN WHICH
HAS ENORMOUS POPULAR SUPPORT ALL ECONOMIC ASSOCIATIONS EXCEPT SUGAR
MILLS AND OF SOCIALIST AND LIBERAL PARTIES, INDEPENDENT PRESS, AND CHURCH
BEING UNWARRANTABLY DELAYED WHILE BIG MILLS FIGHT UNDERHAND STOP I TRY
HARD TO KEEP CONFIDENCE WHILE CRITICIZING PETTY WASHINGTON OFFICIALS
FOR CRIMINAL NEGLIGENCE BUT SITUATION GROWING RAPIDLY UNMANAGEABLE STOP
PEOPLE BEING AS GOOD AS THEY CAN ABOUT IT BUT THERE'S DISTINCT SENSE
OF INTOLERABLE DEFEAT FROM WASHINGTON THROUGHOUT POPULATION STOP
WE NEED YOU VERY BADLY IN WASHINGTON

(Signed) MUNOZ-MARIN

I had just last night decided to stay until Aug. 19 or 20,
instead of leaving Aug. 14, as I had planned. Two friends, Mary
Grosser and Peggy Kelly, arrived night before last to spend the
rest of the time with me. We are having a grand time, the weather
is fine, and I have gained five pounds. But I feel that I could well
use another ten days to my advantage, and it may be years before I
can ever have a long vacation again, while I never expect to have
such a marvelous opportunity as this again.

I simply do not see what I could do if I were back in Wash-
ington, with you and the President away, even if I could do anything
with you there! Dot is going on a long vacation when I ~~shall~~ return,
so I shall have to take up the whole burden alone, and it will be strenu-
ous. I want to get all the strength I can.

Have you any ideas as to what I could do?

Perhaps if Luis could send me all the information from Puerto
Rico and Dot could send me all the information from Washington, to New
York, I could see you at Hyde Park on the return, as you so delightfully
told me there would be a welcome there for me. Perhaps you did not mean
a welcome for Puerto Rican troubles, though!

I had hoped that by this time there would be a first-fate
chief of the new insular bureau who would be the center for such ques-
tions. In fact, I had heard that Ernest Gruening was under serious
consideration, and I know of no one who could equal him in understanding
and intelligence in that post.

The President's speeches across the continent have been swell. It is interesting to have a President who does not mind saying real things in a Congressional election year. I am awaiting the Green Bay speech with particular interest. }

Mrs. Parker is going to give a talk, with lantern slides, on the President's boyhood on Campobello for the benefit of the library next Wednesday night --, no Thursday. I am looking forward to it with interest.

I wrote a story for the UP about Campobello. I hope I said nothing unwise. I think not. I don't know when -- or whether -- the UP is going to use it.

I feel in the dark about the Puerto Rican situation because this is the first word I have had, except what I have read in the N.Y. Times, and that is very limited.

I am sorry to trouble you on your vacation, and sorry I wrote such a long letter.

With much love,

Ruby

Thanks for your nice letter about the Texas trip.

See by the paper that you may be in Hyde Park by the 20th. If so, I can be certain to be there while you are there. If you don't go until the 26th, I shall be on my way home. But I didn't upset Luis by telling him that.

R

RUBY A. BLACK
~~222 KENNESAW BUILDING~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

100
NEWS BUREAU

August 28, 1934.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We arrived home at 10:20 p.m. Saturday night, as we did not start from New York until noon. All was well. The improvements to the house look grand. For the first time in years, I did not catch a cold either during or returning from the vacation. So it must have been a complete success.

I had lunch with Bess, Geno, Mary Wornaday, Winifred Mellon, and Virginia Price yesterday. They are well, but busy. Perhaps you know that Martha Strayer has been sick for about two months. I have not seen her since I returned, but she is back at work, although not well yet. She has suffered from varicose veins for years, and a doctor made a mistake in treatments, causing her to be in bed for six weeks.

I have just wired Tommie asking that she mail me some biographical material about you, as I have to write a column or two about your life for the United Press files, and I could find little except recent stuff in my files. I want to get it done before Dot goes on her vacation next week.

Your letter gave me great joy. I know, of course, that you would not like anybody who did not feel free, and I would not like anybody who did not want me to feel free, and I understand perfectly that you could not be free unless you knew that we are.

I was sorry not to get to Val-Kill, as I should have loved to see the cottage and the shop again. But I could not get there after starting late from Rockport, and the next day I could easily get to my sister-in-law's. I had two restful and stimulating days with the Ernest Gruenings at Rockport, Mass., which broke the journey beautifully. Herb met me in New York.

Jane continues to ask, "Well, where's Herring Cove? Back at Campobello?"

I had an encouraging but not conclusive talk on the column idea with United Press officials in New York. Two of the men who should be consulted were out of town, but I am going to write some samples when I get settled down, and submit them for consideration in New York.

Let me thank you again for a perfect vacation and marvelous enjoyment and apparently complete restoration. I can hardly wait to see you, however.

Yours devotedly,

Ruby

September 5, 1934

Dear Ruby:-

I am glad that the biography is what you wanted. It is very sketchy, but it is the best I could do.

I certainly would love to have some of your blue berry jelly - even though it may add an extra inch to my girth.

I knew that you would enjoy Campobello, I loved every second of the time I was there. Mrs. Gasch tells me that you are looking grand.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Ruby Blaw
824 National Press Building
Washington D. C.

RUBY A. BLACK
~~225 KEXXLOGG BUILDING~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.

824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

NEWS BUREAU

August 28, 1934.

Dear Tommie:

When I got home last night, after I had wired you for biographical material, I found your letter with the material which I had previously casually mentioned to Mrs. Roosevelt that I needed. I had not realized that she would have it sent to me, and that just proves that, even yet, I underestimate her.

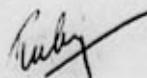
The vacation was marvelous, and the sunsets were even more glorious than you had indicated. It did more for me than anything else could have done, for I know now just how exhausted I was. Did I tell you that my cook made lots of grand blueberry jelly from the "back yard"? Would you like some for breakfast when you come back?

The material was just what I wanted, for it was the kind of stuff which was absent from my files. I have a foot and a half of files about her, but, of course, the material in them tell mostly of her activities of the last year and a half.

I hope you can come out for dinner sometime soon after you return, for we have a grand "new" dining room and study since you were there.

Thank you for the material. I have worked all day on the biography, and it has too many words and doesn't nearly cover the subject. I'll try tomorrow to put more in it and make it shorter!

Yours sincerely,



Be - 81

also, not Mrs. Bourne or Mrs. Dooley

RUBY A. BLACK
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

100
see letter to
Frank
12-8-34
NEWS BUREAU

November 26, 1934.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Attached is a copy of parts of a letter I received from Muna Lee when I wrote to her, asking for information on who Martha H. Draughon is and how she was named Democratic National Committeewoman for Puerto Rico, succeeding our friend, Jean Whittemore. I became interested in the situation when I learned, from a continental Democrat in Puerto Rico (not Muna) that Jean was resigning and seeking to have herself succeeded by some one who would do just what she would tell her to do. At the committee, I found that Mrs. Draughon (who was not the person originally mentioned to me) had been named in October, and that her address was given as Albuquerque, N.M.. Nobody at the committee seemed to know how the appointment was made.

I was particularly interested in the way the Democratic organization in Puerto Rico was made up, since I had heard from an AAA official here that all employees, even down to sugar appraisers who will determine how much the farmers get, must in connection with the sugar reduction, must be appointed on recommendation of the Democratic committeeman and committeewoman. As these appraisers, for example, would work only about six months for about \$150 a month, you can see the possibilities of their being subject to the control of those who appointed them or of those with money, such as the sugar mills, if great care is not exercised in their choice.

The whole situation is terrifically aggravated by the fact that the Democratic organization there is not really responsible to anybody. They do not have to win elections, there being no Democratic party in local politics. All they have to do is deliver three (I think it is three) votes at the Democratic National Convention. Of course, Mr. Farley does not have to worry about that, for any Puerto Rican would vote for Roosevelt at the convention, unless it should be some of the Chamber of Commerce crowd with whom the Horton-Hittemore group cooperate. And these people, entirely irresponsible to the people, have in their hands the destinies of Puerto Rico.

A part of the letter which I did not have copied said:

"It seems perfectly clear that there are at least two policies toward Puerto Rico: Roosevelt's policy and Farley's policy. And they are completely opposed and poor Puerto Rico suffers the consequences."

I might add what seems obvious: That the Farley policy so far has completely prevented the Roosevelt policy from going into effect in Puerto Rico. Of course, I don't doubt that Jim Farley is a grand guy, but he does let the destinies of Puerto Ricans get into the hands of selfish incompetents -- thus causing work for you and me.

It would much rather be a newspaper reporter than this!

Mrs. Roosevelt--2

If the local committee does not today "recommend" or "ratify" the appointment of Mrs. Daughon, accept Horton's resignation from the committee, and "recommend" or "elect" De Pass, the postmaster, to succeed Horton on the National Committee, is there anything on earth that can be done to keep the committee there from remaining in the hands of the Whittemore-Horton combination? It seems that the paying jobs are already concentrated in the two families. Horton is arriving in New York today, incidentally.

Naturally, I am very curious about that the "big appointment in Puerto Rico" for Dennis Chavez is. I shall be asking Mr. Farley about that when he sees the press again.

I still don't know what to wear at your party.

I still hope you are resting, although this letter would seem to contradict that.

Please give my love to all the folks.

Love to you,

Ruby

chosen by Farley and Whittemore for
Dem. national committeewoman) (also national committeeman
Martha H. Draughon is the daughter of Horton, the Attorney-General, and
the wife of Donald Draughon, Marshall of the Federal Court. Her younger sis-
ter is employed in the NRA here.

She is at present in Albuquerque where she has been for a year on account
of an attack of tuberculosis which forced her to resign the position in the
department of English at our University's College of Agriculture in Mayaguez.
This position she assumed when Mrs. Whittemore resigned it to become Collector
of Customs. The Hortons and Whittemores are friends of many years' standing from
Mayaguez, and are establishing an interlocking directorate of the national and
so far as possible insular positions in Puerto Rico. However, it is at present
Mrs. Draughon's intention to return home--she is said to be completely cured--
in the latter part of December. During Chavéz' campaign she spoke for him
two or three times. All this information about her New Mexican activities is
contained in an airmail letter of hers to Mrs. Dooley which Mrs. D. received two
days ago and which she authorized me to quote to you. More about the letter
later. Mrs. Draughon also says in it that she understands that Chavez is to
be consoled for his defeat in New Mexico, according to information which she
apparently considers authoritative, by a big appointment in Puerto Rico.

In this letter she makes it very clear how she was selected as Jean's
successor. The Local Committee here does not even know that she has been ap-
pointed! Mrs. Dooley knows it because of Mrs. Draughon's own letter. Just to
show you---the committee here is to meet Monday (the day you get this letter)
at 4.30 to take up the question of a recommendation for Mrs. Whittemore's
successor! Mrs. Draughon says that when Farley passed through Albuquerque, he
lunched with her and her husband, who was visiting her there at the time.
Farley asked her then who should be Committeewoman, would she accept, adding,
according to her, that he wouldn't consider appointing anyone else. And that
is how she was appointed. No one here has been officially informed, much less
consulted; and her name has never been mentioned nor even thought of (except
by Jean and Papa) as a possibility. Nobody was asked to recommend her nor
endorse her.

..

When Mrs. Dooley heard of Mrs. Draughon's appointment, she went at once to
Horton and asked him about it. He said that 'Farley wants Martha' and that
of course he would resign his own place immediately if the appointment is con-
firmed. Mrs. Dooley said she thought it was pretty low for his own family to
push him off the Committee and he shrivelled up a little more and said nothing.
Then Mrs. Dooley went to De Pass, the San Juan postmaster (formerly postmaster
at Mayaguez and so a part of the Mayaguez group. His wife holds a clerkship
under Draughon in the office of the Marshall of the Court.) She told De Pass
that this appointment seemed incredible, no reason for it and asked his support
for Mrs. Bourne as National Committeewoman. De Pass asked in horror, "But, Mrs.
Dooley, we could never support Mrs. Bourne! She is the person responsible for
the appointment of Dr. Padin as Commissioner of Education!" Then, trying another
tack, Mrs. Dooley pointed out the bad taste, to say no more, of having father and
daughter represent Puerto Rico. "Oh, that's all right," said De Pass. "I've gone
over all that with Donald Draughon. I'll be named in Horton's place!" (He is
not at present a member of the local Committee and the Committee knows nothing
about this. It's just a sweet little plan of the Horton-Whittemore huddle--
even though in this instance directed against the poor old head of the Horton
clan.)

From The Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention of Chicago, 1932
(pp. 355-6):

A Motion unanimously adopted presented by Senator C.C. Dill, "Whenever a vacancy occurs it ~~shall~~ shall be filled by the district committee."

From the ruling approved by the Insular Democratic Convention, San Juan, May, 1932:
"The Executive Committee shall serve from the end of one insular Convention to the end of the next insular Convention; all vacancies for whatever cause will be filled by the remaining members of the Executive Committee and reported accordingly to the next insular convention."

About Martha Draughon herself. There is nothing against her, absolutely, except complete political inexperience and her father and her husband and the fact that other people better qualified have a better right to the place. She is young, pretty, very intelligent, an honor graduate from this University for her Master's degree; was born here, speaks Spanish as well as English--is in fact perfectly fitted for the position which she held, English teacher in Jean's place at Mayaguez. There is no earthly reason for making her the national committeewoman except that Jean wants her in order to continue to dominate the Committee indirectly. (Jean has said to friends here, by the way, that, she, Jean, has more influence with Farley than any other person in the U.S. has!) Jean herself by the way took her sabbatical year from Mayaguez, with our poor University's money, took on at the same time a job in Democratic headquarters in New York; and failed in the M.A. examinations from Columbia for which she had been granted the sabbatical! She is a fraud and a cheat clear through. Martha Draughon is not that---but she is Horton's daughter, Draughon's wife, and Jean's tool.

100
December 10, 1934

Dear Ruby:

Mrs. Roosevelt thought you would be interested in Miss Ilma's explanation. Will you return the letter after you have read it?

Sincerely yours,

S:O

Miss Ruby Black
National Press Building
Washington
D.C.

RUBY A. BLACK
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

NEWS BUREAU

100

December 12, 1934.

Dear Tommie:

I am returning Viola Ilma's letter.

I wish she had explained the citizenship
mix-up.

Thank you very much for letting me see it.

I kept on forgetting to write Jane's acceptance
at home and likewise forgetting to bring note paper to
the office. So I have very improperly answered on the
typewriter on office paper, but I suppose the acceptance
will reach the social bureau eventually after going
with the business letters.

Yours sincerely,

Ruby

RUBY A. BLACK
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
324 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

NEWS BUREAU

File

December 26, 1934.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The grand blankets appeared on the Christmas tree yesterday morning. My aunt, who lives with me now, had concealed the package until Christmas. They came just as my cheap ones were falling apart, so they were just in the nick of time, besides being so beautiful and besides its being so sweet of you to think of me. I love the Christmas card, too.

I didn't send you any Christmas present. I couldn't find anything I didn't think you had, and I didn't know anybody you might like me to send a present to in lieu of you. Anyhow, I hope you have a perfectly swell 1935, and if there is anything I can do to make it sweller, just ask me.

Jane seems to be nearly well, and I hope she will be entirely so in time for the party, for she is looking forward to it. Every time she sees the White House, she says, "Well, that is the White House. They have parties there. Can I go to a party?"

I wish I could sometime write you a note without asking a favor, but --

Mr. Kuriyama, correspondent for the Tokio Nichi-Nichi and another Japanese paper which are clients of the United Press, is here. He wants you to give a New Year's message to the women of Japan -- through his papers, of course. He suggests that you might say from 100 to 300 words about what Japanese women can do for peace, of what the women of Japan and the United States can do to improve international understanding and good will. Of course, he would like to cable it in time for publication on January 1, getting it by December 30, if possible. If you feel that you can do this, please let me know, and I will get the statement for him. It is not to be used on the United Press wires, as I understand it, but simply to go to these two Japanese papers.

Much love,

Ruby

*W
J. d. d.*

file P. 2 - Midville, Ga. 100
Nov. 7, '34.

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt, -
I wish to express my
sincere appreciation to you
for the beautiful ladder
back rocker sent to me for
the "Adam Brinson Chapter
D. A. R. "Cabin".

Permit me to thank you
for this splendid contribution.
It is indeed most gracious
of you to have responded so
generously to our solicitation.
I will present the chair
to the chapter at our November
meeting and you will
receive acknowledgement
from the chapter at once.

This lovely gift from "Our First
Lady" will - I'm sure - prove an
inspiration to each member of our
chapter.

With best wishes for you and all
interests dear to your heart.

I am sincerely
Mrs. Hood Black

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR BIRTH CONTROL

FORMED TO SECURE AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL LAWS WHICH OBSTRUCT
THE ADMINISTRATION OF STATE LAWS RELATING TO BIRTH CONTROL

1343 H. STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 9, 1935

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NEW YORK CITY

MILTON C. WINTERITZ, M. D.
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have followed your work for the unfortunate, particularly women and children, with great admiration. It prompts me to ask for the opportunity of discussing with you the hardship imposed by the present Federal laws on contraception.

Our tragically high maternal death rate, and the large and increasing number of abortions are due, in great measure, to ignorance of reliable birth control information.

You are no doubt familiar with the book The Rhythm, setting forth the principles of the "safe period" method of family limitation. This book, printed with Ecclesiastical Approbation, has been declared mailable by a ruling of the Post Office Department. Though the method holds out great promise, it is not yet sufficiently tested to be reliable. On the other hand, medical books on contraceptive technique, written by outstanding authorities for the medical profession, are unmailable under the law.

I should be most grateful for the opportunity of discussing this matter with you informally and confidentially. Your thoughts on this subject, which has been close to my heart for over twenty years, would be most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Sanger
Margaret Sanger

sm/kp

(District 7039)
April 16, 1935.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Margaret

Enclosed is the letter which I forgot to take to you Monday. Since I always tell you the whole truth about anything that I bring to your attention, I wish to report that I suggested that Mrs. Sanger write this letter, after I talked with her about the current anomalous situation, and after she told me some of her difficulties in getting an interview with the President -- even with no publicity. She has assured me that there will be no publicity on her talk with you, if she has one.

I also wish to take up with you one important matter, and one unimportant -- but not troublesome -- matter.

The important thing: I am not sure of the extent to which you trust my objectiveness in Puerto Rican affairs, but I give you my word that, while I am distinctly a partisan for the Rooseveltian program in Puerto Rico, I can see and hear and talk without reporting, and I care, not for political advantage, but for effectiveness. Right now things are in a very bad state, due to the revolt of the Coalition, their refusal to cooperate in New Deal legislation, and their desire (not unnatural, of course, but frustrated, so far) to use both the PRERA and the work-relief program (including the Chardon Plan) as political machines in the 1936 elections. But that is not the purpose of my writing. I should like to ask that sometime, any hour of any day or night that is convenient to you, you give some uninterrupted time, away from the White House and from social amenities, at my house, at Dr. Gruening's, or anywhere you might designate, to talk with me and Ernest Gruening about the real situation there. If you want to talk with Dr. Gruening in my absence, I should be glad to leave you alone for whatever time you may wish, of course. I care, not for scoops or politics, but for the first chance Puerto Rico has had to make itself self-supporting and self-respecting. This arrangement can be made through me, but I am willing to step out at any moment convenient to you and/or Dr. Gruening.

The unimportant thing: Sometime in June, the Alexandria Association is having a tour of interesting and historic houses in Alexandria for the benefit of a fund to clean up the waterfront and establish parks and playgrounds. My house is (due to my weakmindedness and my hope that sometime there will be a playground convenient for Jane) on the tour. Mrs. Charles Beatty Moore, daughter of Rep. Andrew Jackson Montague of Richmond, is in charge. She asked me if you would consider being a "sponsor." Among those who have already consented to be sponsors are Lady Lindsay, Mrs. Hull, Mrs. Swanson, Mrs. Roper, Mrs. Ickes, and Mrs. Dern. If you would consider it, and tell me so, then she will write you the formal letter. But she wanted me to ask you first. So I do, but don't feel that this is something which should trouble you too much. It would be nice, and might bring some people. I found, to my chagrin and amusement, (last year that) people were more interested in the rug on which Mrs. Roosevelt sat and played with the baby than in the fine mantelpiece and floors and the stagecoach waybills which I had framed for the occasion. So maybe you could add something to our playground fund by letting your name be printed. Please understand that an unauthorized story in the Alexandria Gazette, and nothing I said, publicized the rug.

Remind me to tell you what the taxi driver said about you, which delighted Rebecca West.

Ruby A. Black

J. R. Atoms
RUBY A. BLACK
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

Return AER

NEWS BUREAU

file
April 23, 1935.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The situation in Puerto Rico, and the situation here, in Washington, in relation to Puerto Rico, have reached a point where it is vital that prompt and decisive action be taken to prevent the complete wreckage of the administration's plans there and the final collapse of all hope for economic reconstruction and security.

Senator Munoz Marin is here and is very anxious to talk over the whole situation with you. I assure you that it is of tremendous importance.

Could you give adequate and uninterrupted time to talk it over with him with a view to getting something done? Could you come to my house sometime soon, say for dinner ~~or~~ with him and me, or could you come after dinner and spend the evening talking it over, with no other people there? Or is there some other way in which the same end can be accomplished?

The situation here has apparently got to the point where only the President can break the log jam. Confusions, delays, stoppages, misrepresentations, highly paid propaganda by sugar interests, and a thousand other well-nigh incredible circumstances combine to render a people helpless.

Senator Munoz Marin believes that the situation can be solved definitely and speedily, but it cannot be done without your help and that of the President.

Of course, he and I are at your command, and any time is acceptable to us.

Yours as ever,

Ruby

100

RUBY A. BLACK,
~~222 KOLLEGE BUILDING~~
WASHINGTON, D. C.
824 National Press Bldg.

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7039

NEWS BUREAU

file
May 15, 1935.

I learn this morning that Winship pocket-vetoed the 8-hour bill!

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Puerto Rico seems to be getting the run-around again. That which the President, Ickes, and Cummings approve is disapproved by McCarl.

The Governor, it seems, is trying to establish his complete authority and take over all the Interior Department and the FRRA are trying to do-- and not only "take over" but block, forestall, and counteract.

While the President saw Dr. Gruening with Senator Luis Munoz Marin, the interview was chiefly with Senator Munoz ^{Marin}, and, while longer than the usual interview, was all too brief to discuss everything. Besides, new obstacles have come. You suggested to me and Senator Munoz ^{Marin}

that, if something did not happen, definitely, soon, we might tell you, and you might invite Dr. Gruening to dinner at a time when he could really talk freely and fully with the President. We think the time has arrived, that the matter is urgent, and that no commitments be made to the Governor until this talk is held. I have not consulted Dr. Gruening about this, but I know he would be glad of the opportunity to talk the whole situation over with the President.

With belated thanks for the most gorgeous Easter lilies I ever saw, I am

Yours devotedly,

Ruby Black

October 16, 1935

100

Dear Ruby:

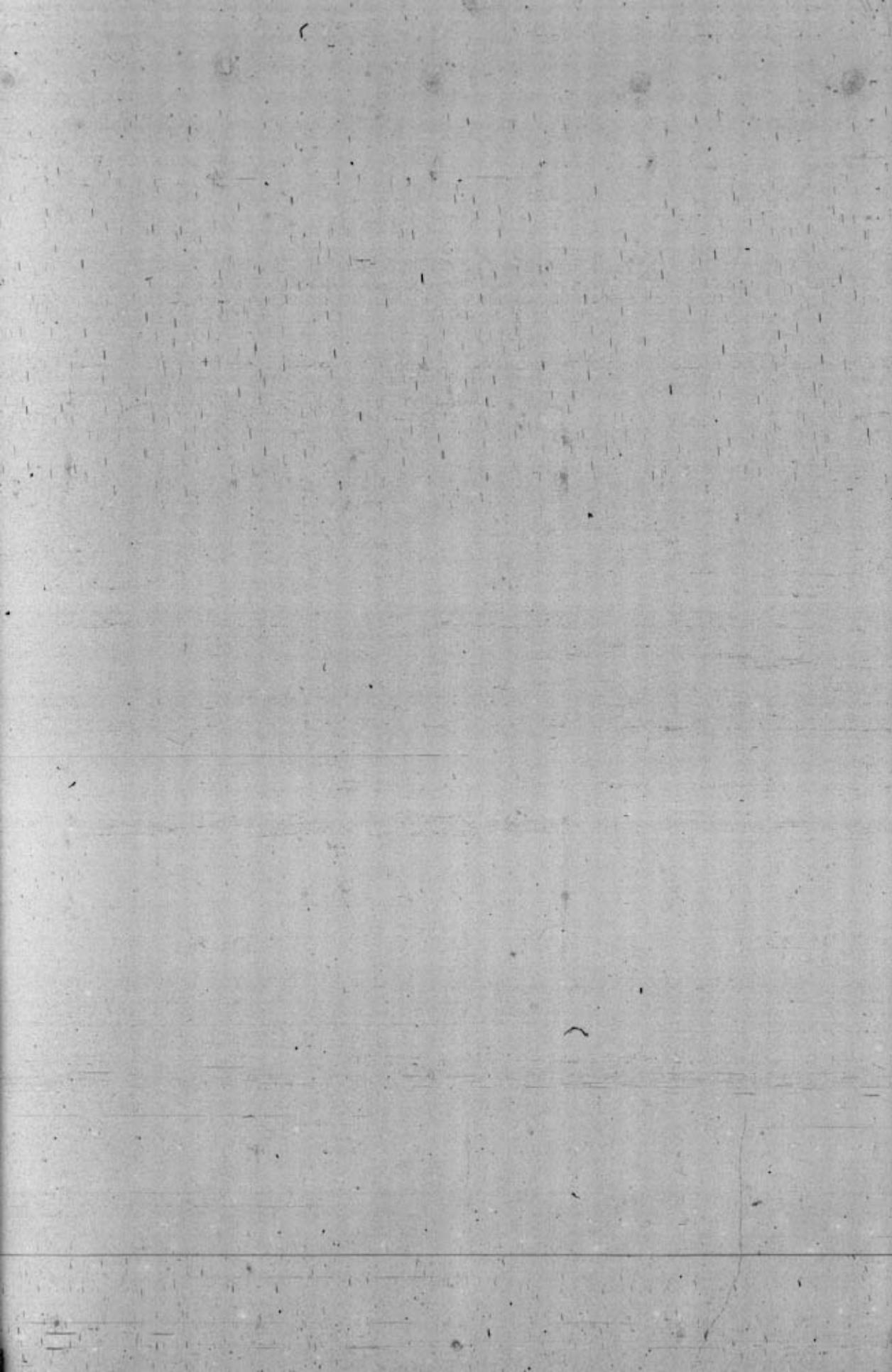
Many thanks for your telegram on my birthday. I am sorry that you felt I was unfair to have a birthday away from Washington, but if you could see the White House you would realize that any kind of a day in Washington at present is out of the question!

I am looking forward to seeing you when I get back later in the month.

Affectionately,

S O

Miss Ruby Black
National Press Building
Washington



Dear Lady:

I thought the following copy of a letter from Luis Munoz Marin might interest you. Helgeson is a former bootlegger who is managing editor of the Washington Herald. Sommers is a former bootlegger and regular thug-about-town who was hired by the Herald as its contact with the underworld in its effort to solve the mistaken-identity murder of its carrier, Wilson. The "score" Hearst has against Ernest Gruening is that Ernest won a libel suit against him during the war, and collected a large sum, thus distinguishing himself from most of the people who get libel judgments against Hearst. That suit rose out of a terrible and nasty newspaper fight between a NY Hearst paper and the Herald or the Tribune, of which Ernest was managing editor at the time. Here is Luis's letter:

San Juan, Oct. 21, 1935.

Dear Ruby:

You must forgive me for not writing before; things have been very hectic and work has been hard. I have been busy as a bird dog. I shall have to write at length later about the general situation. Suffice it to say ~~that~~ now that the Plan, although slow in getting under way, is making as much headway as is possible in the maze of unnecessary legal complications and limitations -- unnecessary in the sense of being inapplicable to conditions here.

I am having a little trouble with some of the old-line Liberal leaders who evidently believed that I was deceiving the administration and the people here when I said "no patronage politics in the Plan." They seem to think that I said this in order to obtain the funds and now that the funds are here, it is time to take off the mask and sail in. The newer element in the party, however, is in fine shape.

Now I want to concentrate on a specific situation that comes up and requires quick and intelligent action. Two days ago there arrived here one Mr. Ray Helgeson, said to be editor of the Washington Herald, with a companion named Stanley L. Sommers. Here they were met by a young lady who has been here for several weeks by the name of Miss Louise Pain who was trying to get on friendly terms with Ernest Gruening the night before he left this time. All reputedly represent the Washington Herald. On the night of the arrival of Helgeson and Sommers, it seems that one of them, while drinking with Victor Gutierrez, without realizing who he was, revealed that they were here to settle an old score of Mr. Hearst's with Ernest Helgeson, I believe, has left; the others remain. They will probably write a series of articles, or one of them will, about the reconstruction program. I don't know what their attitude will be toward the program, but they will certainly try to do Ernest as much harm as possible. I seem to remember that the Washington Herald has done a certain amount of dirty work for the sugar producers during the last year or so. I don't remember if it was the Herald that published the special edition against the Jones-Costigan Act (Note: It was, and John Lambert has been writing a lot of stuff misrepresenting the plan -- R), but I do remember that the Herald has run a number of articles giving an entirely false impression of the situation here.

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It might be useful to get a good picture of the whole connection. Perhaps the recent travels to Washington of Mrs. Whittemore, Horton, and Draughon may also have a connection with this.

Of course, any dirty ~~bank~~ business attempted by the Herald will not do any harm to Ernest or to the reconstruction plan with the President, who knows the situation, and knows Ernest. But it may do considerable harm with Congress, especially in relation to the bill authorizing the funds to be spent more slowly and wisely. I should like to get the low-down on this Washington Herald situation if you can get it, with the possible connections suggested and I should like to get as quickly as possible your advice as to the best manner of meeting such a campaign.

It occurs to me that the reconstruction program in Puerto Rico is of sufficient importance for the Scripps-Howard papers to send down a liberal-minded, impartial correspondent who might tell the truth about it, either simultaneously with the Washington Herald or sometime after. As you know the AP and UP correspondents in Puerto Rico very seldom know what's really happening and have a conservative tendency that makes their reports valueless to any one really trying to ascertain the truth.

Cordially,

Luis

Ruby

November 1, 1935

100

Dear Ruby:

F.J.R. thinks the letter you
sent should go to Dr. Gruening. Have
you sent a copy to him or should I?

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
824 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

DD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT

I think this, or the
information in it, should be passed
along to Gruening.

F. D. R.

*That being said I think the
info. on which it was based
from Gruening has the same
value as the rest of it.*

December 27, 1935

Dear Ruby:

I think the scrap basket
is too lovely and I have already put
it in its place in my sitting room.
You were sweet to think of me and I
am looking forward to seeing you be-
fore long.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
211½ Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia

S:DD

January 4, 1936

Dear Ruby: *BLA*

I am sending you the letter
which I got from Louis Ruppel. I am
sorry it is not more encouraging.

Affectionately,

R. Black

January 17, 1936

Dear Ruby:

I will see Mr. ^{Luis} Munoz-Marín
at five o'clock on Tuesday, the
twenty-first.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
824 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

S: DD

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

*Checked
1-17-36*

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

January 16, 1936.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Senator Luis Munoz-Marin of Puerto Rico is here. He would like to make a "progress report" to you on the progress of reconstruction -- and to submit to any questioning you may care to do.

You can reach him through me, or at the DuPont Circle Apartments, Decatur 6201, Apt. 1221 -- but I rather imagine it will be easier to reach him through my office, as he is out working most of the time, and I usually know where he is.

Yours as always,

Ruby

5 pm Tuesday

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

me

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.
DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

February 17, 1936.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have a letter from Mrs. Gladys W. Henderson, of Austin, Texas, national president of Theta Sigma Phi, national professional and honorary fraternity for women in journalism, asking me discuss with you the possibility of your being present at the convention and being the speaker at the final banquet of the convention -- or at any other time during the convention which would be possible for you.

She wants me to take this up with you before the National Council sets the date of the convention. She wants to know if you could be there June 18, 19, or 20. You see, we have to fix the dates so as not to conflict with college commencements, if possible. The other "possible" dates for them are June 25, 26, and 27, but I suspect you and I may be somewhere around Philadelphia at that time, don't you?

She asks me to wire her if you could possibly be there then. I am not sure whether the convention is to be in Austin or in Dallas, but I think it is Dallas. Mrs. Henderson says in her letter:

"The centennial folks would much prefer that Mrs. Roosevelt come to Texas for our convention rather than to come at the same time President Roosevelt does."

I have also been asked again to help a chapter of Theta Sigma Phi to get you as a speaker at a Matrix Table dinner. This time it is the University of Oklahoma, at Norman. The girls there are hopeful that, since you plan to be in Oklahoma sometime this spring, you might accept. They can arrange a date to suit your convenience.

I told them what I told the girls at Marquette University, at Milwaukee, Wis., -- that I am concentrating on asking you to go to the convention. I personally felt that it would be fine if you could go to Marquette, since that is an important Catholic school, and it might be helpful in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

My principal interest, in connection with Matrix Tables however, is to try to overcome, if possible, the results of the unfortunate and utterly irresponsible action of the chapter at Columbus, Ohio, which occurred, I believe, during the first year of the administration. Really, the rest of Theta Sigma Phi (which is proud to have you as an honorary member) is not like that.

*Sorry must go
later 7:07 P.
can't go again*

*I can't accept
I'll see you later
if I stay in
a night or two
I'll be in
plan on
I'll be
I'll be*

Mrs. Roosevelt -- 2

Most of the chapters, both undergraduate and alumnae, consist of serious and intelligent girls trying to succeed in journalism, and any help or encouragement you could give them would be grand. Alumnae chapters are often influential in their cities.

During my eight years as editor of the magazine, The Matrix, and my two years as national president of Theta Sigma Phi, I did everything I could, quite in vain, to keep the Columbus chapter from doing things that give us a black eye.

If you have adopted a policy of not attending any Matrix Tables, I hope you will not extend this policy to other meetings of Theta Sigma Phi. I wish you could attend the national convention and could let the girls hear you whenever it is convenient, or at least write an article -- as short as you like -- for The Matrix sometime. We'd like to feel that you do not blame the rest of us for what one small and unrepresentative group did, and that you are willing to give any help you can to aspiring young or perspiring old newspaper women.

The Oklahoma girls will write to you to ask if you could come to them for a dinner, a luncheon, or any other function during your visit to Oklahoma.

Besides, I would like for as many Theta Sigma Phi's to know you as possible. I'd like for everybody to know you.

Yours sincerely,



EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

March 24, 1936

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have been asked to write a book about the Social Lobby in Washington. It is probably to be anonymous, not through any wish of my own, since I am willing to sign my name to anything I am willing to write, but through the wish of the publisher, who thinks an anonymous book will produce more sales. So this is confidential.

Since books produce little money for a long time (if ever), every effort is being made by me, the publisher, and (I hope) by George Eye, to sell various chapters (which must be anonymous) to magazines. These must be sold in a hurry, ^{also} the publisher wants to get the book out by October. That means I must have all the manuscript in by July 1, and any magazine articles must be published by October. Monthly magazines usually take four to six months for publication after acceptance.

One of the proposed chapters (and magazine articles) is called "The Social Lobby Calls On Mrs. Roosevelt". I have written such an article. Some of it I know about through connections I might possibly ~~have~~ have had if you had not been so kind to me. Some of it I could not have known otherwise. Doubtless you could, if you wished, contribute even more pointed information.

I would not consider publishing, even anonymously, without your consent, anything I know because of your frankness with me and your generous consideration of aims in which I am interested.

The article could be greatly improved if you cared to give more information (to be used without the slightest intimation even to the publisher that you had furnished it or consented to it), and it might be greatly reduced in interest if you say that I cannot use parts of it.

Could you give me time soon to read this proposed chapter (which might also sell as a magazine article) and give me the benefit of your criticism, deletions, amendments, and suggestions?

I am available at any time you can see me --
and it.

Yours faithfully,

Ruby

March 26, 1936

Dear Ruby:

Many thanks for writing me about the invitation to go to the University of Missouri to speak during their Journalism Week. I would like to do this but the month of May is already so filled with engagements I do not feel I can promise even one more thing.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
824 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

DD

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
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DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

March 25, 1936.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Today's second request:

Frank Martin, head of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, has written to Lyle Wilson, head of the United Press bureau here, asking him to find out if there is any chance to get you to address the school's annual Journalism Week, sometime in May convenient to you.

This annual event attracts important editors from all over the world, and sometimes from foreign countries. It, therefore, is not the same thing as merely addressing a school of journalism or a Theta Sigma Phi chapter.

I shall be glad to transmit any information you may care to let Tommie telephone me on this subject.

Yours with love,

Ruby

And how to you manage to ride in shirt sleeves today?

*Ad-1
3-26-36*

*May so completely
files could not
be sent to
W.P.*

May 1st 1936

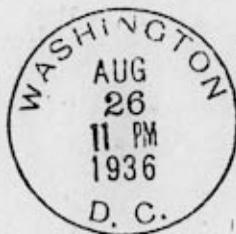
Susan B. Anthony

1820

1906



HONORING HER EFFORTS FOR WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ON THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE 19TH AMENDMENT



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Hyde Park, New York.



Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know you don't collect stamps, or first-day covers, & I know you collect only the stuff of life.

But I wanted to send you a first-day cover of the Susan B. Anthony stamp because hundreds of women are sure that you gave the final push that caused it to be issued.

and it really means a lot to them, to have the government honor a woman for what she did for women and other submerged people.

I know, too, that, if you had never lived in the White House, thousands of women would have gone on in misery, and the position of all women would have been further degraded during this passing period of economic stress, as it has in nearly all the countries of the world.

We all had a grand time at Hyde Park and Pal Kill. It was sweet of you to invite us.

We are enjoying fine weather, daily horseback rides, many walks in the pine woods, and perfect rest. It is marvellous to see how Jane, at 4½ years, learns to ride the pony bareback, using heels and knees, and getting a good rest.

Much love,

Ruby A. Black

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamastown, N. Y.
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La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

100
Sept. 24, 1936.

file
Sept 24
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I hate to trouble you with this, but I know ^{Connie} won't give it to you until she knows you are able to stand it.

I have never felt as hopeless about Puerto Rico as I now feel -- desolate, often sleeplessly -- because always before I have had ~~had~~ the feeling that all the resident's good will and the administration's study would eventually correct mistakes and solve the problem, as nearly as it can be solved without a real solution of the population problem. The most horrible situation results from a series of blunders beginning with the introduction of a very bad and unfair independence bill last April -- a bill actually conceived in a spirit of "We'll show 'em," and so drafted.

This letter is from Earl Hanson, representative of the National Resources Committee in Puerto Rico. Earl is of the well-known Hanson family of explorers, technicians, etc. He has made scientific, economic, and social investigations in many countries of South America, in Iceland, in the United States. For the Carnegie Institution, in 1932, he wrote an analysis of the Letitia war between Colombia and Peru which brought praise from ~~Peru~~ Ecuador, and U.S. Department of State officials. He helped write the Mississippi Valley Report, and wrote the enclosed report. He speaks Spanish excellently, and has spent much time with Spanish-speaking people, likes them, understands them.

I wish the President could ask him to come talk with him about the situation. The request for him to do so should not go through Dr. Gruening, for two reasons: One which is implicit in the report; and the other because he is not under Dr. Gruening's jurisdiction, but under that of the National Resources Committee, with Mr. ^{Blot} as his immediate superior.

Earl's letter is long, and somewhat detailed. But I could write several longer documents, outlining similar blunders about which I know personally. Besides being sad about Puerto Rico's fate, I am very sad because of what seems to have happened to the mental and emotional processes of my old friend Ernest Gruening, whose appointment I heartily recommended to Secretary Ickes and who, I thought, could not be excelled for the positions to which he was appointed.

All my love, and best wishes for your complete rest,

Ruby
Please don't let this letter
from Earl get referred to any government agency!

Mulicy Esqu, Lafayette
Santurce, P. R.
September 21, 1936

Dear Ruby:

I'm sorry to hear they scalped you. You want to look out for the horses.

I hope to see you in Washington some time in October, where I'm due on business. Much of my time these days is spent wondering how long I will be connected with the Puerto Rican job. I know the National Resources Committee is not too anxious to have its representative here, where things are happening; I don't feel at home with Ernest Gruening any more; my continued friendship for Luis Muñoz Marin has branded me as an independentist; feeling and tension over the independence issue are running so high that I may soon be squeezed out because I will not play the game of the Tories who seem to me to be doing everything in their power to make the situation infinitely worse than it ought to be.

The PRRA is now showing symptoms of the usual trend. The crusade is over, - now it becomes a question of holding jobs instead of doing them. I am frightfully worried over the whole situation here in Puerto Rico, think it is rushing toward bloodshed very rapidly, and think that the United States government, through its representatives here, is largely to blame. Do you mind if I try to think on paper for your benefit?

A few weeks ago they had the machine guns out, looking very silly with nothing to shoot at. The place was swarming with policemen, armed to the teeth, and police cars were cruising all over San Juan. Thousands of Puerto Ricans, proud of being the most peaceful people on earth, were horribly bewildered and offended over that display of armed strength, - the idea of violence came into their heads then for the first time. (Speaking Spanish and liking the Latins, I am in direct touch with a great many of the younger men here, who seem to trust me. Am in a fine position to judge mental reactions first hand.)

What things have come to is that by this time there is a useless and unnecessary psychological civil war on here. The Governor, being a warrior, can't fathom anything but physical wars and therefore calls out the machine guns at the drop of a hat. When nothing whatever happens, he probably pats himself on the back for having prevented disorders. In the eyes of the Puerto Ricans he actually makes a fool of himself and squanders American prestige at a time when there is little enough left and more than ever needed. Also he forces the issue toward the actual bloodshed that he fatuously believes he is preventing.

Luis is gaining strength and popular support every day, with his crusade for independence. He is now by far the most popular individual in Puerto Rico, though the ~~casé~~ and cocktail circles in San Juan refuse to believe it and do

everything possible to run him down. Luis may think that his popularity is due to an overwhelming desire for independence. That is not quite true; at least the issue is not clear in the minds of his followers.

Luis also stands for decency. He is direct, frank, outspoken, full of integrity, leaves no doubt about what he means when he says anything, and takes personal responsibility for what he says and does. That is a new animal in Puerto Rican politics. It is hard to tell how many people follow him because they want independence, and how many out of revulsion against the usual cheap Puerto Rican politicians who have nearly always let the island down in their toadying to Washington bureaucrats. Certainly he has few followers who believe in independence at any price. Albizu Campos could get only 5000 on that platform. The difference between the hundreds of thousands who follow Luis, and the five thousand who followed Albizu while he was still a man instead of a symbol, must be explained in terms of decency.

In their attitudes toward the U.S., the two differ in this respect: Albizu thought that the desire for independence meant enmity of the U. S. Luis doesn't. In many respects he is the greatest friend the United States has here, - not omitting Washington's authorized representatives.

The Governor can't see that. Aided by the Puerto Rican toadies who surround him, he thinks independence is independence. In his mind the independentists are all nationalists, devoted to violence. So he insults them with bodyguards and guns and other indecent things that only drive more people to Luis and decency, - with its corollary of independence.

Gruening is in an awful predicament that is not apparent to people here. Without Luis, the PRRA is a great organization for spending nice federal money, and without an idea behind it that can permit the Puerto Ricans to cling to it as something of their own. By now Gruening is somebody from whom thousands of people gladly accept the money that he is paid to spend, without returning him their loyalty. Since the PRRA is an organization that was given \$40,000,000 for putting across an idea, it is therefore on the road to dismal failure. If Gruening lined up with Luis again, on the ground that the desire for independence does not imply hatred of the United States (perfectly valid ground), he would lose all support from the Governor, who can embarrass him no end and often does. If he ties up with the Governor, he is on the side of the forces that consistently insult everything that stands for Puerto Rican integrity. Being all alone, lined up with neither Luis nor the Governor, he aggravates the situation still further. At a time when people must have some kind of leadership, some policy that they can cling to and depend on, they look to the two symbols of American authority here, Gruening and Winship, and find them divided, and both of them militantly

at a critical time like the present the Puerto Ricans get no leadership whatever from the United States, can't find who the leader is among the several that disagree among each other, can put their finger on no consistent U.S. policy, and see the U.S. government as run by one of their own loosest playboys. Everything they fail to find where they ought to find it, in the representatives of the U.S., they find in Luis, as the prophet of independence.

The one thing they got some months ago that they thought they could cling to has later been shot to pieces. At the time of the Rydings bill, the administration was quoted as saying that if the Puerto Ricans want independence they should have it. That was taken as a friendly gesture. As such, it has been denied again and again since then.

If the administration meant it, then where was the treason in working for independence, and why was Albizu Campos tried for treason? Trying him for murder or insanity would have had a lot of popular support. Trying him for treason was taken as a slap at Puerto Rican aspirations and as a denial of the previous friendly gesture. The fact that the policemen who shot the murderers of Riggs behind closed doors in the police station are still in uniform and on duty belies everything that is said about American justice and law enforcement. So does the fact that everything was stacked, and obviously stacked, against Albizu at his last trial.

Rockwell Kent was here after the first Albizu trial, stayed at my house. He went to a cocktail party at the Fortaleza where most of the prosecution also attended. Came back horrified over the cocktail levity at a time of serious national crisis, also over the fact that the prosecution dragged out the jury panel for the next trial and got a young Puerto Rican reactionary to check off all the names on it of "loyal Americans" who might be expected to vote for Albizu's guilt. That is another thing I can testify to. The young reactionary is a friend of mine who is very proud of the part he played in the conviction of the Nationalists.

~~Thousands of Puerto Ricans take that as a personal insult to them, and a number of them have talked to me, seriously worried about the bloodshed that they fear is coming, --- is being forced by the governor's actions.~~

If the governor means it (as he ought) when he says that the people who shot Riggs and who indulged in violence are a very minute minority, that the great majority of Puerto Ricans are peaceful and friendly, why does he run around with a bodyguard bigger than Machado's ever was, and why does he call out the machine guns at the drop of a hat? Thousands of Puerto Ricans take that as a personal insult to them, and a number of them have talked to me, seriously worried about the bloodshed that they fear is coming, - is being forced by the Governor's actions.

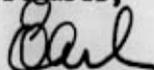
The horrible part of it is that even now a decent governor could clear the air, dispel the tension, get things on a sound basis, and even give the independence movement a setback, in half a day and without trouble or danger. I can't prove it, but I know it just the same. The present rush to the independence movement as headed by Luis, having its origins largely in jitters, tension, persecution from American officials, loss of American prestige, can be stopped easily by the right man. But it can be stopped only in one way, - by a campaign of counter-decency, by a judicious use of Luis' own weapons.

Winship has about as much popular respect as Hoover did during the battle of Anacostia flats, and for similar reasons. Worse, Winship has no actual veterans around to scare him, - he only shies at ghosts of his own creation, if they'd get a governor down here who in his inauguration speech forgot extolling out American culture long enough to recognize the existence of a fine and decent Puerto Rican culture, and who on his first day in office walked around the plaza all alone, without the sign or a bodyguard, chatting in a friendly way with whomever he met, the tension and the horrible trend toward bloodshed would be dispelled then and there. The present hysterical rush of people to follow Luis would be checked, - and you and I know that Luis would be happy over it. Things would at least be put on a sane basis, with a certain amount of popular confidence in the United States as symbolized by the governor.

Gruening thinks that a governor who did that would be shot. He's wrong. Winship's present armed challenge to the bravery and the ingenuity of those fanatics who want nothing better than to die in proving they are heroes puts him in much greater danger than he would be in if he walked around alone and unprotected, if he made himself popular and thereby made his assassination an unpopular thing. Beside all that, every once in a while it becomes a governor's job to take a chance on being shot in doing his best to handle a difficult and dangerous situation.

As it is, if Albizu's conviction is sustained in the higher courts, I wouldn't give much for the governor's life. After that is gone, we can look for hell to pop loose here. Maybe before, since Winship and Gruening are doing everything possible to force it. Of course, Gruening and the governor seem to think that the independence movement has been practically stopped that is because they run only in the San Juan circles of "loyal Americans" who drink cocktails while the island goes to pieces and are sublimely oblivious to what goes on elsewhere in Puerto Rico.

Best regards,



P.S. I'm enclosing my preliminary report on the Puerto Rican social-economic situation that you may not yet have seen. At the present time, when emotion is the ruling force, all that seems dead and gone.

as a campaign mess, this thing is also bad. The coalitionists that Ernest is now identified with are the bitterest kind of enemies of Roosevelt and the New Deal. The liberals he's persecuting are and have always been the outspoken New Deal sympathizers.

With everything moving as it is, a lot of people here are wishing and pushing for a nasty scandal as soon as possible. With things as badly mishandled as they are, a scandal would be easy, - perhaps not one that will land anybody in jail but one that would delight all republicans just the same.

Naturally the enemies of the administration will do everything in their power to capitalize the Puerto Rican mess that the representatives of the administration have created largely by their own efforts, - and now they are likely to get the enthusiastic help of the administration's real friends, who have been horribly hurt by Gruening.

MARTINEZ NADAL WARNED BY DETROIT PAPER THAT NEW DEAL IS VENGEFUL

From
"El Pais"
By [unclear]
[unclear]

The continental newspapers were greatly interested in the statement made by Mr. Rafael Martínez Nadal, president of the Insular Senate following the memorable visit to the island of Secretary Ickes. The Senate leader had said, "They fly for half an hour over a place and then know the solution of all its problems."

The Detroit "FREE PRESS" devoted an editorial to this cynical remark saying:

After experiencing pangs and sufferings in connection with the recent visit of Secretary Ickes to his island, Rafael Martínez, President of the Puerto Rico Senate, is reported to have remarked that American politicians "suffer from the divine-right theory."

"They have something of the demigod about them," observed Señor Martínez, "They fly for half an hour over a place, and then know the solution of all its problems."

"The Señor can't really know how right he is. He has taken words (we never had sense enough to think of) out of our mouths."

"But he will be wise in stepping softly. For the New Deal pundits have other qualities of the demigod beside cocksureness and a delusion of omniscience. They can be vindictive and vengeful, and if Señor Martínez doubts it let him consider Mr. Ickes' bulldog persecutory campaign in New York against Robert Moses."

PRESIDENT RESPONSIBLE FOR POLICY IMPOSED ON PUERTO RICO BY GRUENING

Appologists for President Roosevelt try to laugh off PRRA marriage to the Liberal Party by fixing the blame upon Gruening and Ickes. However, the President assigned Gruening to the job and backs him up in every fool move he makes and, accordingly, is directly and personally responsible for involving Uncle Sam in the new colonial policy of attempting to dictate the outcome of an insular election.

The point is well stressed by Nicholas Roosevelt, writing in the New York HERALD-TRIBUNE. Mr. Roosevelt says:

In their efforts to belittle the significance of the "Literary Digest" poll the supporters of President Roosevelt are spreading the word that, although two-thirds of the voters are opposed to the New Deal, they are by no means opposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Such a view shows the same contempt for the American people that the New Dealers have shown in so many of their acts and speeches. It assumes that the American people are so stupid that they fail to realize that Franklin D. Roosevelt is responsible for the New Deal; that he sponsored it, supported it, defended it, and boasted of it.

Has Not Vetted Policies

If at any time in his career Mr. Roosevelt had admitted frankly that some of the New Deal policies had been mistakes and that he had decided to drop them for sounder policies, it might then have been possible to make a case in his behalf, separated from the New Deal. But the miscellaneous assortment of half-baked, semi-socialistic, semi-Fascist theories which are lumped together under the heading of the New Deal are his policies and his program. Not even his amazing agility in divesting himself of his own promises, and in blaming his subordinates for his own mistakes, has yet led him to deny publicly his authorship of the New Deal.

To be sure, he may soon announce that the Supreme Court has killed the New Deal, and that it is there-

fore necessary to devise other means to attain the New Deal's objectives. But this, like his transformation of the Union into a mud-slinging political harangue, would be too "smart" to succeed in fooling the people.

They know that he must stand or fall on the record of the New Deal. If he attempts to dissociate himself from the New Deal he will strengthen the suspicion, already widely held, that he will drop any policy, just as he will drop any associate, when to do so promises to be popular.

EL PLANIS



*affiliated with
U.S.-G.O.P.*

ENGLISH SECTION

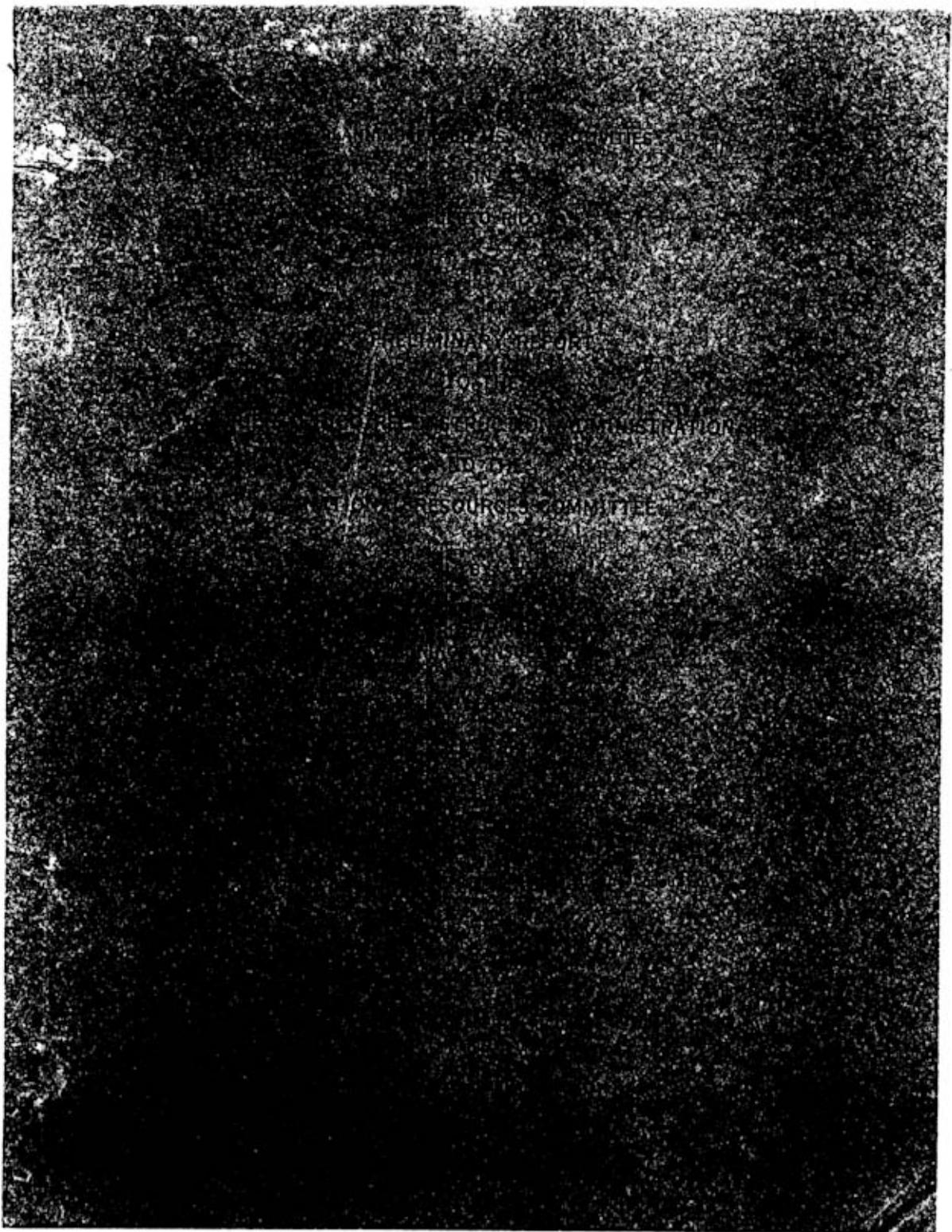
ORGAN OF THE UNION REPUBLICAN PARTY

SAN JUAN

LECHON ASADO

By P. TORICO

And the president has signed the rotative fund bill.—Just to keep in practice for that happy event when he will board a rotative bill of his own and go flying out into space to rotate majestically around and around the planet in company with other Democratic presidents. We used to think that it was strange that the Democrats got into office so seldom, but now that we have had a dose of Democratic colonial rule we find it surprising that they get in at all.



PLANNING PROBLEMS AND ACTIVITIES

IN

PUERTO RICO

PRELIMINARY REPORT

TO THE

PUERTO RICO RECONSTRUCTION ADMINISTRATION

AND THE

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

by

EARL HANSON
PLANNING CONSULTANT

The National Resources Committee is not responsible for the opinions, conclusions or recommendations of the Consultant or others as expressed in this report.

San Juan, Puerto Rico
November 23, 1935

(Amended as of February 17, 1936)

February 17, 1936

To the Puerto Rico Reconstruction
Administration
and the
National Resources Committee,
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Transmitted herewith is a preliminary report on the Status of Planning activities in Puerto Rico, prepared and submitted to you, and to the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, in accordance with the terms of my assignment by the National Resources Committee as Consultant to the above named Administration and upon its request.

It is understood that this Report is not intended to be complete as to findings, or conclusive as to recommendations, but rather a preliminary, general discussion of existing conditions on the Island. It is further understood that the National Resources Committee is not responsible for the opinions, conclusions, and recommendations expressed in this report.

Acknowledgment is gratefully made to the staff of the Planning Division of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, to the National Resources Committee, to officials of the F. E. R. A. of Puerto Rico and of the Insular Government, who assisted in compiling material contained in this report.

Earl P. Hanson
Planning Consultant

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I. THE PROBLEM

The ultimate goal of all regional planning is the creation and/or the maintenance of higher standards of living. Generally this end is sought through such changes in adaptation as will permit a greater degree of economic self-sufficiency.

In Puerto Rico the goal and the necessary means are clearly defined. Average standards of living are at an abysmal depth. Changes in the Island's prevailing economy, toward greater self-sufficiency, are not only possible but glaringly necessary. The only apparent alternative to carefully planned reconstruction is persistent relief, gaining in volume in spite of "recovery", in the end costing more than reconstruction.

A. Standards of Living.

In 1929, Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of Puerto Rico, wrote about the Puerto Ricans under the title "Children of Famine". He said in part:

"Riding through the hills, I have stopped at farm after farm where lean, underfed women and sickly men repeated again and again the same story - little food and no opportunity to get more.

From these hills the people have streamed into the coastal towns, increasing the already severe unemployment situation there. Housing facilities, of course, are woefully inadequate. -- Besides, the lack of funds and the increased work have rendered it impossible for our Health Department to cope satisfactorily with our increasing problems.

"We were and are a prey to disease of many kinds. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, 4,442 of our people died from tuberculosis. Our death rate from this disease was 4-1/2 times the death rate in the continental United States. Our deathrate from malaria was 2-1/2 times the rate in the continental United States. Some 35,000 people in our island are now suffering from tuberculosis, some 200,000 from malaria, and some 600,000 from hookworm.

"This condition is all the more deplorable because the climate here is exceptionally healthy."

Governor Roosevelt wrote the above in the New York Herald Tribune. He was quoted in the Review of Reviews and again by Baily and Justine Diffie in their book - "Porto Rico, A Broken Pledge."

The latter said:

"Even the casual visitor finds it difficult to escape the continual piteous spectacle of poverty throughout the Island. The inland districts, from the outskirts of the cane-ridden valleys to the tops of the mountains, seethe with human misery, and it is impossible to pass into or out of any city or town without traversing the fringe of unsightly, malodorous, filthy habitations which surround the more prosperous area. Every spot of arid or swampy land unfit for decent living has been seized by the gaunt, penniless population which stoically accepts its fate and lodges where it can, _____".

Governor Roosevelt and Mr. and Mrs. Diffie described conditions that are not due to the world depression, but that are "normal" to Puerto Rico's present economy. Too many Puerto Ricans live outside of their island's economic structure. The depression has only intensified their suffering and added to their number.

Since its inception in 1933, the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration, now designated as the local branch of the F. E. R. A., has carried on widespread studies of living conditions. Two of them may be mentioned here as illustrating conditions that are typical throughout Puerto Rico.

In 1933 the P. R. E. R. A. made an investigation of the Island of Vieques, belonging to Puerto Rico. Here eleven thousand people, crowded onto 51 square miles of land devoted mainly to sugar, were found to have a total income averaging \$500 per week.

In June, 1935, a housing survey was conducted by the P. R. E. R. A. in two barrios (minor civil divisions) of the municipality of Utuado. All houses in these barrios were inspected. Out of a total of 598 houses, all but fourteen were recommended for complete demolition as being unfit for human use. Only thirteen houses had latrines; 585 were without sanitary facilities of any kind.

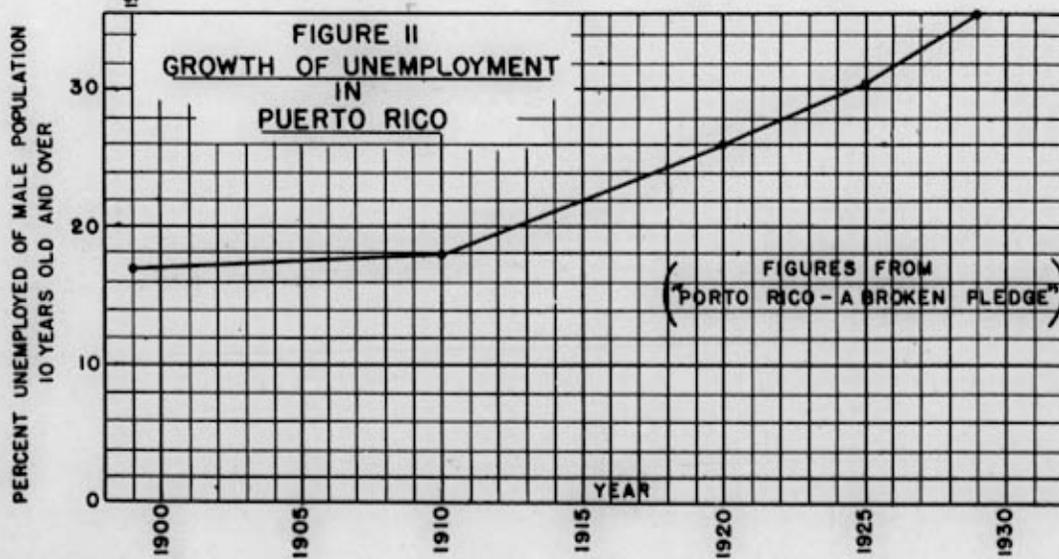
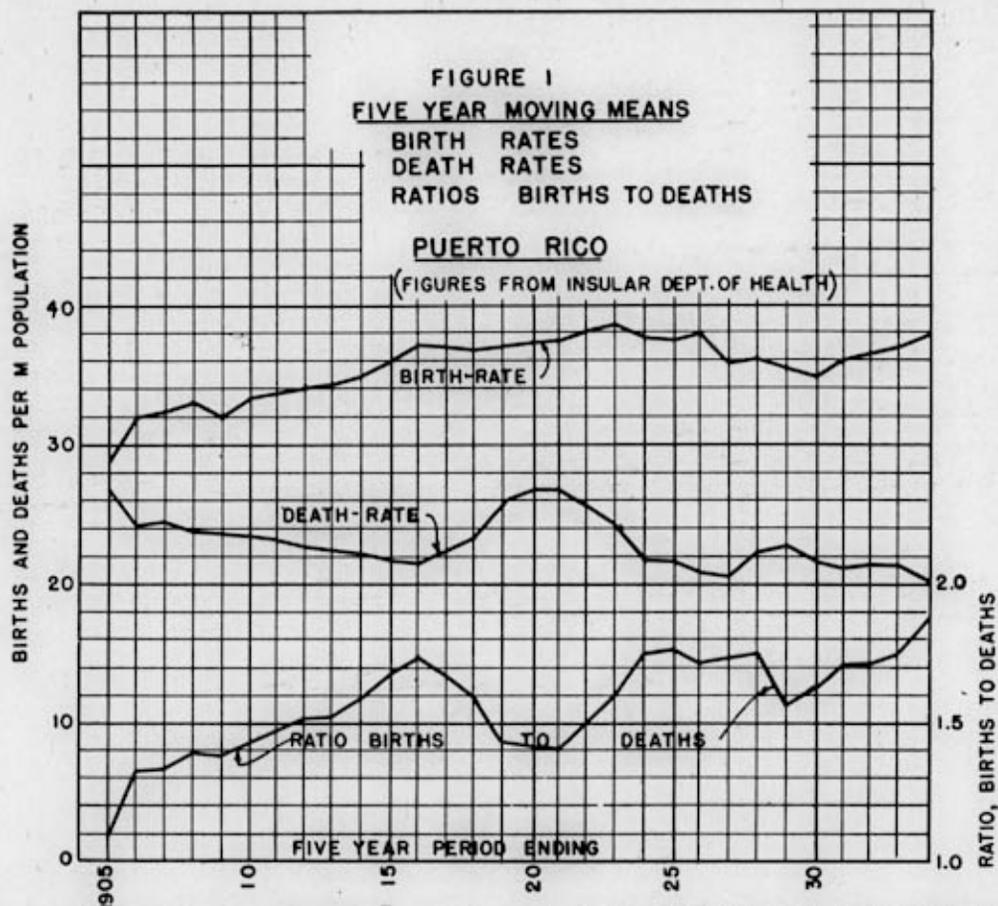
B. Population and Employment.

The problems imposed by widespread standards of living so low that they can be described only as "human misery" are intensified many times over by growths in population and unemployment that are as remarkable as they are alarming.

In 1900 Puerto Rico had a population of approximately one million. Today it is estimated at 1,700,000. The overall density of population was about 462 per square mile in 1930, but the Diffies' point out that: "Since the cultivable area of the Island is scarcely one-fourth of the total, it is apparent that every square mile of land in cultivation must support some 1,800 people. The actual amount of land devoted to the types of food destined for consumption in the Island is even smaller, being approximately one twentieth of the entire area. For every square mile of such food crops there are about 9,000 people who must be fed, clothed, housed, insured, doctored and educated."

Figure 1 shows birth rates, death rates, and ratios of the two, plotted in five-year moving means for the period 1901 to 1936. The figures were obtained from the Insular Department of Health and have not been checked. They are probably subject to correction, particularly in the early part of the chart, on the ground of inadequate reporting.

As it stands now, the birth rate curve moves sharply upward at the beginning of the century, levelling off into a more steady climb between 1906 and 1923. Here the curve may reflect the economic reconstruction of the island during the earlier period of American occupation, no less than public health work toward the eradication of hookworm and general education in hygiene. But 1923 is a maximum and a breaking point. For the five years ending there, the average birth rates, 38.8 per thousand, was probably higher than at any time in Puerto Rican history. In the year 1918 it reached 42.4 per M.



After 1928 the birth rate begins to move downward with an unhealthy kind of irregularity that is apparent even though the curve was smoothed with five year moving means. This may mean that the maladjustment between population and the economic structure had reached the breaking point around 1923. But in 1930 the curve begins again to climb upward. No one can foretell how far it will climb before another break occurs.

The death rate moves steadily downward from 1901 to 1916, then climbs unexpectedly and for unexplained reasons, until, in 1921 it is higher than it was in 1906. After 1924 it falls again, until today it is lower than ever before.

The ratio of birth rate to death rate is significant, in view of the island's present economic condition and its need for reconstruction. During the period 1901 to 1905, the island's population seems to have been almost stationary. Today the ratio is about 1.9. At a time when unemployment and landlessness are relatively larger than ever before, people are being born in the island almost twice as fast as they are dying, and the trend is toward still greater increases.

Figure 2, based on the Diffie's book, shows the per cent unemployed in the male population ten years of age and over. While all unemployment statistics for Puerto Rico are unreliable, the graph indicates dramatically the organization of Puerto Rico's present economy.

A survey recently made by the F. E. R. A. of Puerto Rico shows that there are at present almost 400,000 unemployed though employable persons in Puerto Rico. Most of these are heads of families. While the average

size of family is 5.6, an estimate of only one dependent per worker would bring the number of people without apparent means of support up to about half of the Island's population.

Between 1900 and 1910, the per cent of males unemployed remained virtually stationary according to Figure 2. During this period the Island's economic structure probably absorbed the population increases. But somewhere between 1910 and 1929 there is a marked increase in unemployment that continues until it reaches a figure of 38% of the male population of 10 years and over in 1929.

Even during the height of American "prosperity" was Puerto Rican economy woefully inadequate and far too inflexible for Puerto Rican needs. Employment could not keep pace with population. The picture is all the more serious when one remembers that landlessness increased with unemployment. Many thousands of acres of land passed into the hands of absentee-owners. Puerto Ricans who had once had jobs as well as lands found themselves in rapidly increasing numbers without either.

This indicates that recovery alone would not solve Puerto Rico's problems. No matter how complete the economic recovery, present trends show that the need for relief will persist, and increase, unless reconstruction takes place, unless the island's economic structure is altered to fit, and to expand with, the island's social needs. It indicates, too, that the population problem may outweigh in importance all strictly economic problems that may be tackled by any reconstruction program, no matter how energetic or costly.

C. The Economic Structure.

Agriculture and trade with the continental United States are the mainstays of Puerto Rico's economy. Regardless of what the Island might produce for local consumption, it does produce relatively little and is dependent on imported articles that must be balanced by exports. Its agriculture is devoted largely to four cash-export crops, sugar, coffee, tobacco and citrus fruits.

On paper the balance of trade looks consistently favorable. It has been against Puerto Rico only five years out of the last thirty-five. From 1901 to 1934 the total gain through favorable trade balances has been \$362,024,747, the total loss through unfavorable balances \$20,596,769, the net gain therefore \$341,427,938.

But this apparently excellent balance of trade, showing an average gain of some \$10,000,000 per year in favor of the Island, is purely fictitious. Through the evils of absentee-ownership, profits are exported with products. High shipping rates reduce the balance still further. Interest payments on Puerto Rican bonds amount to forty per cent of the entire budget for running the Insular Government. Puerto Rico is the loser in spite of flattering statistics.

Measured in dollars and cents, sugar represents about half of the Island's exports. Sixty per cent of the sugar industry is controlled by absentee companies, located largely in the United States. Hence about thirty per cent of Puerto Rico's export are, properly speaking, not exported by Puerto Ricans at all, but by stockholders in sugar companies in New York and Baltimore and elsewhere in the continental

United States. In other branches of Puerto Rican economy conditions are as bad, or worse. The Diffies sum them up as follows: "Sugar is 60 per cent absentee-controlled; fruit is 31 per cent or more; tobacco is 85 per cent; banks are 60 per cent and steamship lines approximately 100 per cent."

The exports of cash, in the form of dividend payments, interest payments, real estate rentals, and freight charges, and the like, so far exceed the paper balance in favor of Puerto Rico that the net balance is somewhere around \$10,000,000 against rather than for the Island. One analysis of this condition may be found in Dr. Darwin De Golia's report on "Tariff Problems in Puerto Rico," published in 1935 by the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration.

The result is to be expected. Bonded indebtedness grows steadily more burdensome with little prospect of retirement. An increasingly burdensome mortgage-debt places more and more lands, more and more of the Island's resources, into the hands of absentee-owners. The trend natural to Puerto Rico's present economy is toward over-increasing landlessness on the part of the Puerto Ricans, toward over-increasing concentration of land in the hands of absentees, and therefore toward ever-increasing urban and rural slums. Natural disasters only hasten the normal march of events. A consistently unfavorable balance of trade leaves Puerto Rico no financial reserve strength. The hurricanes of 1928 and 1932 ruined the plantations of hundreds of coffee and fruit planters who have since then been unable to obtain the capital or the credit for repairing the damages, find their production and incomes

greatly curtailed, and are rapidly losing their lands through tax sales and mortgage foreclosures.

Increasing population, increasing landlessness, increasing unemployment, act on wages in accordance with the law of supply and demand. When measured in terms of purchasing power wages have been reduced almost consistently since the first days of the American occupation,

Lacking a tariff, the Island finds it difficult to help itself. When local industry suggests itself as one of several measures to remedy the situation, large corporations that see their trade with Puerto Rico threatened, use the weapon of unfair competition. More than one Puerto Rican has seen opportunity in manufacturing locally and of local materials, some of the products that the Island now imports. Such ventures have almost invariably been ruined at their beginnings through price-cutting campaigns inaugurated by importers of competitive products. In a country that loses somewhere around \$10,000,000 every year on its foreign trade, the individual entrepreneur cannot last long in a price war with large corporations.

To make conditions worse, Puerto Rico is included in the terms of the coastwise shipping act. Only American ships may carry freight between the Island and continental United States. Rates on those ships are higher than on foreign ones. Well over 95 per cent of the Island's exports go to the continental United States. Not only do high freight rates add to the burdensome balances of trade against Puerto Rico, but they prohibit, or restrict, the exportation of various articles that might be able to compete on the markets of

New York and Baltimore of imported commodities, they restrict the number of those who can afford to buy them, they force down still lower the standards of living among those who cannot afford to buy imports but have to buy them anyway because the Island's economy is based on the production of cash export crops.

D. The Planning Problem.

The problem, in general, is clearly defined. It is to develop a Puerto Rican economy to operate for the benefit of Puerto Ricans, and to save the Federal Government the burden of ever-increasing relief.

A number of distinct steps suggest themselves for the economic reconstruction of the Island. They are listed here without reference to the various agencies that might undertake them, whether the Federal Government, the Insular Government, or, in some instances, private capital. They are as follows:

1. Return as many Puerto Ricans to the land as possible, providing at least subsistence for those who, under the existing economy, have no land, no wages, and virtually no hope of obtaining either,
2. Reduce the extent of absentee-ownership to the ends that Puerto Ricans may be returned to the land and that only the products of Puerto Rican agriculture, and not the profits therefrom, be exported.
3. Take steps toward the diversification of agriculture, in order to produce locally many foodstuffs that are imported at present.
4. Provide adequate processing, storage, and internal distribution facilities for foodstuffs grown and consumed locally.

5. Provide new industries for the processing of agricultural and non-agricultural raw materials found locally, to manufacture products used locally, partly in an effort to bring about a truly favorable balance of trade and partly to provide employment for Puerto Ricans.

6. Find means of protecting new industries against unfair competition from manufacturers in the continental United States.

7. Find means of financing new industries with Puerto Rican capital, in order to prevent spreading the evils of absentee-ownership.

8. Relieve Puerto Rico from the provisions of the Coastwise Shipping Act, which, through chaining the Island to high freight rates, tends to maintain high local price-levels on imported materials and places excessive financial burdens on Puerto Rico exporters.

9. Through raising the prevailing standards of living, and thereby the degree of social consciousness of the Puerto Rican people, create conditions under which the population problem may be dealt with effectively.

10. Formulate, for application when and if possible, a sane emigration policy for surplus populations.

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Not all of the above mentioned steps are feasible at the present time. So, for instance, inhibitions imposed on Government by pressure from religious groups have to date made impossible any official action tending to grapple with the overwhelming population

problem through the dissemination of birth-control facts. At present it is the position of the Federal Government that this is not a function that it can properly undertake. The Insular Government presumably labors under corresponding inhibitions. Be that as it may, all indications are that Puerto Rico cannot nearly support its present population, even under economic conditions as conceivably altered through the reconstruction program now initiated. And the present population is growing at the rate of some 40,000 per year. An authoritative study by some recognized expert, and under the auspices of a scientific institution of unassailable integrity should be started as soon as practicable, to determine how large a population the Island can support under existing conditions as well as under more favorable conditions as altered by a thorough and energetic reconstruction program.

But together the steps outlined above constitute a goal to be planned for and to be approached through actual operations when and if feasible. With the operations of the F. E. R. A. and the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, powerful movements are in force toward the achievement of some of the steps in the complete program. The problems confronting planners in Puerto Rico today are the refinement of the broad general plans being carried out already, the creation of further plans for future work, and the development of ways and means through which these future plans may be carried out.

II. WORK IN PROGRESS

Two Federal agencies are now at work to improve conditions in Puerto Rico. These are the F. E. R. A. and the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. As their names indicate, they are mutually supplementary, the one working for relief and the other for reconstruction. The necessity for coordinating the two raises a difficult problem in administrative planning. It is desirable that relief work contribute to reconstruction and that reconstruction ease the burden of relief. It is necessary that duplication of effort be avoided or kept at a minimum, and that efforts and aims shall not conflict. Human jealousies and misunderstandings complicate the problem.

A. The F. E. R. A.

Organized in August 1933 as the P. R. E. R. A., this administration began its activities with straight relief but soon branched into work-relief, bending its efforts toward economic reconstruction and developing plans for future steps in that direction.

The activities of the organization beyond the work of providing direct relief have reached into many branches of the Island's life and may be summarized as follows:-

1. Public Works: Construction of roads, schools, hospitals, other public buildings, bridges, and the like.
2. Agricultural Program: Fostering truck gardens; providing help for the protection, improvement and rehabilitation of other crops; providing seedbeds and nurseries for the coffee belt; eradicating budrot in the coconut regions; providing facilities for the establishment of canning centers.

3. Cooperative Movement: Sponsoring barter and exchange cooperatives in the rural area.
4. Handcraft Cooperatives: Sponsoring organizations for the production and marketing of handmade art and crafts products.
5. Other Industrial Projects: Sponsoring fisheries and shoe-making ventures partly for experimental purposes.
6. Women's Work: Organizing women's needlework shops to produce garments for distribution to relief cases.
7. Public Welfare Activities: These include activities in Maternal Health, Child Welfare, Mental Hygiene and Psychiatry, Probation and Parole, Medical Social Service, Research and Planning, Nutrition and Home Economics, Recreation, Social Service Training, Social Legislation and Legal Advice, Inter-agency Service and direct relief.
8. Educational Activities: Organizing unemployed teachers and other eligible persons for a broad program of child and adult education to supplement the work of the Insular Department of Education.
9. Public Health Activities: Operation of medical centers and dispensaries, made necessary by the total collapse of public medical care, due to financial difficulties.
10. Housing and Slum Clearance: Efforts to improve housing conditions in rural as well as urban areas.

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In addition to the above named activities, the F. E. R. A. has carried on a program of planning and research. Some of these

investigations may be useful in future planning activities in Puerto Rico. They cover the following list of subjects:

1. Occupational survey and index of employables in the Island. FERA Form 144.
2. Tariff survey, covering the effects of the American tariff on Puerto Rican economy, with conclusions and recommendations.
3. Preliminary survey of Ocean Transportation (freight and passenger) between Puerto Rico and the mainland.
4. Adjusted overseas trade balance.
5. Survey on municipal expenditures for public "beneficencia", 1933-34.
6. House-to-house survey of Puerta de Tierra slum, San Juan.
7. Preliminary survey of slum areas in Ponce, Mayaguez, San Juan, and Humacao. Not a house-to-house survey.
8. Socio-economic survey of the counties of Mayaguez and Tetuan, Utuado.
9. T. B. survey on the epidemiology of tuberculosis, Barrio Obrero, San Juan.
10. Study of mendicancy in Humacao.
11. Study of abandoned children in Arecibo.
12. Study on minimum cost of balanced diets for poor families.
13. Nutrition efficiency experiment, Caguas.
14. Survey of recreational activities among school children.
15. Research on mineral resources, covering gold, manganese, copper, tin, copper ore and nonmetallic minerals.
16. Agricultural survey on Annato and Bananas.
17. Experimental projects on garlic and ginger.
18. Farm Debt survey, in cooperation with the Department of Economics, University of Puerto Rico.

19. Hurricane Status Research, in cooperation with the
University of Puerto Rico.

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At present only a limited amount of money is left available for the local F. E. R. A. organization. Because of changes in Federal policy, it will have to be dissolved by June 30, 1936. This raises large and urgent planning problems. How much of the work of the F. E. R. A. can be absorbed by the P. P. R. A.? How much can and should be dropped? How much of it should be taken over by the Insular Government, and on what basis? How much of it might conceivably be carried on in the form of self-sustaining business ventures? On what basis? Should private capital be sought? Should producers' cooperatives be formed? Can these industries be protected against dumping?

Preliminary legal steps have been taken for the formation of a women's needlework cooperative. It is hoped that Federal policies as well as local conditions may in the future permit the formation of other cooperatives as well.

An organization that spends about \$1,000,000 per month for relief in one form or another cannot simply be dissolved without raising havoc with social conditions throughout the island. Its imminent dissolution raises one of the most serious problems of careful planning in Puerto Rico today.

B. The P. R. E. A.

The Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration was created on May 28th, 1935, by Executive Order No. 7057. Its functions and duties are prescribed in the order as follows:

"To initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects for providing relief and work relief and for increasing employment within Puerto Rico."

The program now being carried out by the P. R. E. A. is the result of careful planning, largely by the Puerto Rico Policy Commission, which worked in Washington during 1934 and 1935. The program is fundamental in nature and based on a clearly expressed philosophy of reconstruction rather than relief. Divided into its essentials, it consists of the sub-programs discussed below.

1. Rural Rehabilitation.

a. The Sugar Program. The Costigan-Jones Sugar Act has resulted in a reduction, to the extent of 150,000 tons, of the sugar which Puerto Rico producers may export to this country. One consequence of this reduction has been that employment in sugar harvesting and grinding has been reduced materially, and such reimbursements as have been paid to planters for reducing their crops have not been passed on to the landless laborers who lost employment in consequence of the curtailment. Another consequence has been that persons growing sugar on the marginal sugar lands can no longer compete for the market, and this area of approximately 76,000 acres has been reduced

to that of a stricken agricultural area. It is inhabited by numerous distressed sugar producers operating small and medium-sized farms.

One of the requisites to rehabilitation of the population of the Island is to effect a program of rural rehabilitation for these farmers. The plan proposes to resettle them on good sugar lands, purchased from absentee owners, where they can produce cane at a cost that will permit them to derive support from the land they operate. But it is not intended that the lands from which they are removed will be retired from agricultural uses. These lands are also to be used as an essential part of the program of rural rehabilitation. On them agricultural laborers who have been impoverished by the gradual absorption of the land of the island by large sugar corporations will be settled in subsistence farms. These homesteaders will be taught to cultivate essential food supplies which the Island has not been producing so that a diversification of agricultural production will be secured and this population which has been living below a subsistence level will be able not only to sustain itself but to contribute to the essential food supply of the Island. The lands upon which the homesteaders are to be settled which have been referred to as marginal cane lands are marginal only for the production of sugar. It is good soil for the production of other crops. The plan further proposes the reconstruction of adequate housing both in the rural rehabilitation areas devoted to the productions of sugar on small farms and also in the rural rehabilitation areas upon which subsistence homesteaders are to be settled.

With reference to the lands designed for the production of sugar cane on small farm units, it is essential that an incidental project be carried out in connection with each of these rural rehabilitation areas. Since the Island has become a possession of the United States the Congress has seen clearly its essential problem. The 500-acre law which has been reenacted as a part of the Organic Act was aimed at deterring absorption of the land by absentee-owners. These laws have been evaded. The proposed projects would in a large measure carry out this long-standing policy of the Congress. However, if the land is divided into small units, the individual farmer will have no bargaining power against those who control the machinery for processing and marketing his production. Unless some control can be exercised over this machinery, the small farmer will be at the mercy of its owners and a quick reversion of the land to the absentee corporate interests may be expected. Thus, it is an essential to the establishment and maintenance of a rural rehabilitation area that process plants and workshops be acquired for the use of each rural rehabilitation area.

The benefits derived from the sugar program will be as follows:

The provisions of the Costigan-Jones Act will be met by taking out of sugar cultivation lands that are marginal for sugar, and confining cane growing to land well suited for the purpose.

Absentee ownership of sugar lands and sugar processing facilities will be reduced materially.

Some thousands of Puerto Ricans who are now landless as well as jobless will be rehabilitated.

Puerto Rican agriculture will be diversified. Food crops consumed locally and now imported will be grown on the marginal sugar lands that are taken out of sugar production.

b. Coffee, Tobacco and Citrus Projects. The inland regions of Puerto Rico, which are rather mountainous areas, are given over almost exclusively to coffee, tobacco and citrus production. These farming areas have been ravaged by hurricane during the past few years. Their productiveness has been further impaired during the past few years, by the complete destruction of the forest which has taken place through neglect and exploitation. As a result of the devastation of the forest, marked soil erosion has set in and the coffee industry has been further impaired because of the need to grow coffee bushes under tall shade trees. As a result, these regions are signally stricken agricultural areas. The owners of the land have neither the cash nor the credit needed for helping themselves and rebuilding their plantations. It is proposed to rehabilitate the inland regions by a program which will bring to this area adequate labor to work the land and which will sustain the present inhabitants and the incoming population during the period necessary to restore the land to fruitful production.

The program will be carried out by the purchase of sufficient land to establish subsistence farms adequate to house and support the necessary laboring population in each rehabilitation area. For

four days a week these laborers will find work on the coffee, tobacco and citrus farms in restoring the productiveness of these farms and will work on their own subsistence units the other two days. During the period in which work on the coffee farms cannot be carried out effectively this labor will devote itself to the construction of adequate housing for the population of the area. Through this procedure it is intended to build up a number of rehabilitation areas in which coffee farms will be restored to productiveness and the laborers who work these farms will be given subsistence homesteads on which they will produce their necessary food supplies and increase the total food supply which is grown within the Island. The plan will also furnish adequate housing to insure decent living conditions for this labor.

In practice the plan works as follows:- The P. R. R. A. hires laborers to work on the rehabilitation and the reconstruction of the coffee, or other plantations. For every laborer so supplied, the planter agrees to sell to the PRRA three acres of average land, at half its appraised value. This land is then turned into a subsistence homestead, to be purchased by the laborer on long time payments.

c. Workers' Reconstruction Camps: In order to assure the success of the subsistence homestead ventures, it is necessary to select the men carefully who will be settled on the land and to train them in sanitation, diet, and other requisites of successful homesteading.

Partly for this reason, and partly in order to facilitate the engineering and construction work incidental to rural rehabilitation,

approximately seventy-five workers' reconstruction camps will be established in the various rural rehabilitation areas. The work of these camps will be to construct community centers and establish subsistence farms. The community center will have recreation facilities, adequate school facilities, workshops and other necessary resources for an agricultural community. Around the community center subsistence farms will be created and adequate housing facilities to house the subsistence homesteaders will be constructed. As an incidental to these construction camp projects, the workers will be trained in proper methods of sanitation, helpful diets, and given the other elements of education necessary to successful lives as independent farmers. From the reconstruction camp workers will be selected those to be settled on the homesteads.

d. Cattle Tick and Budrot Eradication Projects: An insect pest, the cattle tick, and an infectious disease, budrot, threaten to destroy two of the basic industries of the island, the cattle industry and the coconut industry. The cattle tick has ravaged the livestock of the island at an increasing pace during the past few years. The budrot threatens to destroy the coconut industry of the island as it has done in Cuba. A program looking to a sound diversification of the agricultural life of the Island must prevent this progressive elimination of two essential sources of diversification. It is therefore proposed that in conjunction with each rehabilitation area, a program of cattle tick eradication and budrot eradication be carried out.

e. Distribution System: Essential to the solution of the problem of rural rehabilitation in the Island is the establishment and maintenance of an adequate distribution system. If land which has been retired from cane is to be utilized for the production of food, if reasonable diversification of agricultural products is to be attained, provisions must be made for refrigeration, warehousing and distribution. It is therefore necessary that in connection with the rehabilitation areas there be constructed and maintained warehouses, canning plants, refrigerating facilities and abattoirs, and a number of small distributing centers. These projects are to be carried out solely in connection with, and as an integral part of, the rural rehabilitation areas.

f. Supplementary Industries. As adjuncts also to the rehabilitation areas, workshops will be constructed in the community centers. These will be devoted to wood-working, the production of clay products, and the production of clothing. In short, it is planned that in these workshops furniture needed to furnish the homesteaders' houses, pottery which will serve as necessary utensils for these homesteads, and clothing for the homesteaders will be produced. These workshops may also serve to supplement to a degree the income of the communities.

2. Forestry Program.

a. Justification. Destructive soil erosion is one of the most serious problems that Puerto Rican agriculture has to contend

with, especially in the island regions that are given over primarily to coffee and tobacco farming. Over large areas has virtually all the top soil been washed away, crops are being grown in clay, and the process of erosion is accelerated because hurricanes have destroyed hundreds of thousands of the trees that once shaded the coffee bushes. A far-flung program of forestation is essential to Puerto Rico's future welfare, largely for checking erosion, but partly too for furnishing new trees to shade coffee bushes, and for supplying lumber to reduce Puerto Rican imports and aid the Island's industries.

b. Description of Project and Character of Work: The proposed forestry program consists in the purchase of 5,000 acres of forest land and 15,000 acres of waste mountain land for reforestation. These figures represent minimum for use as a start. They are probably far too small and inadequate for an effective conservation policy. The mountain districts have been rapidly denuded, especially in the tobacco region, and the need for reforestation is evident on every hand. Reconstruction camps will be established in connection with the forestry program.

3. Slum Clearance Project.

a. Justification:- As a result of the widespread destruction of the coffee industry occasioned by hurricanes and soil erosion and the impairment of tobacco farming resulting from soil erosion and disturbances of natural irrigation, many persons have migrated to the city. This population has been increased as well by the

absorption of sugar lands by absentee-owners. As a consequence, there is a large impoverished population in the various metropolitan areas who are living under deplorable conditions. Housing facilities are not only inadequate but constitute a serious threat to the health of the island by reason of unsanitary conditions and a hazard to the population because so many of these houses are fire traps. Indeed, a large number of persons are even living in shacks in the marshes adjoining the larger cities. Housing projects are essential to the welfare of the island.

b. Description of Project and Character of Work:- This project contemplates the clearance of slum areas, involving the demolition of unsanitary housing facilities.

4. Hydroelectric Project.

a. Justification:- The rural areas of Puerto Rico, especially in the inland regions, are wholly lacking the benefits of electric power. Hydroelectric developments are urgently needed to supply electricity for lighting and other household uses. Equally urgent is the need for electric power in the rural areas to operate the coffee mills and to furnish the necessary energy for supplying irrigation during the periods of serious droughts.

There are several sites in the island favorably located which would furnish adequate power to meet the needs of the rural areas of the Island if the proposed hydroelectric developments were established.

b. Description of Project and Character of Work:- This project provides for rural electrification. It will involve the generation and transmission of electrical energy to rural areas not presently served by private companies. It is a basic project to rural rehabilitation in Puerto Rico.

c. Recommendation for Future Consideration:

1. Under existing conditions, the Insular Government's power activities and the P. R. E. A. program are concerned almost entirely with rural electrification, urban power supplies being in the hands of private utilities. This arrangement is economically unhealthy, since the possibility for supplying rural areas with low cost power often depends on large markets. For this reason the recommendation has been made that the power installations at several cities be purchased from their present owners and added to the government system to insure markets.

2. The Insular Government power system has been inspected by continental experts and pronounced one of the most efficient and one of the best managed systems in America. Its rates are low. In view of the relatively high rates charged by the privately-owned power systems, and in view of the fact that absentee-ownership is found there too, the extension of the insular lines to include urban systems would seem to be a sound step toward a more healthy island-economy.

5. The University of Puerto Rico Program.

a. Justification:- The University of Puerto Rico was founded in 1903. For some years it was little more than a normal school.

Its marked development commenced in 1912 by an extension of the Morrill-Nelson Fund to the territory which enabled establishment of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts. An act of the Territorial Legislature in 1925 afforded it an independent organization and reasonable funds for expansion. As a result the University was materially strengthened in its faculty, its student body and its plant and equipment. Intimate relations have been established between the University and eminent centers of learning in the United States and Europe.

The University of Puerto Rico has in the past few years established for itself a creditable position especially in the fields of tropical medicine, tropical agriculture, and Spanish studies. It is the capstone of the Island's educational system and provides also an essential source from which the Island draws technically skilled and trained men to develop its agricultural resources, to protect the public health and otherwise meet the needs of a large area for educated men. In its unique position of being the only Hispanic-American University that is not affected by the demands and vicissitudes of politics, insofar as it is not subject to the periodic closures that have impaired the value of other Hispanic-American institutions of higher learning, not only can and does it act as a balance wheel in Puerto Rican life, which is always turbulent in a political sense, but may become of importance as a powerful instrument for amicable Pan-American relations. Its maximum effectiveness in both capacities depends on adequate support, financial and moral,

and on adequate plant, and on courageous and enlightened leadership. This maximum effectiveness is of an importance to Puerto Rico and to the Federal Government and offers possibilities which have not yet been fully appreciated or plumbed.

The University is supported largely by a special tax on land in the Island. Due to distress in the agricultural area, this fund has been sharply reduced during the past four years. Consequently the work of the University has been seriously hampered, and it is in danger of being set back in its essential work unless funds are made available for development of its plant and equipment. It is proposed in this project to make a grant to the University in an amount sufficient to meet the barest of its needs.

b. Description of Project and Character of Work:- The construction of a series of buildings and laboratories urgently needed by the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras, at the College of Agriculture in Mayaguez, and the School of Tropical Medicine in San Juan.

III. PLANNING WORK AND ORGANIZATION

The work outlined in the foregoing pages has been assigned to appropriate divisions of the PRRA for execution. However, this work, which is the Administration's "master plan" for Puerto Rico reconstruction, must be accompanied by further planning to develop details and to provide for future operation. A Planning Division has therefore been created as part of the PRRA organization.

A. The Planning Division

The Planning Division is headed by Mr. Rafael A. Gonzalez, one of Puerto Rico's ablest engineers, a man widely experienced in irrigation work and thoroughly acquainted with agricultural problems. Mr. Gonzalez acts in this position as the direct representative of Dr. Carlos E. Chardon, Regional Administrator of the PRRA, and the principal author of the "master plan" on which the work of the PRRA is founded.

Under Mr. Gonzalez, the Planning Division consists of a committee on the one hand and a research staff on the other. Mr. Earl Hanson, Planning Consultant loaned to the PRRA by the National Resources Committee, acts as Secretary of the Planning Committee and aids in guiding the research work in his capacity as consultant.

The committee is composed of heads of P. R. R. A. Divisions. Its functions are as follows:

- a. To determine policy for the guidance of the planning staff and to recommend policy to the Administrator for appropriate action.
- b. To coordinate the work of the PRRA into one central functional program.
- c. To extend the present program of the PRRA into the future through appropriate research and recommendations for future action.
- d. To coordinate the work of the PRRA with that of other local agencies, such as the local branch of the FERA, the University of Puerto Rico, and the various Departments of the Insular Government.

e. To bring about a maximum amount of coordination between the work of the PRRA and that of other Federal agencies.

f. To develop and define a Puerto Rican policy, founded on Puerto Rican needs, for recommendation to the Federal Government.

In its work, the Planning Staff is making such special studies as for a potential cotton project, and for various possible industrial activities utilizing agricultural products as raw materials. It is also concerned with the initiation and the sound organization of an island-wide cooperative movement, with the creation of a new aerial map of Puerto Rico, and with all special studies of a basic nature, such as population studies, industrial surveys, studies of tariff and other economic problems as they may affect the PRRA program.

Provision has been made for a full measure of elasticity in handling the work of the planning staff. Special assignments are made with other organizations whenever these are better equipped than the planning staff for dealing with the problem in hand. So, for instance, the FERA is now constructing a number of experimental dwelling houses under the guidance of, and for the purposes of the PRRA planning staff. Engineers of the Rural Rehabilitation Division are making special topographic surveys needed by the planning staff. To the Legal Division has been assigned the problem of investigating possibilities for protecting Puerto Rican industries against unfair competition from big corporations on the mainland. Experts from the Insular Government and the University of Puerto Rico are assisting

the Planning Division in making studies of marketing problems, cooperative problems, population problems and the like.

A large number of apparently promising projects have been recommended to the Planning Division for urgent investigation. However, many of these are held in abeyance, pending the formulation of more clearly defined policies than exist at present for the guidance of the planning staff. The work now in hand as well as that undertaken in the future will be used in part for the formulation of industrial and agricultural policies to be recommended to the PRRA and perhaps to the Insular and Federal Governments.

As the work progresses, it will disclose the need for the systematic collection of basic data. Inventories of Puerto Rican mineral resources, water resources, timber resources, and agricultural products that may be used as raw materials for local industries can and will be undertaken whenever the specific needs for those inventories become clearly defined. For the present the Bureau of the Census is taking a census of Puerto Rico, at the instigation of the PRRA and for the purpose of acquiring up-to-date information on population movements and economic trends.

B. Provisions for Permanent Planning.

While the planning work of the PRRA is encouraged and financed by the Federal Government, it is in a very real sense a Puerto Rican enterprise. The entire PRRA program was developed by Puerto Ricans and is being carried out in the largest measure possible by Puerto Ricans. Puerto Rican experts do the bulk of the work in the Planning

Division. It is intended that the planning work will be turned over to an appropriate Puerto Rican organization, operating without Federal help, as soon as practicable.

For the present it is essential that planning for Puerto Rico's future go hand in hand with the major operational efforts for reconstruction that are being made by the PRRA. Any other course would lead inevitably to a divergence of the two activities.

The immediate future of coordinated planning for Puerto Rico's reconstruction is therefore closely associated with the immediate future of the PRRA.

Under the original terms of its present allotment, coming from W. P. A. funds, the PRRA program would end June, 1937. However, it is impossible to reconstruct the economy of what amounts to an island-national by spending some millions of dollars in the short space of two years. Even five years of intensive effort would be insufficient. In order to be really effective in reducing the need for permanent relief, reconstruction must be a continual, permanent effort.

For this reason special legislative action has been obtained from Congress at its present session.

A copy of Senate Bill 3140 as it was finally passed on February 3, 1936, is appended to the present report. The two amendments introduced by the Senate restrict the scope of the bill and may invalidate its insurance features. Beside liberalizing the terms under which the present funds may be expended, the bill provides, in brief, for the following:

- a. The money now allotted to the PRRA, or to be allotted in the near future, shall be available for expenditure until June 30, 1940.
- b. All income derived from operations financed out of this fund will constitute a revolving fund that shall remain available for expenditure until Congress shall provide otherwise.
- c. Certain taxes heretofore or hereinafter collected from the processing of Puerto Rican sugar, shall be transferred to the revolving fund authorized by this Act.
- d. Not exceeding \$10,000,000 of this fund may in the discretion of the President, be used as an insurance fund to provide hurricane insurance to Puerto Rican farmers.

The introduction to the report of the Puerto Rican Policy Commission states in part that "It --- seems highly desirable, probably imperative, that a land restoration and industrial development program, combined with a policy of emigration to suitable environments, be worked out as soon as possible." Figure 1 of the present report seems to indicate that emigration as well as other means will be necessary for Puerto Rican reconstruction, no matter what steps are taken for rural rehabilitation and industrialization. But if emigration is to be encouraged, careful preliminary investigations as to locations, ways and means, are necessary to provide some assurance that past failures will not be repeated. Under existing regulations, no part of the funds now available in the PRRA may be spent outside of the boundaries of the United States. Investigations leading to a potential emigration program are therefore restricted seriously, if not made virtually

impossible, potential emigrants cannot be aided, and emigration cannot even be advocated by the agencies concerned with reconstruction.

With the passage of the revolving fund bill, the planning work now being carried on has been put on a semi-permanent basis together with the rest of the P. R. R. A. work. In the future, after the activities and points of view of the Reconstruction Administration and the Insular Government have been brought more closely together for joint action toward the common goal of economic security for Puerto Rico, it will probably be advisable to set up an Insular Planning Board independent of the P. R. R. A.

*

Attached: Copy of S. 3140

74TH CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 3140

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 13 (calendar day June 24,) 1935

Mr. Tydings introduced the following bill: which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs

A B I L L

To provide that funds allocated to Puerto Rico under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 may be expended for permanent rehabilitation, and for other purposes.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That all sums which the President has segregated or allotted
4 or shall segregate or allot for projects in Puerto Rico out
5 of the money appropriated by the Emergency Relief Appro-
6 priation Act of 1935 shall constitute a special fund to pro-
7 vide relief and work relief and to increase employment in
8 Puerto Rico. The fund thus established shall continue
9 available for expenditure until June 30, 1940. All income
10 derived from operations financed out of this fund and the

1 proceeds of the disposition of property acquired therewith
2 shall constitute a revolving fund, which shall remain available
3 for expenditure for the purposes and in manner authorized
4 herein and in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of
5 1935 until Congress shall provide otherwise, notwithstand-
6 ing any limitation of time contained in the said Emergency
7 Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. Any agency or agencies
8 lawfully designated or established to administer funds allotted
9 hereunder or the revolving fund herein authorized may be
10 continued so long as the said funds or any of them remain
11 available for expenditure.

12 Projects for rural rehabilitation in Puerto Rico may
13 include the acquisition, development, maintenance, and
14 operation of agricultural properties and enter-
15 prises. A reasonable charge may be made for materials
16 and services produced or made available by any project.
17 Provided, That such materials and services may also be
18 supplied as compensation, in whole or in part, for services
19 rendered by persons employed upon any project.

20 SEC. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 15
21 (f) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended by
22 section 8 of the Act of May 9, 1934, or any action taken
23 thereunder, all or any part of the unobligated balance of
24 taxes heretofore or hereafter collected from the processing
25 of sugar beets or sugarcane in Puerto Rico and/or upon

1 the processing in continental United States of sugar pro-
2 duced in or coming from Puerto Rico are hereby authorized,
3 in the discretion of the President, to be transferred to the
4 revolving fund authorized by this Act. Not exceeding
5 \$10,000,000 of this fund may, in the discretion of the
6 President, be set aside in the Treasury for use as an insur-
7 ance fund to insure individual agriculturists in Puerto Rico,
8 but to the extent only of such insurance fund and its accre-
9 tions, against damage by hurricane to their farm dwellings
10 and farm buildings, growing crops, plants and trees, includ-
11 ing trees used as shade for growing crops, warehouses and
12 produce in barns and warehouses: Provided, That said
13 fund may be so employed only during such periods as the
14 Secretary of the Interior shall find and determine that
15 commercial insurance is not available and at premiums sufficiently
16 high to keep the principal of the original insurance fund intact,
17 and policies of insurance shall be issued hereunder only pursuant
18 to such terms and premium rates as the Secretary of the Interior
19 shall prescribe by regulations duly promulgated. Until otherwise pro-
20 vided by law all moneys collected as premiums on such
21 insurance or otherwise in connection with the administra-
22 tion of such fund or the operation of such insurance activity
23 shall constitute accretions to the fund and shall be held,
24 together with the original insurance fund and all additions
25 thereto, as a revolving fund for the purposes of such
26 insurance.

December 28, 1936

Dear Ruby:

Many thanks for the Puerto Rican map. I love the colors and will use it at Hyde Park, where I have the others which you gave me.

I enjoyed every minute of the party the other night and am looking forward to seeing you all "off the record" again before long.

affectionately,

SO

Miss Ruby Black
211½ Prince St.
Alexandria Va.

January 4, 1937

100

Dear Ruby:

I am afraid that you are outlining far too much for me after 1941. However, I appreciate your thinking of me in this connection.

I am glad that Jane liked her doll.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby A. Black
News Bureau
824 National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

S:DD

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

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DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

December 30, 1936.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Jane is delighted with the doll, which she promptly named "Millie" when I told her she came from Milwaukee. She dresses and undresses her, puts her to bed in those fine pajamas. I had not realized that the dolls came equipped with such extensive wardrobes. I marveled again at the careful work, the excellence of every detail. The most expensive dolls have not such well-made clothes. Of course, I, too, am pleased to have it. I told Harry Hopkins, at Curtis's party the other day, that I was pleased to report my child "on relief" because of that doll, and he felt the same way about it, since Diana has one, too. He thinks they are the finest dolls there are.

We miss you, and we hope you can come back soon, and that all will be well with Franklin Jr. very quickly.

I have already told you how much I love the table. It is grand in my living room.

Enclosed is a note I penciled last night at home. I re-read it today, and decided it was all right to send it.

With love and best wishes for the New Year,

Ruby
P.S.: Do you think Franklin Jr. and Miss Du Pont would like a fair copy (each) of the Romeo and Juliet scene, autographed by the actresses?
R.

12/29/36, 10:20 p.m.
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Tonight, to me, in the series for Louis Ruppel. That phrase about the "disregarded multitude of the bewildered, the simple, and the voiceless," I re-read, for the first time in several years, the Preface to "The Nigger of the Narcissus," which I used to read frequently when I was young enough to dream that I might someday write as an artist.

As I read it tonight, I kept thinking, with every telling phrase, that you, of all our generation, have seen, with discerning eye and analytical brain and understanding heart, more of these "unrestful episodes in the obscure lives" of the people than any other.

So, I am writing just to ask that you read the Preface again, and that, when you no longer have to give state dinners, be shaken by the hand, ^{hold every conference,} and get flowers from Girl Scouts, you try to do all that Conrad says is "reserved only for a few to achieve."

You've got the experience; you've got the insight; surely you can "aspire to the plasticity of sculpture, the the color of

2)

painting, and in the magic suggestiveness of music" so that "the light of magic suggestiveness may be brought to play for an evanescent instant over the commonplace surface of words: of the old, old words, worn thin, defaced by ages of careless usage."

Well, isn't it nice of me to arrange your life for you after 1941?

absolutely sincerely,

Ruby

January 16, 1937

Dear Ruby:

I read your letter and have
passed it along to the President.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby A. Black
211½ Prince St.
Alexandria

1-16 Jan. 15, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I penciled this letter to the President last Monday night. I have re-read it many times since, and have copied it. I still think the President should read it.

It has nothing to do with Puerto Rico, or with anything in which I am personally interested.

But I wish you would read it; and, if you think it would interest the President, would give it to him.

Because I care so much about what I think you and he care about most - democratic government.

My love to you,

Reily A. Black.

Off the Record and Confidential

January 23, 1937

Dear Ruby: *Black*

The President says at the moment the big thing in Puerto Rico is whether Puerto Rico wants to learn English and have the status of a state, or whether they want to be free. If they want to be free, they cannot, of course, have all the things that they can have if they wish to be a state.

Secretary Ickes and Mrs. Hampton understand the real situation. I do not think you need worry about their being able to handle Ernest Gruening and Oscar Chapman. I was afraid they did not know much about it. I would not have believed any gossip in any case.

The article you wrote is O.K.

Affectionately,

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

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ack
1-23

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Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

January 22, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Of course, you know by now the terrific efforts being made by Puerto Rican reactionaries to discredit Luis Munoz Marin. They have gone to such ludicrous lengths as to say that "every door in Washington is closed to him, even Ruby Black's."

For this reason, added to the fact that we met a UP man after having tea with you, and simply told him we had been there, and had nothing to say about it, I wrote the enclosed story and airmailed it that night.

(from Puerto Rico)
I have heard rumors that this is being re-translated ~~from the~~ to English from the Spanish to which it was translated, and certain changes made, for the purpose of sending it to you with the idea that I might be discredited in your eyes. For this reason, I am giving you herewith a copy of the original English.

Luis
I do not doubt that they have told you he is a Nationalist, when the fact is that the Nationalists hate him worse than they hate any other man, because he appeals to intelligence and sense in the democratic way instead of to emotion and hatred, and because he works for democracy and social justice, in which the Nationalists have not the slightest interest. ~~Exzaxex~~

I know, from my constant contacts with him, that he is still what he has always been -- the most intelligent and unselfish statesman Puerto Rico has produced, and the most ardent supporter of all that this administration stands for. The reactionaries within his own party have seized upon this moment to attempt to force the Liberal Party itself into reaction.

You asked Luis if he had talked to Oscar Chapman. He has, of course, and while I think Oscar is friendly with him and with me, and believes in the social and economic purposes for which we stand, I think also that he is striving to "save Ernest's job," and believes that Ernest has done and can do no irrevocable harm. Of course, as Luis told you, we are not interested in depriving Ernest of a job; only in depriving him of control over the destinies of Puerto Rico and of the power to sabotage what this administration set out to do in Puerto Rico. Thus I am not sure Oscar can be counted upon to do much. I think that Secretary Ickes and Mrs. Hampton (assistant director of the division of territories and island possessions) know more about the situation than any one else in the department.

Forgive my constant troubling of you; honestly, I do it only for Puerto Rico and the Roosevelt administration!

Love,

Ruby

210

mailed Jan. 9, 1937

BY RUBY A. BLACK

*Fill
Till Ruby*

*Certainly and
wordiness of
expression are
due to my
experience
that they*

WASHINGTON, ~~_____~~ — Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose interest in Puerto Rico remains as intelligent, cordial, and understanding as ever, in spite of the many local, national, and international problems that daily take up her attention, discussed last Saturday the problems of Puerto Rico during three-quarters of an hour with Luis Munoz Marin.

*trans
be
some
things
better
than
others.*

The President's wife, whose visit to Puerto Rico in 1934, together with conferences previously held with Munoz Marin and other persons with knowledge of Puerto Rican problems, initiated the prompt consideration of Reconstruction for Puerto Rico and the adoption of the Chardon Plan, had had the purpose of discussing the problems of Puerto Rico with Mr. Munoz Marin since two weeks ago, but she was called to the bedside of her son Franklin in Boston. For that reason she was compelled to cancel her engagements for more than a week. Her son returned to the White House the day before the conference with Munoz Marin and he proposes to go in a few days to Florida to recuperate from the throat infection and operation ~~_____~~ that kept him in a Boston hospital since the day before Thanksgiving until Friday, January 8th.

Mrs. Roosevelt spent much time there with her son until Christmas week. She then came to Washington but returned to her son's bedside before Christmas to remain with him until January 2nd, at which time she came to Washington to ~~_____~~ fill a great number of official engagements.

Mr. Munoz Marin and this correspondent were invited to tea at the White House with Mrs. Roosevelt on Saturday, to discuss Puerto Rican problems and their solutions as well as to consider future problems.

It is not proper to quote Mrs. Roosevelt in her private discussion of

important problems such as those taken up during Saturday's tea, at which only Mr. Munoz Marin and I were present. But I can report that the interest of Mrs. Roosevelt in Puerto Rico continues constantly profound, constantly liberal and well-informed, while at the same time she is anxious for greater information.

Mr. Munoz Marin made no comments with regard to his conversation with Mrs. Roosevelt, except to express great happiness because of her deep interest in Puerto Rico.

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

Ruby

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file

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Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

January 27, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I went to thank you for your swell Off the Record and Confidential letter. On the same day I got it, Grace Tully called me up with a fine reply from the President to my letter to him about government reorganization.

I think this letter from Dean Benner of the University of Illinois College of Education, who was for five years chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, gives a clearer picture of the English-teaching problem than any other short statement I have seen.

No one in Puerto Rico, save probably a handful of Nationalists, is against the teaching of English. Sen. Munoz Marin swung his party's legislative votes in line for approval of the appropriation for the continental English teachers requested by the administration. The appropriation was made about a year ago. Munoz Marin's representative viewpoint is that, as English is a valuable asset, it is a question of social justice to teach it effectively in the free public schools. The question is not a political one but an educational one as to the effectiveness of the method of teaching. Pedagogical authorities evidently favor the system established by Dr. Padin, which Dean Benner's letter describes.

The desire of Puerto Ricans that English be taught is virtually unanimous and bears no relation to the question of Statehood or Independence.

The Statehood-Independence issue is basically economic, as both solutions are considered dignified for Puerto Rico. The sugar people would like to see their present tariff privileges made perpetual (under statehood); liberal thinkers wish a diversified economy for which they believe Puerto Rico needs the tariff and treaty-making powers of a sovereign nation.

Sen. Munoz Marin is really very anxious to discuss the fundamental economic and social questions involved with the President.

Yours with love,

Ruby

COPY

January 12, 1937

The Honorable John W. Studebaker
United States Commissioner of Education
Department of Interior
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Studebaker:

It occurs to me that I should supplement my previous letter to you recommending Professor Jose A. Balseiro for the Commissioner-ship of Education of Puerto Rico by this brief statement concerning one of the other candidates for the position and one of the issues which is being raised and which might badly mislead some of the Washington officials.

Juan P. Blanco, who is being recommended by Resident Commissioner Iglesias, is a weak and colorless subordinate in the Insular Department of Education who would be easily controlled by the majority party which is recommending him for that very reason.

The schools of Puerto Rico, as you know, are bilingual. Under the administration of Commissioner Jose Padin, whose resignation created the present vacancy, changes were made in the plan of instruction in the two languages. These changes were based on recommendations from Dr. West of Oxford University, Dr. Grey of the University of Chicago, and representatives of Teachers College, Columbia University. They consisted of extending the period in the early grades during which instruction is given in Spanish, with English studied as an additional language. Thereafter, as you know, all studies are conducted in English, with Spanish taught as a supplementary language.

The dislike of the majority party for Commissioner Padin, whom they were unable to use as a mere tool of the party, led to a bitter attack on this program which has been represented in Washington as based on fear that the people of the Island are going to be deprived of opportunities to learn English. You can see how well this sort of attack lends itself to sympathetic hearing in continental United States if the facts are not known. The candidacy of Mr. Blanco, who has sometimes referred to himself as John P. White (the translation of his name into English), has been promoted in part on the basis that as Supervisor of English he would insure the retention of English in the schools and the correction of the "error" made by Padin, whereas the appointment of Balseiro would mean a diminishing attention to English by virtue of the fact that Balseiro as Professor of Romance Languages at this University teaches Spanish.

January 12, 1937

Mr. Ernest Gruening has translated speeches of Professor Balseiro, made during the period of this three-year service as visiting professor at the University of Puerto Rico, in which he made very clear his feeling that the teaching of English was basic to the best interests of the people of Puerto Rico. Professor Balseiro feels that the question of the time and the place for the teaching of English, in order to get the best results, is one which can best be decided by authorities in the study of the problems of teaching bilingual groups. In other words, he would feel, as did Commissioner Padin, that the recommendations of competent authorities such as Dr. West of Oxford University, Professor Gray of the University of Chicago, and others should determine the solution of these problems.

From every point of view I feel that Professor Balseiro is the man best fitted among those who are available for the Commissionership of Education in Puerto Rico to continue the progressive development of the Island school system in keeping with the tradition which has prevailed throughout the history of the Island, with a single exception represented by the setback which occurred during the Harding Administration when Juan B. Huyke was made Commissioner of Education because of his willingness to fetch and carry for Governor Reilly.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Benner
Dean

TEB:S

The writer of this letter is Dean of the College of Education in the University of Illinois and was for five years Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico before accepting his present position in Illinois.

5

STATEMENT OF MR. MILES H. FAIRBANKS, REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR OF THE PRRA

(Published in "El Mundo", January 21st, 1937)

In answer to questioning by reporters:

"I have been two months at the head of the Reconstruction Administration and I want to say frankly that my greatest preoccupation has been to try to take the PRRA to its original programme of economic rehabilitation for the island. The programme was initiated as contained in the Chardon Plan, that is, to work for the economic reconstruction of Puerto Rico. But there was the need of using \$9,000,000 of the funds allotted for emergency relief, and other sums for various other activities. The fundamental objective of the Plan was to create small landowners, building homes in pieces of land for the workers, to establish cooperatives for various activities, to rehabilitate industry and agriculture; and this thought-out programme suffered certain breakdowns with prejudice to the reconstruction of the island. In one year we have spent \$2,500,000 in wages in connection with rehabilitation programmes for coffee, tobacco and fruits. It is true that we have given employment to thousands of workers. But no work of permanent benefit to those industries has been carried out".

COMMENT: Money allocated for emergency relief is not the chief reason. The whole sugar plan, which is the backbone of the Chardon Plan (as its purpose is to reduce absentee ownership and to produce a more equitable distribution of sugar income between processors, farmers, and workers, as well as to create a class of small landholders in the cane-lands) stopped abruptly with the acquisition of the Lafayette mill and lands, although there were funds allotted for a much larger application of the principles involved. This aspect of the Chardon Plan (cooperative mills, etc.) was the main point of attack by anti-newdeal politicians and by sugar companies. They sent an expert to Washington to denounce it in May 1935. This expert, Mr. Lopez Dominguez, is now in charge of Rural Rehabilitation in the PRRA, and in charge of the sugar programme he denounced as "nonsensical". Aside from the insufficient explanation given by Mr. Fairbanks, his words are almost exactly the words used by Senator Munoz Marin in describing this aspect of the situation to you.

Ruby

(This translation
came to my attention
after I wrote the other
letter.)

February 12, 1937

Dear Ruby:

I thought I saw in the paper the other day that the Liberals had joined with the other party in Puerto Rico and everyone was working in harmony. I think it is better for me not to see Mr. Marin at the present time, as it always creates the impression that he has an inside hold on the administration, which, of course, is not true.

He would be listened to just as anyone else would be listened to and his statements given consideration, but the impression cannot go out that he has anything exclusive, and for that reason I think it is better for me not to see him.

I know of course that you are entirely disinterested and are simply anxious to see that things are settled to the best interest of all concerned. I also would like to say that I really think the best interests of all concerned would be served by a thorough understanding among Ernest Gruening, Oscar Chapman, Mr. Ickes, and the various Puerto Rican parties.

Affectionately,

SO

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

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Personal and Confidential

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POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
Le Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

February 11th, 1937

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have discussed with Luis Munoz Marin, in the strictest confidence (which I guarantee will never be violated), the view that Puerto Ricans should decide between independence and statehood.

This view seems very heartening to me, and to him.

From this position, I believe, the whole distressing mess about the political status can find a rapid and universally satisfactory solution -- if properly handled.

Munoz Marin is against statehood, although he believes it as dignified a solution as is independence. He is against it because he believes in a diversified economy based on small land-holdings and local self-sufficiency in tropical food products, and in a regeneration of the coffee industry which can be achieved only through tariff-making and treaty-making powers. He tried without success, although he got sympathy, to get the Department of State to include benefits to Puerto Rican coffee in the reciprocal trade agreements. The U. S. would have to yield advantages to foreign nations at all of its ports of entry in exchange for benefits to a group in Puerto Rico.

The backbone of the statehood propoganda is the sugar industry. The sugar industry does not really want statehood. What it actually and realistically wants is a continuance of the present system which insures them large profits and does not burden them with federal taxes.

But the anomalous colonial system -- delegated, revocable powers -- is so thoroughly disliked in Puerto Rico that no one dares to advocate it without a disguise. Therefore, as a defense against independence, sugar backs statehood, which would cost it a few million dollars in taxes but would insure it the permanent privileges of the tariff. Sugar interests are resigned to pay the taxes in exchange for the privileges, as a matter of good business for them.

I feel confident that most advocates of statehood, outside of sugar, would prefer independence to the continuance of the colonial system, and that most advocates of independence, barring the few and fanatical Nationalists, would prefer statehood to a continuance of the colonial system. The Republican Party of P. R. in fact advocates independence as an alternative to statehood; and the Socialist Party is committed to accepting the result of a referendum.

Much depends, however, on the psychological precision and scrupulous fairness with which the idea of a choice -- with sportsmanlike and democratic acceptance of the majority view by the minority, whichever turns out to be which -- is presented.

I think, with all the honesty of my combination of affections — to the President, to you, and to Puerto Rico — that a great saving of time and trouble for the President and for you, and an incalculable benefit to Puerto Rico, would result if you and Munoz Marin could get together at my house at any time to thresh out the whole thing, without interruption, without publicity, without reference to such problems as Ernest Gruening. The Liberal Party has always been against statehood and that is why I believe that Munoz Marin has the key to universal sincere acceptance of the choice you mention.

I personally think that Munoz Marin has a technique for accomplishing a solution which could not be effectively assailed, in the United States or in Puerto Rico, but he really wants to talk with you rather than to you.

You know, from what Munoz Marin told you when you received him last, that normal "channels" are clogged, by a curious dam, against an unbiased approach to an intelligent solution. I think that I do not have to assure you that I have no personal interest in this, except insofar as my interest in the Roosevelt administration and in Puerto Rico may have become a matter of personal — though not financial — interest, just as my interest in other fundamental problems, such as labor, is of personal interest because I care.

Therefore, I am confident you will understand that the situation is very delicate, that Munoz Marin cannot, in view of Puerto Rican opinion, risk his public usefulness by allowing ideas to reach Ernest Gruening which Ernest, in his present mood, might use to achieve the political destruction of Munoz Marin — such as the idea that Munoz Marin in some way may be advocating statehood. Luis could, however, (in utter confidence) take whatever political risk may be involved in heartily acclaiming the proposal by the President of a straight plebiscite between statehood and independence — the only two dignified solutions — and create a spirit of honest acceptance of the result. I think Munoz Marin deserves such protection as the one outstanding Puerto Rican leader who has risked his political neck to support the Roosevelt program in Puerto Rico, from the sugar-opposed Costigan-Jones sugar bill on. I have known Munoz Marin for many years and followed his work closely. Although he is a consistent partisan of independence and is unequivocally opposed to colonialism, I am convinced that he is the best friend that the U. S. has in Puerto Rico; and he is the only leader that actually sways masses instead of merely machines.

As you well know, this unsettled and unsettling question of political status clogs progress toward solution of other fundamental issues, such as the economic problem, in which Munoz Marin is deeply concerned.

I reiterate that I think you and he, in frank and undisturbed conversation, could evolve a way to settle political status so that the President would have to spend only a comparatively short time thereafter to settle the increasingly troublesome Puerto Rican question.

Yours sincerely and devotedly,

Rudy A. Black

February 8, 1937

100

Dear Ruby:

I didn't see the story, but, in any case, don't be concerned about it. The only important thing is to arouse enough interest to improve some of these institutions.

Affectionately,

SO

Miss Ruby Black
824 National Press Building
Washington

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

*Gen
2/8*

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.
—
DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

February 4, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

This is just to let you know that neither the United Press nor I am responsible for the story about your "education" of yesterday which appeared in the Washington Post this morning with the United Press by-line.

The Post garbled it beyond recognition, I learned when I went to the UP today to ask that they send me flowers daily and continue my salary, for the sake of my child, when I am, on account of that story, sent to the Home for the Feeble-Minded, on application of Mrs. Roosevelt, Dr. Smith, Capt. Milliken, and all the reporters who were on the story yesterday.

I am sending carbon copies to Dr. Smith and Capt. Milliken.

Yours devotedly,

Rudy

Handwritten notes and scribbles in the bottom right corner.

2/16
Feb. 15, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have not yet told Munoz ^{Marin} about your letter.

I merely wanted to assure you personally that no one would ever know that you had seen him, if you had decided to do so. ^{or should discuss it} I could not let you think that I would have sought to take advantage of you by using any such talk with you to make it appear he has an inside hold on the administration.

The story in the paper merely said that the Liberals had voted with the Coalition on the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, and had pledged ~~not to~~ themselves not to oppose measures on partisan grounds. It does not, in any sense, indicate that the vexed problem of future status of Puerto Rico is settled. It is this which Munoz ^{Marin} would like to see settled, and for this purpose that he and I decided to ask you for the proposed conference.

I think, as a matter of fact, that Munoz ^{Marin} has made less publicity about his conferences with the administration than any other leader. He has seen you, ^{and} many others without ever letting it be made public, while the others, including Barcelo of his own party, always give out stories of every conference, no matter how unimportant. I wrote that other story simply because he had permitted no publicity previously, and people were beginning to say nobody would see him. Love,

Ruby

February 16, 1937

Dear Ruby:

I will see Mr. Marin some
time after I get back to Washington,
but there must be no publicity this
time.

Affectionately,

0

Miss Ruby Black
211½ Prince St.
Alexandria

May 3, 1937

100

Dear Ruby:

The difficulty seems to be that Porto Rico would not be granted statehood by Congress in all probability at the present time and they probably would not want independence without many of the advantages if it was made absolute and carried no assistance whatsoever from the United States. This would, of course, probably be what Congress would do. The situation seems a little bit complicated and as far as I am concerned, I think Mr. Munoz Marin had better deal directly with the President for I am not in any position to represent him or get him to give me any really very satisfactory answer on these complications.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
824 Nat'l Press Bldg.
Wash., D.C.

DD

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DISTRICT 7039

*Advised
5-3-37*

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

Personal and Confidential

April 22, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When Luis Munoz Marin wanted to see you privately and without publicity, it was to discuss with you, with a view to later discussion with the President, an administration bill to carry out what you said, in your confidential letter to me, was the President's view--a determination of whether Puerto Rico wants statehood or independence. He had a lawyer draft a bill proposing a referendum on these alternatives which he thought fair to both sides. The statehood section of the bill, I believe, was identical with Commissioner Iglesias' statehood bill. Naturally, if the President had been willing to consider this, Luis planned to ask that advocates of statehood be included in the conference with the President and would have been willing to support any changes in the bill that statehood advocates would approve, if necessary to obtain support of all Puerto Rican parties for it. The Nationalists, who are the violent "Yankee-haters", would not be expected to support it, as they do not support the democratic principle of submitting to a referendum and do not admit that any status but independence is acceptable.

But Luis was called back home while you were away, and the conference was never held. Since that time, many sad things have happened, particularly the Ponce massacre. The President's letter to Dr. Gallardo, whom he appointed Commissioner of Education, likewise aroused needless discontent in Puerto Rico. First of all, it assumes that Puerto Rico will always be under United States jurisdiction, an assumption which the President never previously made and which Secretary Ickes and even Dr. Gruening have previously indicated would not be made unless Puerto Ricans themselves so voted. Second, it seems to repudiate entirely Dr. Padin's method of teaching English and other subjects, and apparently endorses a method which the most distinguished educators of many countries have found, by experimentation, to be ineffective.

Luis, in speaking of the letter to Dr. Gallardo, drafted by Dr. Gruening, said: "On the basis of Ernest Gruening's picture, Roosevelt is entirely reasonable. Roosevelt was told it was a good thing to step out of a window, and the window was described as a French window in a one-story house. It was a skyscraper. The stepping-out part was all right, but the description of the building was criminal."

Despite the fact that the Ponce massacre and the diabolically concealed clubs in the President's letter to Dr. Gallardo about teaching English (clubs concealed from the President, but not concealed from Puerto Ricans) have driven many independentists more to the

*of course,
I am
sure
E. J.
drafted
the
letter.
Puerto
Ricans
assume
this, too,
and
don't
blame
the
President
too
much.*

2

left than they were previously, a representative gathering of people from all political parties--all the Atheneum could hold-- last Sunday came out for a plebiscite between statehood and independence when Luis proposed it. Only the dozen or so Nationalists present opposed a popular vote on these two dignified alternatives.

I enclose a letter from Luis which explains the present situation. I also enclose the cable which the meeting authorized him to send to the President--a cable which has to be read carefully to be understood fully, since it is not clear, in a hasty reading, that Dr. Gruening, not the President, is blamed for the aspect of the letter to Dr. Gallardo which offended Puerto Ricans who believe in independence, as well as those (including independentists) who want Puerto Ricans taught English but who believe with educators that the Padin method is the more effective.

I also enclose a clipping and a translation of the story in El Pais about last Sunday's meeting. You will remember that El Pais is the official organ of the Republican Party of Puerto Rico, which has always opposed Luis and which has always stood for statehood or permanent union with the United States under some other dignified status. I mention these facts simply to show that if there could be any leaning in the story, it would be against Luis and independence.

I still have a copy of the bill Luis had prepared. Of course any such bill, to receive support of those on all sides, would have to be eminently fair to both sides. Thus, if Dr. Gruening's past action in drafting the frightful Tydings independence plebiscite bill is an indication of possible future action, he could not be entrusted with the job of drafting the bill.

Luis does not know that I am writing this letter, but he told me two weeks ago that he thought it would do much to bring peace in Puerto Rico if a bill like the one drafted for him could be introduced, particularly if it were done with administration support. I am sending him a copy of this letter, however.

I think that Luis would return at any time if he felt that, as the sponsor of this alternative plebiscite, he, together with a statehood advocate, could work out this problem with the President.

Of course, neither this letter nor any of the documents in it should be referred to the Department of the Interior, in view of Ernest Gruening's state of mind. I believe that ~~if the President were interested~~ Luis with other independence leaders if necessary (not Nationalists) and statehood advocates, could clarify the issue and even settle it if the President personally interests himself in this proposal.

The benne cookies, which arrived yesterday, are grand. I haven't been able to eat any of the candy yet, but guests say they are swell, too. Many thanks. They gave a thrill to two young cousins of Herb's visiting here.

Yours with love,

Pauling

May 18, 1937

110

Dear Ruby:

I thought when I talked with you the other afternoon that I had already dictated an answer to your letter, but I find that I had only read it and had not yet dictated the reply. I gave you my answer when I saw you so will not bother to go into the matter again, but I assure you that whenever you embarrass me, I will let you know and I will do nothing that I do not want to do. I am ready at any time to see people representing all sides of the situation in Puerto Rico, and if some of them do not come, that is their fault - not mine.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby A. Black
824 National Press Bldg.
Wash., D.C.

S:Dr

**The DAILY WASHINGTON
MERRY-GO-ROUND**

REGISTERED

TRADE MARK

By DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN

WASHINGTON—Mrs. Roosevelt is always so anxious to please that her charm sometimes gets the President and his associates into trouble.

Without knowing it, she has been used by Puerto Rican insurrectionists to help undermine her husband's own officials in Puerto Rico.

What happened was that Mrs. Roosevelt some time ago became acquainted with Luis Munoz Marin, young Puerto Rican political leader, introduced to her by a newspaper correspondent. As time passed, Marin became one of the chief fomenters of anti-USA agitation in the island.

This agitation has become more and more heated culminating in the shooting of a parade of Puerto Rican insurrectionists not long ago.

About this time, Luis Munoz Marin asked for another interview with Mrs. Roosevelt, and thanks to the pressure of the newspaper correspondent, who is a close friend of Mrs. Roosevelt, it was granted.

Result was that next day, Puerto Rican papers featured the news that Mrs. Roosevelt had received one of the leaders of the anti-American movement. The inference was that she favored this leader and opposed Dr. Ernest Gruening, her husband's Director of Insular Affairs.

Word has now been passed to the First Lady to be more careful about the people she interviews.

Note—Impartial observers who have studied the Puerto Rican situation believe Dr. Gruening and Governor Winship are going a good job in a trying situation. Most people don't realize it, but Puerto Rican agitators are often as fully armed as Hitler's Brown Shirts. The recent shooting occurred when demonstrators appeared carrying rifles. Permission had been given them to parade *without* rifles, but they showed up with them.

Batteries for Today

Joe Colton, editor of The News, has worked out between the "X"

26, 1937

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DÉMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.
DISTRICT 7039

*Corrected
5-18-37*

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

May 4, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have waited a week to write to you about the enclosed copy of an item leading off the Washington Merry-Go-Round on April 26, which was not printed in Washington. I waited two days after I got a copy before talking with Bob Allen about it, so that I could get my fury under control: Bob is supposed to be an old friend of mine, and it was difficult for me to understand how he could publish such untruths about you and me without at least consulting me about the facts.

The only true thing in it is the statement that I introduced Munoz Marin to you, unless it is true that you have been "warned."

Dr. Ernest Gruening, your "husband's director of insular affairs", planted the story on Bob, even guiding him into saying that you embarrass the President. Bob confesses it and gives evidence of it, all as part of his defense of Ernest Gruening. I wonder--but I don't ask--how you feel about having your "husband's director of insular affairs" plant such a story.

Bob, being the person he is, does not admit that the story is wrong in any detail--not even the obvious detail of the relative dates between Luis's talk with you and the Ponce massacre, the talk having taken place long before that. No honest Puerto Rican paper represented that "one of the leaders of the anti-American movement" had seen you. Luis, of course, is not an insurrectionist; not a "fomenter of anti-USA agitation." This is easy to prove.

Bob said that he wrote this only because I had "planted" upon John Franklin Carter (Jay Franklin) the "vicious and unfair" column about Ernest Gruening. This is untrue. Two days after the Ponce massacre, more than a week before the column appeared, John asked me what was the truth about the Ponce affair and I told him I had received no information except the stories in the New York papers and the AP and UP stories. We talked general conditions there briefly. It was the first talk I had had with him in months. John's suggestions are not exactly the suggestions I would make, and Ernest knew that when he told Bob, Jerome Frank, and others that I had "planted" the story on John. Ernest has been telling that to various mutual friends, and asking them to "set John right." Bob told me Carter "back-tracked." He didn't.

Bob continued to lie and talk in the most unquotably profane epithets about Munoz Marin and me, but I recognized the lies, although

not the picturesque profanity, as coming from Ernest, since too many of our mutual friends have told me what he tells them for me to fail to recognize his tales.

Bob also told me that a member of the White House staff told him "that G--d-- s-- o- b---(Munoz Marin) would never set foot in the White House again." In view of Bob's lack of respect for the truth in other portions of the conversation, as well as in view of other things, I do not believe that any member of the White House staff reposed any such profane confidences in Bob Allen. I do think, however, that Ernest told Bob he had arranged to keep Luis from ever being received at the White House again.

The entire conversation with Bob in the House Press Gallery, which lasted an hour, simply added to my collection of misrepresentations Ernest is telling to all liberal newspapermen, government officials, persons "close to the White House", etc. Among those whom he has propagandized, outside his own department, are Donald Richberg, Morris Ernst, Charles Taussig, Rex Tugwell, Jerome Frank, and Tom Corcoran. Some, but not all, of these have been convinced. He talks about me to my friends "more in sorrow than in anger" and tells people who like me that I am being misled. I have studied Puerto Rico carefully, deliberately, and dispassionately for five years, and I think I have enough discernment to see when any one is "using" me. The only person who has ever succeeded in "using" me in connection with Puerto Rico is Ernest Gruening, at whose request I used to send costly coded cables, at the expense of La Democracia, to get information which he did not wish to seek through regular governmental channels, or to start action in which he did not wish his hand revealed. The purposes, if not the methods, were good, I thought. This is the only deviousness I have ever engaged in.

All this, however, exemplifies my conviction that Munoz Marin will never be allowed to take up anything with the President, as long as Ernest is where he is, unless the President himself requests it.

It would be impossible, even in an hour's conversation, for me to tell you the extent of the misrepresentation which Ernest Gruening is deviously and very cleverly spreading everywhere about me and about Munoz Marin. It is so overwhelming and so overpowering that I find it difficult to believe it myself even when the evidence of it is before my eyes.

The enclosed statement of Garcia Mendez, Republican Speaker of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives, calls for a determination between independence and something like autonomy or a dominion or commonwealth status, and says, just as Luis has always said, that Puerto Ricans unanimously repudiate the present colonial status. As you know, Garcia Mendez is an ardent advocate of statehood. Other prominent Republicanx advocates of statehood, such as Martinez Nadal and Valdes, have given out similar statements, and have expressed their complete willingness to abide by the will of the majority.

I am terribly sorry that Ernest's campaign against Munoz Marin and me led him to give Bob Allen a story misrepresenting you. The last thing ~~is~~ I would ever do is to embarrass you, or to attempt to persuade you to do anything which would embarrass either you or the Pres-

ident. It would not occur to me that it could embarrass either of you for me to ask for an appointment for a man who, alone among political leaders in Puerto Rico, has unswervingly supported the President and Secretary Ickes, even when others opposed their program or were silent to keep from antagonizing the sugar interests. Luis still does it, despite Ernest.

I am sorry, really, to take up so much of your time. But there are times when I must, at least, summarize events and situations. This may be the last time, as far as Puerto Rico goes, in view of your last letter. I hope not, for I hope that some happy solution can come while your husband is President.

Yours with love and regret about the column,

Ruby

From a statement by Speaker of the House, Miguel A. Garcia Mendez,
published in El Mundo, April 19, 1937.

"The transcendental declarations of President Roosevelt in his letter to the new Commissioner of Education, Dr. Gallardo...puts a period to futile discussions in regard to a plebiscite and establishes definitely that the policy of the Administration in Washington...is and will be that of the permanent union of our people with the people of the United States. If the intention of the Administration of President Roosevelt were to grant independence to Puerto Rico in either a short or a long time,...he would not have required of Dr. Gallardo that he begin without delay to prepare the new generations of Puerto Ricans in such manner as best to fit them for enjoying and fulfilling all the rights and all the duties of citizenship....This very fundamentalist letter of President Roosevelt comes to be the reply to that question... 'Where are we going'? Now all we in Puerto Rico know where we are going, or better yet, where we are--we are in permanent union with the American people.

"For that clear and vital definition...we are to be profoundly grateful to President Roosevelt...But...the encouraging letter would have been an even greater reason for rejoicing throughout Puerto Rico if, at the same time that it discards independence as a solution for our status, it had made a positive and express statement in regard to the solution that will be given to our political problem, under the American flag....

"Now that the letter of President Roosevelt discards independence,....

"...If all we in Puerto Rico unite to act in accord with the orientation which President Roosevelt points out to us, that mutual good faith will flower.

"...The highest Magistrate of the Nation has just made the initial declaration that the great majority of Puerto Ricans have so longed for..."

(Printed in El Mundo, April 19, 1937)

THE SPEAKER BELIEVES THAT THE DECLARATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT
ENDED THE DISCUSSION IN REGARD TO A PLEBISCITE. HE CALLS
UPON THE LIBERALS

The Honorable Miguel A. Garcia Mendez, Speaker of the House of Representatives, authorizes the following statement:

"The transcendental declarations of President Roosevelt in his letter to the new Commissioner of Education, Dr. Gallardo, in which he emphasizes in an unmistakable and energetic manner the need of teaching more English to the American citizens of Puerto Rico of this generation which is rising, and of coming generations, puts a period to futile discussions in regard to a plebiscite and establishes definitely that the policy of the Administration in Washington, like that which the people of Puerto Rico sanctioned at the ballot box, is and will be that of the permanent union of our people with the people of the United States. If the intention of the Administration of President Roosevelt were to grant independence to Puerto Rico in either a short or a long time, there is no doubt that he would not have required of Dr. Gallardo that he begin without delay to prepare the new generations of Puerto Ricans in such manner as best to fit them for enjoying and fulfilling all the rights and all the duties of citizenship. In reality, it may be said that this very fundamentalist letter of President Roosevelt comes to be the reply to that question that Dr. Padin was accustomed to ask when he said he did not know whether to educate for independence or for union with the United States: "Where are we going"? Now all we in Puerto Rico know where we are going, or better yet, where we are--we are in permanent union with the American people.

"For that clear and vital definition which comes to suppress once for all the interpretative chatter of those who call themselves oracles of the Sphinx, we are to be profoundly grateful to President Roosevelt whose contribution, as a ruler and as a man, to the happiness of our people has already reached such proportions that if the Puerto Rican heart were not so large it could not contain all the fervent gratitude and all the warm devotion that it holds for him. But this does not prevent the statement that the encouraging letter would have been an even greater reason for rejoicing throughout Puerto Rico if, at the same time that it discards independence as a solution for our status, it had made a positive and express statement in regard to the solution that will be given to our political problem, under the American flag.

I, personally, have not the least doubt that permanent union with the United States, in harmony with the history of liberty of one and with the desires for liberty of the other, can culminate only in the highest, noblest, and most worthy solution. But I do not fail to admit that there are incredulous and skeptical persons who refuse to recognize the good faith of the government and of the people of the United States and whom a specific, clear promise of President Roosevelt would have caused to enter the ranks of those of us who are working precisely for the securing of the longed-for formula.

"For that reason, I consider that at the same time that the letter of President Roosevelt has dispelled the economic, social and political threats that were involved in fiery separatist preachings, it has opened a road which we Puerto Ricans must learn to travel well if we do not wish to lose our way, and for that reason I exhort everyone to proceed with the greatest care now and in the years to come. Because, speaking with the frankness with which every man should speak to his people, permanent union with the United States may be obtained on the basis of the dignity and of the equality that we have always demanded, but there might also occur the unfortunate case of continuing indeterminately, against our wishes, on bases unanimously repudiated by Puerto Ricans, if the Puerto Ricans themselves recklessly and capriciously hinder the work of rapprochement and comprehension which is to be done in the interest of securing the highest prerogatives that may be granted to us in the exercise of an equal citizenship.

"Now that the letter of President Roosevelt discards independence, it is obligatory to continue instructing the people so that, ignoring any seditious propaganda with which an attempt is made to deceive them, they may consider that in the process of the natural evolution of their political problem on the basis of that permanent union with the United States, the country has to face two formulas which do not exclude the possibility of one being a stage in the attainment of the other; that of Statehood, a worthy and noble solution which was accepted without hesitation by Muñoz Rivera and would be sanctioned with legitimate pride by almost all the Puerto Rican people; and that of an inter-independent community forming a part of the federated family of the United States, this latter a formula which is not yet specifically stated in the platform of any party, but which, imitating what is gradually taking place in England, would make of the United States a Commonwealth of American nations, in which Puerto Rico would appear as a member under conditions equal to those of the other parts of the whole. Within that Commonwealth, made fast by the ties of the flag, of citizenship, of equality of purposes and of mutual advantages and duties, Puerto Rico would come to be an associated republic, or a confederated state, or whatever one may wish to call it, but permanently and irrevocably joined to the people of the United States.

"The formula reached will depend upon the good faith of both peoples, one towards the other. If all we in Puerto Rico unite to act in accord with the orientation which President Roosevelt points out to us, that mutual good faith will flower into the greatest of realizations. But if, on the contrary, we sow bitterness and doubt, violence and hate, or if, through indolence, we leave the impression that they exist, even though in reality they do not exist except in the minds of some discontented persons, then neither here nor there in the North shall we find the necessary good faith, and there will consequently fall, through our own incompetence, upon the road of our political evolution, closing it forever and making it bristle with thorns, the curse of our collective ruin.

"It is the time for deep reflection that requires patriotic rectifications from those who have been traveling the wrong road. The highest Magistrate of the Nation has just made the initial declaration that the great majority of Puerto Ricans have so longed for.

"I do not know what the unwise, the irresponsible, the demagogues, the defenders of anarchy and disorder will continue to think now, and what even those who, in good faith, have defended and defend the ideal of independence through the lawful means of persuasion, will continue to think in the midst of this tempest

of incomprehension which has been ultimately scourging Puerto Rico, and if there will or will not be a willingness to make those patriotic rectifications for the good of the Island which so much needs the united efforts of its sons.

"In regard to myself, the just attitude of the President comes to strengthen me more firmly in the ideology for me unchanged since my citizen's spirit was forged in the free American school, which orders me as a patriotic duty to defend permanent union on a plane of worthy equality in citizenship with that great people, which has woven with deeds in its unequalled history the democratic principle 'Opportunity for all' and the ennobling motto 'All men were born equal.'

"For this frank and open attitude I am being attacked mercilessly. I shall continue to be ~~xxxx~~ attacked pitilessly. But I shall continue serenely in the performance of my civic duties until by hammer blows I cause to break in pieces the rock of that indifference which has had Puerto Rico on the border of a definite collapse as a people.

"To my first call, the country courteously responded through its popular leaders. The citizens' leagues, the president of the Agriculturists Association, and other outstanding entities and persons of moral standing in the country have also already responded to the second call.

"Here is the third, given prestige by the previous indirect indorsement of President Roosevelt and also given prestige by the invincible power of truth, which, according to the philosopher, may be sweet or may be bitter, but is never evil. In this third call I ask to have expressed the sentiments of all the other Puerto Rican hearts that long for the happiness of Puerto Rico through permanent union with the people of the United States, without excluding the nuclei of opinion of the Liberal Party who were always willing to give their warm approval to the paths marked out by the exceptional directing force of President Roosevelt."

Hyde Park, N.Y.
July 19, 1937.

Dear Ruby:

Black

I think the truth of the matter is that you can not very well be a teacher in the public schools of Porto Rico, where the policy is going to be that the English language must be taught primarily and not as a secondary language. Therefore, in the primary grades practically all the courses must be in English. Spanish can also be taught, but as a secondary language.

This of course, would be unnecessary of Porto Rico became free, but as I understand it, even the Porto Ricans who advocate freedom, desire to retain such advantages as being part of the United States has given them. Therefore, it is very difficult to reach any definite conclusions.

I wonder if the person who follows Mr. Gruening will be more successful, because while I hope very much he will be, I am afraid that the situation is going to be a very difficult one.

We haven't had as much peace and quiet as we hoped for but that will come I expect, in time. I do hope you have a grand holiday. I do not expect to be anywhere near you, but I like to think about you and later on perhaps you will get away for a week end and come up here. I know the kodak will please little Eleanor Berge very much, you are sweet to send it.

Affectionately,

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
818 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.
DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

July 17, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am enclosing a letter which Mrs. Mendoza asked me to transmit to you. She was afraid you would never see the letter, and it would simply be referred to Ernest Gruening, who would be further prejudiced against her because she wrote to you. She did not express the idea in the latter part of that sentence. I added it as an explanation of why she wanted it to go direct to you.

Education Commissioner Gallardo told her the only thing against her was that she appeared to testify before the Hays commission, and that "superiors" ordered him not to renew her contract. As he is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, people naturally wonder what this means. They believe, of course, that Gruening and Winship ordered it.

Mrs. Mendoza asks me to tell you that Arthur Garfield Hays, William H. Nunn of the University of Puerto Rico, and Lewis Gannett of the N.Y. Herald-Tribune know her, if you wish to inquire.

Puerto Rico was delighted to hear that the President had accepted Gruening's resignation as PRRA administrator -- except those who had been kowtowing to him in the hopes of getting or keeping jobs.

We are leaving Sunday for our vacation. We shall be at Ripshin Farm (Sherwood Anderson's place), Troutdale, Va., which is 22 miles from Marion, Va.. If you should be driving in that part of the country, some spend a night or a lunch or a dinner with us. We hope to be there three weeks, unless it looks as if Congress is on the verge of a adjournment, in which case I shall have to rush back.

You sound, in your column, as if you are having a good time, but not quite as much rest as you indicated to the Press Conference that you expected.

I thought the President's letter last night was swell.

Herb asks me to thank you for the autographs in the Dutchess County Guide. He values them. He is having a grand time with the collection of the Guides.

Yours with love,

Ruby

*Could you give this picture to the little girl? Here? It's not
like the one she had named*

December 27, 1937

Dear Ruby:

Many thanks for my Christmas gift.
It is the nicest kind of a present and gives
me a great deal of pleasure.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
818 Nat'l. Press Building
Wash. D.C.

DD

For Ruby -

Monday 21st for Ruby

At 10:00 a.m. It is the
nicest kind of a present
it gives me a great deal
of pleasure

after

E J

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

818

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
324 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.
DISTRICT 7039



PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN
Oshkosh, Wis.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt: Here is your pitifully small Christmas present, with all my love and my admiration for bringing hope and joy to so many people all the year.

Dec. 17, 1937.

Sra. Carmen R. de Alvarado,
Asociacion pro Salud Maternal e Infantil de Puerto Rico,
3 Subida Iglesia,
Santurce,
San Juan, P.R.

Dear Carmen:

Here is the Christmas present for our friend, again much smaller than I had hoped. Maybe something will happen that I can afford to give her an Easter present. I hope so. The truth, confidentially, is that La Democracia has not been able to pay me for several months, and that is why I am so penniless.

I earned this, on a very busy day when my assistant was sick, by doing a special little story for the New York Times on Samoa. I was about to turn down the assignment, when I suddenly realized that it would provide the Christmas present, so I dashed out and wrote about one insular possession in order to get a present for another!

I wrote Phyllis recently, but have not heard from her.

Do write and tell me how things are going. Our friend might like to hear, too. I can give her any report you may care to send to me for her.

Anyhow, I can feel a considerable satisfaction in knowing that my \$2 membership and my two \$4 presents to my friend can bring supplies to perhaps a dozen Puerto Rican families for a year, if you can still get a year's supplies for 80 cents.

Maybe some day I'll get a good job, and then I'll give fine presents to my friend and some on my own.

With best wishes for Christmas and the coming year, I am

Yours devotedly,

Ruby

February 14, 1938

100

Bear Ruby:

x I have inscribed the book
for Virginia Hancock and left it with
Mr. Muir.

I think the valentines are
very cunning and I have given the
President the one which Jane left for
him.

I will be very glad to have
/ Mr. Rockwell Kent come to dinner on
the 23rd at 7:30.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
National Press Bldg.

S:DD

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

*Carroll
2-14-38*

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
818.224 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DISTRICT 7039

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

Here are the Valentines Jane made for you and the President. The selections were entirely her own.
Apt, don't you think? February 11, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When Rockwell Kent was here during the past week to testify before a House committee in favor of a Federal Department of Arts he expressed a great desire to meet you because of your helpfulness in developing Federal Arts projects.

He will be in Washington to lecture on February 24. He could stay through February 25, and possibly could arrive on the morning of the 23rd, if by coming early or by staying late he could see you for a few minutes.

If you will tell me whether you could see him at any time on February 23, 24 or 25, I will send the information on to him.

As ever,

Ruby

Thank you for the inscription in "This Time and World." I didn't intend that you should have to bother to mail it back to me.

TY

Handwritten notes and scribbles on the right side of the page.

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
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Jamestown, N. Y.
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Eau Claire, Wis.

818 -24 RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
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DISTRICT 7039

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TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

*Archival
2-14-38*

Feb. 14, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

At Christmas, I gave Virginia Hancock this copy of "This Is My Story," to her great delight. The Hancocks are next-door neighbors of mine, very fine people, who hadn't had a job in the family for nearly a year until I gave Virginia a job in my office at the beginning of the year.

I hope that you can inscribe your name in this copy for Virginia Hancock, as it would mean much to the Hancocks.

Don't bother to mail it back to me. Just leave it with Mr. Muir, and I'll collect it some day when I am passing by.

Yours with affection,

Ruby

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

10
RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
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DISTRICT 7039

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Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

file
Feb. 16, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know it will be an unexpected delight to *hope*
Rockwell Kent to dine with you. He had no ~~idea~~ of anything
but maybe a few minutes talk about art for and by the people,
sponsored by the government.

Is he to take the invitation from me as THE
invitation, or will Mrs. Helm or some one write him a note?
His address is Ausable Forks, N.Y., if you want it.

I'm sure he will ask me what to wear, too.
Is it black tie, red tie, or white tie?

You were, I am glad to report, elected to active
membership in the Women's National Press Club last night --
but I had to get up and deny in all-inclusive detail and
with final and definite emphasis that I am your ghost. I
thought that old wheeze had died long ago, but a member of
the club actually said that "Everybody knows" I am your ghost.
Of course, if you should ever need a ghost, which I do not
expect, I hope somebody will put in a good word for me, if
I feel strong enough to undertake it.

I'll give Jane your message about the Valentines.

If you are writing to Rockwell and giving him the
information I asked, you do not need to answer this. I have
written him what you said.

Yours with love,

Ruby

*Mackie
Looking for letters
on my desk - if
244*

100

April 20, 1938

Dear Ruby:

Mrs. Roosevelt has had a very nice letter from a farm woman in Texas, who, finding herself in a rut, purchased a new red hat and went to town to hear Mrs. Roosevelt's lecture, after which she says she is able to take up her work with new energy. This woman seems to be a great admirer of yours, and I am sending you the paragraphs from her letter which mention you.

Very sincerely,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Ruby A. Black
818 National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

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EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

fill

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
818 ~~24~~ NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DISTRICT 7039

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Madison, Wis.
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Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

100

April 25, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

There are two recent bright sayings of my 6-year-old Jane which I cannot resist telling you.

One day she told me she thought you were the greatest woman in the world. I asked her why. After a moment of consideration, she said:

"Well, I would like to vote for her for President. We All the Presidents so far have been men, and I think it would be a nice change, and I think she would be a good President."

So far as I know, she had never read anything about you for President, and I know we had never mentioned such a thing to her. Also, she is very conservative and feminine rather than Feminist.

Friday night, when we got home, she was playing phonograph records. After she stopped her program, she said to me:

"My favorite record is 'Sing Me a Song of Social Significance.'"

Don't you think the "Pins and Needles" authors, composers, and sponsors would be surprised to hear that a 6-year-old finds that this is her favorite phonograph record?

Can you find a time for breakfast, lunch, dinner, or after-dinner at my house, with the usual Martha, Geno, Bess, Emma, and Tommie some-time before you go away, or when you come back for a day or two, or any time? I'd love to have you, and I think I should have the privilege of the "turn" this year, if you can make it without inconveniencing yourself.

With much love, I am, as ever,

Yours sincerely,

Ruby

heard her mention it before.

April 26, 1938

100

Dear Ruby:

Sey
Mrs. Roosevelt has written to thank Mr. Earl Hanson for his book, "Journey to Manas". The inscription is nice and Mrs. Roosevelt is looking forward to reading the book.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

DD

100
May 17, 1938

Dear Rubys:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to say that the only thing to do would be to refer the people to the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Unfortunately, Warm Springs is crowded to the doors at the moment and I know that their patients' aid fund is exhausted and they have a long waiting list.

However, the family would probably feel better about it if they could have this information direct from headquarters.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Ruby A. Black
211 1/2 Prince Street
Alexandria
Virginia

SO

Returned letter from Luis Munoz-Marin about a child, Ramon Lomba, Jr. in Puerto Rico

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
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Eau Claire, Wis.

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Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

May 27, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was a delightful surprise to find the Mexican tray, or bowl, in my office the other day. It's especially nice to get a present when there's no "occasion." It goes beautifully with two smaller fruit bowls which Maury Maverick brought us from Mexico.

I am enclosing excerpts from a letter from my former high school friend -- the one who bought a red hat and went to Lubbock, ^{Tex.} to hear you speak. I sent her a copy of your column which quoted from her letter.

I am going to New York Tuesday afternoon, to stay three days to try to line up some magazine articles or some kind of writing -- books, column, or whatever -- so I can ^(maybe) begin to make a living instead of just working. My earnings were \$1,443 last year, and I think that's too little for one of my education and experience and, maybe, a little ability.

I shall stay at the Governor Clinton Hotel, for which one of my papers sent me a "due bill." Otherwise, I should not have had enough money to go to New York at all. Also, thank goodness for the Royal Blue train!

Much love and many thanks,

Ruby
Earl Hanson, whose book "Journey to Manaos," I transmitted to you, lost all his possessions except the pajamas he, his wife, and his little boy were wearing, and his typewriter, when their house (rented) burned down last week.

Excerpts from a letter from Nina J. Headrick
of Sweetwater, Texas.

When your letter, containing the clipping from Mrs. Roosevelt's column, came my spirits shot up in the air like a sky-rocket. So far did I soar that I am just now getting down to earth again. It was just time for the evening chores when my husband came in with your letter and I became so excited over breaking into print that I went out and fed the chickens in my "Sunday" dress and shoes. A farm woman is not usually garbed in her best bib and tucker at this hour of the day but I, too, had just come in from playing "society" in the city of Sweetwater. I've been thinking of myself as the small town girl who made good and the thrill that comes once in a life time, etc., ever since.

Seriously, you will never know how very much I appreciate your thoughtfulness in taking time from your busy life to send me the clipping nor will Mrs. Roosevelt ever know how happy I felt that she even considered my letter for I know she receives hundreds of like kind, only mine must have sounded sillier than all the others and it caught her attention. I did write it in a moment of enthusiastic conference with myself after my return from Lubbock and the world still retains the rosy hue but I rather think it is the reflection of Mrs. Roosevelt's charming personality and interesting talk instead of the red hat and topper.

* * * * *

I wish I had time -- well, I have all the time in the world for that matter, but rather, if I thought you and Mrs. Roosevelt had time or the inclination to listen, I would like to tell you of the varied comments (both pro and con) I have heard about her recently. I admire her so very much that, like her son, Elliott, I almost went into action at a club meeting when one woman from the so-called intelligentsia (you know how some people get educated beyond their intelligence) spoke unkindly, to say the least, of Mrs. Roosevelt.

Another "friend" remarked that "busy women like Ruby Black and prominent women like Eleanor Roosevelt did not spend their time writing to farm women and that Nina just had a vivid imagination". Needless to say, the farm woman wasted no time in an effort to convince her and is very happy in her own knowledge that carefully tucked away in her desk and in her heart is the kindly word of greeting from both of you and the little clipping will be a treasured memento to hand down to my grandchildren, only I happen not to have any children.

100
June 8, 1938

Dear Ruby:

I think your article sounds very interesting. What do you think of June Rhodes as a pioneer in a certain line of new business? There are some people pioneering in economics today on the yearly wage idea; I have heard of one or two big firms but I cannot think of their names. I wonder if the trade journals or even the Labor Union Headquarters could not tell you.

In social problems I think that Molly Dawson could give you a number of good leads.

I don't seem to be full of suggestions today. I think the last few days have been a little wearying. But I know that a few years ago Mr. George Draper in New York could have given you good leads on agencies, particularly those interested in the field of study of psychology and the mind. I will be glad to try and think a little further if these don't lead to enough for you.

Tommy was taken very ill on Sunday night and all the following day we were very anxious. She is better, but it will be a couple of days before we will be really sure of her progress, as she had some peritonitis. So I changed all my plans and stayed on here, and I think I won't leave here for more than a day until I go to New York on the 13th, and then to Washington on the 15th.

I am glad you talked to George Carlin and I shall look forward to seeing him and all his family at Hyde Park this summer.

I love the picture of Eleanor and your Jane and am taking it to show Tommy this afternoon.

Every success to you.

Affectionately,

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
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Green Bay, Wis.
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POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

June 6, 1938.

Aut
6/8/38

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I enclose this letter to you, but I do not ask you to do anything about it. I have not forgiven her for what I believe to have been deception of me, and of you through me, previously. I have also said I would never spend another minute doing anything for any Nationalist, as I consider the Nationalists untrustworthy and likewise the worst enemies of independence for Puerto Rico. But here's the letter.

While I was in New York last week making contacts for magazine articles and books, a conversation with a ~~Cosmopolitan~~ Cosmopolitan editor suggested that I submit an outline for an article on "The New Pioneering". I have heard you mention many times the opportunity for pioneering in economic, political, and social problems. I wonder if you could cite examples of persons or organizations who are doing such pioneering (of course, I know some, including yourself). I am interviewing people at Science Service this afternoon on the "new pioneering" in science. Or could you give me sources of such information in the field of the social, political, and economic sciences? Or on the New Frontiers in these fields? The Unexplored Continents of the Mind? The New Adventures? *Of course, all include adventuring for Peace.*

Of course, I don't intend for you to write my article for me, but I would be grateful if you could give me some tips on sources.

I had a long talk with George Carlin, and he is looking forward to bringing "the youngest" to Hyde Park this summer.

Here is a larger picture of Eleanor and my Jane, made at Val Kill in August, 1936. Through an error, I sent the smaller picture last year.

Yours with love,

Ruby

June 30, 1938

100

Dear Ruby:

Thanks very much for the copy of BOWLEG BILL. Somehow or other, it seems that life is never properly adjusted; when I've been busy and rushed and had no time for reading, I longed for a chance to do nothing but read all day long, and I guess it is just the perversity of human nature that when I had nothing to do but read all day long, I didn't want that either. However, I am going to loaf a little and I know I will enjoy reading BOWLEG BILL.

You were sweet to send so many messages and I am very happy to be able to tell you that I am perfectly alright again and expect to be better than ever.

With many thanks,

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
LEADER-TELEGRAM,
Eau Claire, Wis.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU
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DISTRICT 7039

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Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

June 18, 1938.

ack
6/20/38

Dear Formie:

I have just ordered sent to you, from the publisher (Brentano's being fresh out), a copy of "Bowleg Bill," by J. Berger, who is the same as Jeremiah Diggs, author of the very swell "Cape Cod Pilot."

A man whose wife has just convalesced on it tells me ~~it~~ is highly healthy for convalescents. I haven't read it.

Now please don't write to me, or have any one else do so. I'll see you sometime before too long, and you can say it in person. Of course, if you don't get the book by Tuesday or Wednesday, have somebody write me just that, and I'll go after'em.

I am glad to hear you are coming along. DO take care of yourself.

Much love,

Ruby

100

July 1, 1938

My dear Miss Black:

In accordance with Mrs. Roosevelt's instructions, I am sending you the enclosed statements from a letter she has received from Governor Blanton Winship.

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer
Social Correspondence

Miss Ruby A. Black
818 National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

0

EVENING GAZETTE,
Worcester, Mass.
LA DEMOCRACIA,
San Juan, Puerto Rico
EVENING JOURNAL,
Jamestown, N. Y.
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NEWS BUREAU
818 824 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
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DISTRICT 7039

*Replied
6-17-38*

PRESS-GAZETTE,
Green Bay, Wis.
STATE JOURNAL,
Madison, Wis.
POST-CRESCENT,
Appleton, Wis.
TRIBUNE,
La Crosse, Wis.
DAILY NORTHWESTERN,
Oshkosh, Wis.

June 15, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I hope that the suggestion I am making is not improper. If it is just let me know and be sure that I intended no impropriety.

I am told that the Puerto Rico Institute of Tourism is considering not renewing its present publicity and advertising contract. What I have seen of their stuff has seemed to me rather poor, in as much as it did not bring out the distinctive character of Puerto Rico.

Mr. T. J. Maloney spoke to me in New York recently about his ideas of advertising Puerto Rico and asked if I could bring this to the attention of Governor Winship and Enrique Ortega, both of whom are now in Washington. I told him that an introduction from me to Governor Winship would be valueless.

Labor
Mr. Maloney is the publisher of "U. S. Camera" an annual book which I believe you have seen. This and other work of his which I have seen make me believe that he really could do something to interest people in Puerto Rico. This is particularly important now, in as much as the ~~new~~ Standards Act applies to Puerto Rico the same minimum wage as it applies to all other sections, and may result in a withdrawal by New Jersey and New York contractors of their contracts for needlework in Puerto Rico. Thus anything that can be done to help the people make a living is particularly urgent.

I am enclosing two brief memoranda from Mr. Maloney with the hope that you might think it proper to send them with a note to Governor Winship or Mr. Ortega at the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Interior Department, suggesting that they might want to talk with Mr. Maloney.

I have no personal interest in the matter and of course my name should not be mentioned to Governor Winship.

Yours affectionately,

Ruby

LA FORTALEZA
PUERTO RICO

South Interior Building,
Washington, D. C.,
June 25, 1938.

JUN 27 1938

Jell

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 17th and the enclosure with reference to Mr. T. J. Maloney, regarding his desire to be connected with our tourist program for Puerto Rico, and also referring to Miss Enright's interest in this matter.

The contract for publicity for the Institute of Tourism was awarded to Steve Hannagan and Associates of New York about eight months ago, and the contract for advertising was awarded to Buchanan and Company of New York about five months ago. Miss Enright's application, together with many others that had been received, were given very careful consideration at that time. Mr. Maloney's memorandum will be submitted to the Director of Tourism for future consideration.

*Copy of 10/27
2/2/38
P. H. [unclear]*

I should like to have an opportunity, one of these days when it is convenient, to talk over some of our Puerto Rican problems in which I know you would be very much interested.

Sincerely yours,

Blanton Winship
Blanton Winship,
Governor.

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

August 4, 1938

100

Dear Rubys:

I was glad to have your letter and will speak to Harry Hopkins and Aubrey Williams.

Do come by Val Kill if you are in this part of the country. I will be away, however, from the night of the 17th to the 22d.

Is there any way I could help on your bureau work? I hate to see you give it up.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
618 National Press Building
Washington

0

Re Herbert Ritt

We're still having a lot of fun trying to beat Rep. Howard Smith with Bill Dodd, and now we think we have a chance. Icken blasted Smith beautifully this morning.

818 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C.
July 28, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It has been suggested that Herb Little be appointed to succeed Mort Milford as WPA press relations director. I don't know who first suggested it, but Herb did not hear of it, and did not think of it, until after it had been suggested to Aubrey Williams and Harry Hopkins.

Considering the situation on the Scripps-Howard papers, he would very much like to have the job. Since Bob Scripps's death, the papers have become less and less liberal, more and more averse to printing the liberal stories Herb writes about labor, the judiciary, the La Follette civil liberties investigation, etc.. Confidentially, we hear that the Scripps-Howard bureau here is likely to be cut down to a couple of editorial writers, Tom Stokes to do a daily political story, and the correspondents for the individual papers. And, indeed, to keep Tom more and more outside Washington, so that less Washington news will go to the newspapers. It's a pity about the Scripps-Howard papers -- they were liberal until liberalism began to act, pro-labor until labor began to demand and get something from itself and from government.

I am not asking you to do anything about this job for Herb. You needn't even answer this letter. But I thought I would like to have you know the situation, just in case you are asked for advice, or are asked to recommend somebody else.

I am still struggling with my own economic problem. Examination of my books shows that, exclusive of the UP job, which I could do without any overhead, my bureau is now making \$30 a month -- not enough to pay my cook's salary, much less to pay that and her upkeep, too. I have not yet realized any money on magazine stuff, but several things are in the mill, none of which may turn out. Meanwhile, there is so much news, despite your absence and that of Congress, the Supreme Court, and the President, that I have little time to work on magazine stuff. I hate to give up the bureau, which I spent ten years building up, and which once paid me as much as \$65 a week, and yet I can't go on like this. I probably can get a cheaper office, but even that would not make enough difference to justify my going on like this. I have fired my one reporter, but still have my little secretary, who gets only \$72 a month.

Your "lazy streak" would not be a lazy streak for anybody but you! I'm glad you're getting some peace, though. We don't yet know where we are going on vacation, which begins about Aug. 14, but if we drive near Val Kill, we'll call on you, if we may. With much love,

Ruby

THE EXPLORERS CLUB
10 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK

August 29, 1938

Miss Ruby Black
National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ruby:

I am sending you a folder gotten out by our once-little Puerto Rican Needlework Cooperative. It will surprise you as it did me - it's really solid professional tone.

I was in the office the other day and swelled with pride over the really fine professional work ~~the~~ the cooperative is doing now, in design, finish, and marketing. It is definitely on its feet, is not only doing a lot for hundreds of Puerto Rican women who were virtually starving a few years ago and who now own their own business, but is also setting new standards of shop and working conditions. The CIO in Puerto Rico regards the shop as a model shop and a yardstick. It is showing the Puerto Rican trade that it need not be as dependent on NY jobbers and contractors as it is now, that it is possible to do the whole job of manufacturing in one Puerto Rican organization, from design, ~~the~~ through ~~pur-~~ purchase of materials, to packing, and selling, direct to the ~~depa-~~ department stores. Within that range, the Cooperative has now cut out all middlemen, a thing that was considered impossible a few years ago.

As I look back on it, the organization of that cooperative was one of the really great adventures of my life.

You remember that it grew out of the old needlework projects of the Puerto Rican F.E.R.A., which were made work and produced clothing at high prices for free distribution to the poor. When the F.E.R.A. was about to be liquidated, I was asked to work out some scheme under which the needle-work project could be continued, since the PRRA made no provisions for women. Esteban Bird and I ~~visualized~~ visualized a producers' cooperative, run ~~and~~ ~~strictly~~ strictly business principles, competing with the organized trade in ~~their~~ its own lines. Only that way could we get the volume of business needed to make a definite impression on the horrible condition of the Puerto Rican women, and only that way could we hope to teach the whole industry in Puerto Rico a definite lesson in business-methods through which it might be able to pull itself out of its horrible ~~slavery~~ slavery to New York jobbers, - a slavery that was making the Puerto Rican industry the worst sweatshop ~~industry~~ industry in the world, and was ruining the quality of Puerto Rican needlework.

THE EXPLORERS CLUB
10 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK

Then came the battles. First we had to fight the FERA which did not want to be liquidated. Then the Puerto Rican women rose against us because they did not understand what we were doing. Then the Federal lawyers told us that the thing could not possibly be done with Federal money. At last they found a way and got us a little money for a start.

After we started, and until we finally got the bulk of our capital, all the Puerto Rican politicians tried to ruin us and get control of the venture. We struggled along on a shoestring. We had to discharge one foreman and forelady after another, because they all played politics and we didn't have the money to hire a good one. There was bad work, distrust, and hatred. Bird and I, a Professor of Economics and an Explorer, had to step in and run the shop ourselves, learn about needlework as we went.

The politicians did everything possible to tie up our capital and hamstring us. Our few thousand dollars were coming to an end with almost nothing to show for them. The established industry, in Puerto Rico and in New York, began to fight us. Bird and I had to handle delegations of Puerto Rican industrialists, and show them that what we were doing was to their advantage. Delegations went from New York to Washington to protest against our getting our capital.

The battle lasted three months, and finally we got the capital.

A little while later there was the great shakeup in the-PRRA PRRA. Bird and I both resigned from Government ~~service~~ service. The needlework venture was in a very bad shape. There was some talk of abandoning it. Because of the setup, that could not be done without stirring up a lot of trouble. Then the PRRA virtually washed its hands of it. With that Bird stepped in and took charge of it.

That professor of economics has done a marvellous job. As he went, he learned about the demands of the needlework trade, about labor-organizations (he invited the CIO to step in and make a model-shop out of it without killing it as a business), he learned about textiles and prices, about cutting, about the New York distribution of needlework, about the whole business, from beginning to end.

The fact that it is a success today, and making money for the workers who own it, is all the more remarkable when you consider the following: (1) The political machinery of the United States is almost entirely stacked against anything of this kind; (2) In Puerto Rico the total lack of economic discipline, the colonial psychology, and the lack of experience with cooperative principles, make almost any kind of real cooperatives impossible; (3) A producers' cooperative is infinitely more difficult to bring to success than a consumers' cooperative; (4) Of all fields, the very tricky and infinitely varied needlework trade is the most difficult in which to organize and

TELEPHONE
TRAFALGAR 7-0421

CABLE ADDRESS
"CLUBEXPLOR" NEW YORK

THE EXPLORERS CLUB
10 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK

manage a producers' cooperative.

But the job is done in amazingly short time. While I am out of it entirely, I still swell with pride when I visit the cooperative's New York office and see how my baby has come along. They have a beautiful office, beautiful things to show, a good designer, a good sales-staff, the whole thing with a professional air that is helping to put it over. They have a ~~culling~~ cutting-room there, and a lot of women ironing and packing the delivered goods.

It's grand, and a marvellous story. I want to write up that story one of these days because it is really an important one, - important to the whole psychology of the Puerto Rican workers and the Puerto Rican industrialists, who are looking up now and learning lessons in how to combat their present sweatshop status, maintained in part by the New York jobbers and in part by their own point of view, - the colonial psychology.

With best regards

Carl P. Hanson

August 31, 1938

100

Dear Ruby:

I have had two letters from Henry Goddard Leach, who seems to be rather desperate searching for a paragon of intelligence and virtue.

I don't think that you could turn into the permanent person they want, but I wondered if you would like to go and see him and undertake the campaign part of it, or would that make it impossible for you to carry on your newspaper work? I enclose both of his letters.

Affectionately yours,

ER:O

Miss Ruby A. Black
211 1/2 Prince St.
Alexandria Va

RUBY A. BLACK
212 KELLOGG BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

100

211½ Prince Street,
Alexandria, Virginia
September 6, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am inclosing some material on the ⁺ Puerto Rican Needlework Cooperative which may interest you.

About a year ago some of the people connected with the Cooperative asked me if I thought you would be willing to visit the New York office at some time and in such a way as to give a little publicity to the Cooperative and its products, and perhaps to mention it in your column. Until now they have felt that the Cooperative had not progressed far enough for such publicity to be of lasting value, inasmuch as it was not organized to supply a large market. Apparently they now feel that it is ready.

I suppose that they would like to have newspaper reporters and photographers present if you decide to visit the Madison Avenue office. I was not told whom you would talk with there.

If you should decide to go and should find it convenient to let me know in advance, I could tip off the United Press and other friends there.

I see that you are to have the NYA with you again. I wish that those of us who were there for the NYA conference last year could be along, but it is not possible for me at least. We got back from our vacation late last night feeling much better but I found a lot to do.

Could Tommy write me some idea of when you are coming to Washington again and of any plans for the next few weeks which you would care to make public so that I could write a story on Saturday for the United Press? During what period will you be on lecture tour? Do you know the area in which you will speak?

Mrs. Roosevelt -- 2

May Craig and I mailed you a silly little
present from Bethany Beach where we both had a grand
time as did Herb and Jane.

Yours with love,

Ruby

100
BLACK 100
211½ Prince St.,
Alexandria, Va.
Sept. 14, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt and Tommie:

Both of your letters came today, and I am grateful to you for taking time when you are so busy, so mentally occupied, and so far from home.

About the birthday party: I asked last Winter and again last Spring to be allowed to give the party this year. I can't afford to give a party at a grand tea room, as Martha does, but I'd like to give the party at my house, with the aid of Martha's and Bess's ingenuity in planning surprises. Of course, if plans have been agreed to, I won't be selfish. But I'd love to have the party, and I'm sure it's my turn.

Everybody here is so happy about Jimmy's coming on so well. It must be gratifying to him and Bess and his parents to know how greatly he commands the affection and admiration of those with whom he has come in contact since he has been in Washington.

I had a charming letter from Mr. Leach, in response to my inquiry about the job, but he's still on the fence, although he started out by saying he was tempted to wire "PLEASE COME AT ONCE FOR FIVE WEEKS TRIAL AT ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS A WEEK." I have written him that he has company on the fence, as I am not sure it would be possible for me to be away from Washington during the period in which he would want me to work for him.

When I see you, I want to warn you of an effort which I believe will be made in Green Bay, Wis., when you lecture there, to make it appear that you are favoring a candidate for Congress, without your knowledge.

There have been some strange goings-on about Herb's prospective WPA job, together with some other jobs in the government which others suggested be offered to him, but he expected to know definitely today.

With love for you both,

Today is x Rubys Birthday.
Love,

Ruby.
game

100

September 20, 1938

Dear Ruby:

Mrs. Roosevelt received your letter this morning and asked me to say that she will see Mr. Miles Fairbank when she is in Washington next week. We will telephone you when we get there.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
211 Prince Street
Alexandria
Virginia

0

211½ Prince St.,
Alexandria, Va.,
Sept. 18, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Since early this year, Miles Fairbank, regional administrator of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, has talked with me two or three times about wanting to talk with you about the PRRA.

As far as I can tell from his few talks with me, he does not want to ask you to do anything. He wants, he tells me -- and I believe him -- to tell you what has been done, in what respects it is failing ^(and why) to carry out the program approved by the administration and not changed by any official action, and what he is proposing in legislation. I have not seen the legislative program (which does not propose a change in policy) which he is preparing to present formally, after an informal talk with Secretary Ickes, who approved his informal presentation, I understand. *It sounds good to me, as informally presented.*

Mr. Fairbank does not wish to ask you formally and through "channels" for an appointment, but would like to talk with you. If you care to spend some more time thinking about our beloved and sad island, you can reach him at the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, Interior Department, or the Da Pont Circle Apartments, ^{(telephone} Decatur 6201,) during the time you will be here in late September. He has to have an operation in late September or early October, but will be here during your September time here.

With love, *Ruby*

Glad you will have a press conference Sept. 27.

October 3, 1938

100

Dear Ruby:

I have written to Jim Farley
about the blind man and his dog and do
hope something can be done in the matter.

Many thanks for transmitting my
birthday present. I am so glad you do
this rather than give something to us.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
211½ Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia

DD

*Called
10-3-38*

211½ Prince St.,
Alexandria, Va.,
Sept. 28, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

My doctor in Alexandria is all worked up over the rule which won't permit the blind newsstand-man in the Alexandria to take his Seeing Eye dog with him into the building. He asked me to take it up with you. I did not ~~think~~ think it proper to bring it up in press conference -- "interference with government departments" -- So, the letter, although I had hoped to avoid bothering you with it by talking personally with Jim Farley yesterday. But Jim wasn't here.

This is the situation: This blind man seems to be a fine sort, works hard, is pleasant, doesn't feel sorry for himself. A man who frequently goes to the post office got interested in him, asked him if he would like a Seeing Eye dog, bought one, for \$400, I believe, and paid the expenses of sending the man to the New Jersey place where they train man and dog together. When they got back, they found the rule against dogs in government buildings. The major point is that the dog and man must be together all the time, or the dog loses his ability and training. In other words, the dog couldn't bring him to work, go home, and come back for him, for thus he would soon lose his usefulness.

I suppose that Jim, if he wanted to, could issue a ruling exempting Seeing Eye dogs from the regular rule. Or the President could issue an executive order to that effect.

The people here who are interested have been unable to elicit an answer from Jim Farley, they say. I'll try to catch Jim as soon as I can, but if the President goes back to Hyde Park, Jim is likely to be away, too, I'm afraid.

Enclosed is a carbon copy of my letter transmitting your birthday present. Happy birthday, and many more!

I'm looking forward to Martha's party, but I do think I should be allowed to have a party sometime.

Yours with love,

Ruby

Alexandria, Va.
Sep. 28, 1938.

Sra. Carmen R. de Alvarado,
Asociacion pro Salud Maternal e Infantil de Puerto Rico,
Subida Iglesia No. 3, Parada #25,
Santurce, Puerto Rico.

Dear Carmen:

Our mutual friend is having a birthday again in about two weeks. So here is a check for the Asociacion for \$5 as my birthday present to her.

What has the informal opinion of the Department of Justice, given to U.S. Attorney Cecil Snyder, done to your work? Have your lawyers found any way to attack its legality? As Gordon Dean read the law to me, covering the District of Columbia and the territories and island possessions, I could see no way out, but I know that doctors here prescribe contraceptives, and that ethical drug stores fill prescriptions (in the District of Columbia, I mean, of course, which is included in the same law the department quoted to Snyder.

Has Snyder begun any prosecutions, as the New York Times said he planned?

Do let me know how things are going.

We are having our usual little birthday party for our friend, this time the night before her birthday. The press club is making its meeting, on her birthday, a birthday party for her, I believe -- informally. It is good to have her back in town, even if she will be away most of next month. We miss her.

To go back to Snyder: What got him interested in seeking this opinion from the Department of Justice? Did the Baltimore Catholics stir up Sen. Tydings to have his protege, Snyder, go into the matter? What with the work having gone on several years, and the legislature having passed its act some time ago, and this being the time Tydings was up for re-election, with the hearty opposition of the administration, it occurred to me that there might be some connection, especially as the Catholic paper in Baltimore has always been so vitriolic on the subject of birth control in Puerto Rico.

I have had to give up my office, as La Democracia has not been paying me at all since last December, and I could not pay the rent out of the rest of my income. I am doing my work at home, at the United Press, in press galleries and press rooms.

So, in your future correspondence, will you please use the home address, given above?

With best wishes for your work and warm personal regards,

Ray A. Black

Ante Jim Carter,
think it a shame to
separate his people
from their dogs.

Do not send the little
Jesse Ruby, how does so

*I'd like to see this
material probably by Ely
has definite questions
Project to be done in
your hands
Phoned - 10/6/38*

file

211 1/2 Prince St.
Alexandria, Va.
Oct. 4, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

*when
to*

After a lot of to-doing, Herb Little was offered, and accepted, a job as NYA regional director for the region from Wisconsin through New Jersey, including all in between, and West Virginia, Kentucky, and, apparently, the District of Columbia.

Despite the fact that he will be away so much of the time -- which neither he nor I personally like -- he is looking forward eagerly to the job, as something new and challenging, in an organization he has long admired.

The present plans are that he begins work Saturday morning, and goes the next day (or maybe the day before) to Quoddy to see the school for supervisors now going on there, stopping on the way back to see the New England regional director.

Knowing your interest in the NYA and your knowledge of all its best and least good work, he would naturally be grateful to you for any information or suggestions you might at any time wish to provide.

I also think it will be fine for him to get out and see the country for a while, on top of his fourteen years here.

I suppose it will be somewhat of a wrench to get out of news work, after seventeen years of it, all for the United Press and the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.

Meanwhile, I have obtained, on a trial basis, the job of Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Times, which is now out of Scripps-Howard hands and is strongly New Deal and pro-labor. It ought to be fun to be able to write for a paper like that, after all these years of working for conservative Republican newspapers. I just started today.

We are looking forward to seeing you again.

With much love,

Rudy

211 1/2 PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

100
Pr. Adygn...
with photo...
Oct. 25, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have accepted a temporary job as co-editor of a book on Washington, consisting of many pictures and less text, as part of a series of books called "The Face of America."

The book will show, for example, a Washington building housing a government agency, and then show pictures taken throughout the country showing what is done in that building which affects the worker in San Francisco or the farmer in Iowa.

It is to be pro-New-Deal, but won't be obvious propaganda. The editor, Edwin Rosskam, has already arranged with many government agencies for pictures to be used, in addition to those which he, a highly skilled photographer, makes.

In the entire series, some prominent person who knows the city or state concerned is to write an introduction to each book. Mr. Rosskam and the publishers are very eager to have you write the introduction to the Washington book, and I think they are right because of your knowledge of Washington and what it does for and with the country.

Could you see Mr. Rosskam, Mrs. Rosskam (his assistant), and me sometime next week to talk over details, look at the dummy, discuss the whole plan, including terms, and get whatever assurances you would need that the contents of the book would not include anything embarrassing to you or the administration? Mr. and Mrs. Rosskam have to go to San Francisco sometime next week to map out the San Francisco book. You would not, however, need to deliver the introduction before February, as the San Francisco book is to come out first, but the Washington book must be definitely planned during the Rosskam's present trip here.

There is one more thing we would like your aid in obtaining, although the request that you do the introduction is in no way contingent upon whether this request is granted. If it is possible, we would like very much to get some new interior views of the White House, without any persons in them, as no pictures have been made of the state rooms since the Taft administration. If such permission is obtained, from whoever is empowered to give it, the publisher and the editors would show every picture to the person in authority, would use none not approved, would guarantee that they are used for no other purpose than this book, and would turn over the negatives to the person designated for preservation or destruction, after the approved pictures are printed.

This letter merely sketches the plan, and asks for an appointment for Mr. and Mrs. Rosskam and me early next week, in case you think it might be possible for you to write the introduction.

Yours devotedly,
Ruby

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1938 NOV 2 PM 11 45

MRS FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

CARE MRS JOHN BOETTIGER SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER

SEATTLE WASH=

REFERRING TO MY NOTE OF MONDAY MAY WE SAY IN BOOKSELLERS
 DUMMY OF WASHINGTON BOOK" INTRODUCTION BY ELEANOR ROOSEVELT"
 DUMMY TO BE SHOWN TO BOOKSTORES, MUST BE AT PUBLISHERS BY
 DEC. 14. IF YOU CAN DO INTRODUCTION BY THAT TIME, WE CAN
 INCLUDE IT IN DUMMY. MEANWHILE WE CAN SHOW YOU FIRST PRINT
 OF DUMMY. I AM CHECKING ALL COPY. IF YOU STILL CARE TO
 WRITE LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR EDWIN ROSSKAM TO MRS.
 DENMAN, PLEASE SEND IT TO ME, AS HE PROBABLY CAN USE HER
 INDIAN MATERIAL WELL IN BOTH SANFRANCISCO AND WASHINGTON
 BOOKS. PLEASE REPLY COLLECT BY WESTERNUNION=
 RUBY A BLACK.

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

December 27, 1938

Dear Ruby:

Thank you so much for my Christmas present. I am so happy you decided to do as you did as it serves a two-fold purpose - it pleases me and helps Puerto Rico.

I hope you had a happy Christmas and that Jane is entirely well again.

Best of luck for the New Year.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby Black
211 1/2 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia

DD

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

211 1/2 PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

825 Albee Building
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

12-21-38
December 20, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am enclosing a carbon of my letter to Mrs. Alvarado as my Christmas gift to you.

Mr. Koppell asked me if it would be all right for him to send a check for \$100.00 to the same Association. I told him to do so without mentioning your name, merely saying that it is sent as a gift on behalf of a friend of Ruby Black who is interested in the cause. I assume that this will reach the Association in time to be a Christmas present from you, inasmuch as you worked for it.

With best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a highly satisfactory 1939, I am,

Yours with love,

Ruby

Many thanks

December 12, 1938.

Mrs. Carmen de Alvarado,
Asociacion Pro Salud Maternal e Infantil de Puerto Rico,
Subida Iglesia No. 3, Parada 25,
Santurce, P. R.

Dear Carmen:

I am enclosing a check for four dollars as a Christmas present to our friend.

I hope that soon a larger check will reach you, sent at my request by a New York publisher, also because of the interest of our mutual friend.

I have been busy lately as co-editor of a book about Washington for which Mrs. Roosevelt is writing the introduction. When it is published, probably in March, I'll send you a copy. Do write me news of your activities and the present legal situation. Morris Ernst came to see me a couple weeks ago and he felt very confident that the case would be won.

With best wishes to you and ~~the~~ the ^{SS} Association for a Merry Christmas and a successful 1939, I am,

Yours sincerely,
(signed) Ruby A. Bleck

100
December 27, 1938

Dear Ruby:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you
for sending her the article on housing by
John J. Klaber. She has given the article
to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Ruby A. Black
211 $\frac{1}{2}$ Prince Street
Alexandria
Virginia

0

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

211 1/2 PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

825 Albee Building
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

an 1/29

Thank you very much

December 23, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

At the request of a friend of mine, I am enclosing a magazine which contains an article on housing.

The architect, John J. Kleber, Burlington Hotel, Washington, asked my friend to try to get the article to the attention of someone "near" the President.

Yours, as ever,

Ruby

John J. Kleber

100
April 7, 1939

Dear Ruby: *Black*

I was awfully glad to have your stories. I am reading them to Anne and John.

Many thanks for your messages to them about the baby. He really is grand, and Anne is coming along very well.

I will be home by Monday. Press conference at eleven A. M., and the party in the afternoon. I look forward to that party to catch up on all my "young friends".

It was nice to hear from you, and I am glad the grapefruit arrived intact.

Affectionately,

100
May 19, 1939

Dear Ruby:

Mrs. Roosevelt wants to get all the girls together before she leaves for the summer and suggested dinner in the garden here on June 7.

Will you reserve that night for a while? Something may turn up to change Mrs. Roosevelt's plans, but she hopes for no interference.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Ruby Black
2114 Prince Street
Alexandria
Virginia

SO

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

211½ PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

825 Albee
~~NATIONAL PRESS~~ BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

file

May 20, 1939.

Dear Tommy:

Naturally, nothing would please me more than to have dinner with Mrs. Roosevelt and "all the girls" in the garden on June 7.

I'll save the date, and I hope nothing interferes!

That's the night after the Women's National Press Club election (June 6 is the election), and it looks as if I shall be president and Bess will be first vice president.

Yours sincerely,

Ruby A. Black

100
June 14, 1939

Dear Ruby:

I am delighted that you have been elected
President of the women's National Press Club
and send you my congratulations and every good
wish.

I am sorry that I will not be in Washington
and can not be at your party.

Affectio nately,

MCT:mds

Miss Ruby A. Black
211 1/2 Prince St., Alexandria, Va.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

825 Albee
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

211 1/2 PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Aut
6/14/39
June 13, 1939.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am to be inaugurated as president of the Women's National Press Club at a dinner on Monday, June 19, at the Congressional Country Club. Thinking you might not have received your notice, I decided to write you to tell you about it, and to tell you how happy I would be if you could come.

The dinner is at 8, club open for swimming or other pleasantries at 6. Each club member may bring one guest, male or female. Reservations are supposed to be in by Friday, June 16, but we'll let you and your guest in if you can come at the last minute.

We are hoping to have Eddie Falliard and Mike McDermott give us some afterthoughts on the royal visit, and we have invited the heads of all the men's press organizations.

I was certainly proud of my country and my President and his wife over the way the royal visit went off. It was beautifully done, and I know that a lot of the credit for its success belongs to you.

It was also a grand last evening with you before your summer away from us, although I wish you wouldn't be gone so long!

We'd all be so happy to have you next Monday night, if you can possibly make it, and maybe you have an afterthought or a sidelight, too!

Yours, as ever,

Ruby

Mary Kay Banks

July 11, 1939
Hyde Park, New York

Dear Ruby:

I have your letter of July 7 and I shall appreciate it if you will cash my check and send your own check to the Minister in Puerto Rico. I do not want him to know it came from me. I have asked the office in Washington to telephone you his address.

I have no idea whether we will have a picnic on Labor Day or not. I will have one if the President is here and you will know that as quickly almost as I will. If we do have a picnic I shall be more than delighted to have you and any of the other girls who care to drive up.

I am awfully sorry about the accident you had and the hard luck of having your car badly smashed.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby A. Black
825 Albee Bldg.
Wash., D.C.

T:DD

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

211 1/2 PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

825 Albee
NATIONAL EXHIBITION BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*Checked
7-11-39*

July 7, 1939.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am not quite sure, from your letter of June 17, whether you already know enough about the work of the Rev. Domingo Villafane, of Puerto Rico, to want the check to go on to him, or whether you expected me to find out more.

As soon as I got your letter, I airmailed requests to two different friends in Puerto Rico, asking them to tell me about him and his work. One of them has not answered. The other has written twice, once to say that he is "an Episcopal parish priest, in his forties,for many years in the Puerto de Tierra parish church. Since the Episcopal Church in Santurce was made a Cathedral several months ago, I understand that the Rev. Villafane has been attached to the cathedral in some capacity. Apparently he is a pious, serious, hard-working citizen." The second letter said that, pursuing the inquiry further, my friend had found the earlier information incorrect, and said:

"The Rev. Domingo is not the Puerto de Tierra ^{Cathedral} Villafane, but his younger brother. The Rev. Domingo himself is a priest -- or curate -- in one of the Episcopal churches in an interior town (or in several, as I believe few towns have an Episcopal priest all to themselves). All reports of the family and its individual members are good. They are of Spanish ancestry and, I believe, of Spanish parentage; are apparently devoted, hard-working and useful citizens."

If this, combined with the information you have, is sufficient, let me know and I will cash your check and send my own check to him, if you will send me his address. Your letter did not contain it.

I did not indicate to either of my friends the purposes of my inquiry; I merely asked about the man and the work he does.

I wish you could have been here for the Press Club luncheon for H.R.H. Princess Martha. We all loved her.

Here is the clipping from an Italian newspaper about which I spoke to you. Rosamond Cole, who used to work for me here, sent it to me when she was in Rome marrying Richard Mowrer, Chicago Daily News man whom Mussolini expelled.

Are you going to have a Labor Day picnic, too? Some of us are thinking about driving up, if you are, and if we are invited.

*Ar Mrs. Roosevelt, your friend
Ruby A. Black*

*terrible sorry about
and cut*

It is very hot here, and there is much work for reporters. Otherwise, all's well, except that I am encased in adhesive tape, with one broken rib, one rib jerked loose from the cartilage, and what looks like a painting of one of the more unrestrained Texas sunsets on my right thigh. It all came from a crazy accident in a parking lot. Herb was somewhat banged up, too, and the car so badly smashed that we think it best to trade the wreck in on a new one.

A taxi driver told me yesterday that all the out-of-town fares he talks to are for a third term for "resident Roosevelt, "except those I pick up at the Mayflower."

Herb had intended to go up to the Youth Congress -- until the accident. We both have been very much interested in your reports, the newspaper reports, and Helen Fuller's reports on it.

If you feel that your information is complete, let me know where to send the check, and it will go off right away. I assume you do not want me to mention your name in connection with it, inasmuch as you did not send the check directly to him.

*Robert
11/11/41*

Yours devotedly,

Ruby

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MAGEE:

There was a Rev. Domingo Villafane of Puerto Rico who wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt about his church. We sent it to Secretary Ickes and I think he returned it and I imagine it is in file. Will you take the correct name and address off and have one of the girls telephone it to Ruby Black who is at 825 Albee Building, Washington?

M.C.T.

Done
7/14/39

Rev. Domingo Villafane,
Box 5324, Puerta de Tierra, P. R.

August 10, 1939

100

Dear Ruby:

I am so sorry about your papers and hope you will be able to get others.

I am fairly sure the President will be here over Labor Day and we will have a newspaper picnic. I hope you and May Craig, and Martha and Bess if she can get away, will come up. I can manage to put several of you up at the cottage.

Affectionately,

Miss Ruby A. Black
News Bureau
825 Albee Building
Washington, D. C.

mlt

211 1/2 PRINCE STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

RUBY A. BLACK
NEWS BUREAU

825 Albee
NEWS BUREAU BUILDING
1, WASHINGTON, D. C.

*add
8-10-39*

Jan. 11/11/39

Aug. 4, 1939.

*False Family
for the
General
congratulatory*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would like to see the Rev. Villafane's letter of thanks, so here it is. I was very glad to know what he is doing.

You and I both had a newspaper shot out from under us when the Buffalo Times ceased publication last Sunday. It was the paper that paid me most, and the only one that was any fun to work for, since it was 100 per cent New Deal, and since I could write in simple and vivid terms, and say what I felt. That leaves no Democratic newspaper in New York State, outside New York City, if one concedes that there are Democratic newspapers in New York City. As Jim Mead wept with me, I said, "You've got no paper to support you, and I've got none to support me." It's all outrageous.

So, I begin another vacation with bad news, and with the problem of trying to find something to do by which I can earn a living and be of some use.

As soon as Congress adjourns, I shall go to Bethany Beach, Del., where my husband, my daughter, my maid, and my secretary already are -- not to mention the family car. I shan't try to think what to do until I have some rest, for I am utterly frazzled, what with session-end, the Times's demise, a mouth operation, the automobile accident, and the household problems involved when a maid goes crazy and one has to get a new one in a busy time.

May Craig will be with us at Bethany part of the time, bless her.

I hope we may see you on Labor Day.

Yours with love, and also love to Tommie,

Ruby