JEROME DAVIS
1936 - 1944
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

LRS. SCHEIDER

The President said he saw a Russian picture a short time ago. He thinks perhaps this is the same one.

G. G. T.

For the President

[Handwritten note]

[Handwritten note]
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1936

Memo. for Miss LeHand

Dear Missy:

Mrs. Roosevelt met this man in New Haven and she says he is very interesting. He wants to send a Russian film for the President to see and he will come with it. Will you ask the President if he would like it shown some evening?

M.T.S.
I tr...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Waving to a great crowd.

The President.

You can.

And I can.

The next steps.

End.

End this... and... 

...and.
MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. SCHNEIDER
THE PRESIDENT SAID O. K.
ON THIS PICTURE.
May 27, 1936

Mr. Jerome Davis  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut  

Will be here June first  How long will it take to show film.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.
May 22, 1936

My dear Mr. Davis:

There is a slight possibility that the President will leave Washington on June 1 for Texas, but if he is still here I wonder if you could come down on that date for dinner and the night and show your film. I am sorry this must be a tentative appointment but our plans are still very uncertain. I will wire you definitely later.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
May 28, 1936

My dear Mr. Davis:

It will be convenient for you to arrive at the White House any time after 5:00 p.m. on June 1. If you will wire what train you will come on we will have you met at the station.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Jerome Davis
Yale University
New Haven
Connecticut
1WU MO 41 NL 1:14 a.m.
New Haven, Conn. May 27, 1936

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your wire. Films take about one hour and twenty five minutes when run continuously but one reel could be omitted if desirable. Please advise me what time I should arrive at the White House next Monday, June 1.

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:  

Thank you very much for your invitation to come down and spend the night at the White House on June 1. I shall be very happy to come if the President still plans to be there. I shall look forward to receiving a telegram from you.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

May 20, 1936
June 26, 1936

My dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you very much for the suggestions for a campaign speech.

I am planning to do a lecture tour for Mr. Colston Leigh next fall. Therefore I am afraid I will not be able to come to Yale. I am terribly sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

M:k
June 25, 1936

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

This is just to remind you that we would like to have you here some time in the fall to speak. If you cared to set a particular date we would be glad to have you do so.

I enjoyed my visit with you so much that I am venturing to do a rather rash thing, namely, to send on a few little rough suggestions for a possible campaign speech of the President. Perhaps you would glance these over and if you think they are worth while let him see them. Please tell him he does not need to bother to acknowledge them. If Al Smith only continues to talk, the majority for the President will be larger than ever.

With appreciation for all your kindness to me while at the White House,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis
July 15, 1936

Dear Mr. Davis:

I will try to contribute to the Religion and Labor Foundation if I get any radio contracts. I have no money now.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
2110 Edwards Hall
New Haven, Conn.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

We were very sorry that you cannot come to New Haven this fall. Since I occasionally lecture myself I can understand the conditions.

I am enclosing a leaflet about the Religion and Labor Foundation. Perhaps if you are not able to come yourself you would consider giving the proceeds of one of your paid lectures to this organization. Of course, if you did so the gift would be kept strictly confidential and no publicity of any kind would be given to it. We could even list it as from an anonymous giver if you desired. I would not have thought of suggesting this except that you thought originally you might be able to come to New Haven for a benefit lecture.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
A Leaf For Your Notebook

RESOLUTION
PASSED UNANIMOUSLY
BY THE
NEW HAVEN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
In Regular Meeting,
July 2, 1936.

WHEREAS The National Religion and Labor Foundation is a non-sectarian movement, including in its membership and on its committees persons from all the major religious faiths -

WHEREAS The Foundation brings together leaders in the fields of religion, education and labor to study and remedy unjust economic conditions, so that the social creeds of the churches and the synagogues may become a reality in the community -

WHEREAS The Foundation avoids a paternalism so often characteristic of bourgeois social and missionary effort, and invites workers into its councils to share in the planning of the program -

WHEREAS The Foundation upholds labor's ethical and legal right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing, its right to speak without intimidation, its right to assemble and demonstrate without interference, and to strike and picket to win decent working conditions and standards of living -

WHEREAS The Foundation sponsors many practical activities, such as trips to study economic conditions, publications to inform leaders on methods of social action, work for progressive labor legislation, hearings where the facts about industrial conflicts are brought out, and conferences in which the representatives of business, the church, the schools and labor are brought together -

WHEREAS The Foundation believes in - works for a brotherly society here on earth where all may work and share fully in the abundance of their labor, without discrimination because of race, nationality, color, or political affiliation -

WHEREAS The Foundation believes in and encourages the development of cultural and spiritual values in society -

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the delegates to the New Haven Central Labor Council, endorse the purpose and program of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, that we express our appreciation of the presence of its national headquarters in our city, and that we invite it to nominate a minister, subject to the approval of this body, as a fraternal delegate.
THE RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

"...to translate the social creed of church and synagogue into the economic life of the local community and the nation."
What Is It?

The National Religion and Labor Foundation is an inter-faith movement sponsored by Protestants, Catholics and Jews, engaged in the discovery and application of techniques of social action that will incorporate the ideals of a high ethical religion into our economic life. The Foundation, through its program, encourages individuals and groups to question the evils in our present economic order and to commit themselves to action for the basic reconstruction of society. It seeks to bring together leaders in the fields of religion and organized labor who have the common objective of economic justice. It regards both war and fascism as menacing symptoms of injustice in the economic affairs of the nations. The Foundation, in bringing members of all faiths together, acts with the faith that God is our common Father, and that all men are brothers. A worker is anyone who dedicates hand and brain to socially constructive tasks.

The Foundation has no endowment; it must depend on membership fees and voluntary contributions to maintain its program.

Where Is It?

National Headquarters: 87 Orange Street, New Haven, Conn.

What It Does

Publishes a monthly bulletin, Economic Justice, that specializes in reporting effective forms of social action for individual leaders and groups.

Organizes local religious councils for social action, whose members seek to embody in their own living the ethical standards of a cooperative society, and through study and group action to make the ideals of church and synagogue a reality in their own communities.

Makes thorough studies of the cases of religious leaders who lose their positions because of their social action. These studies seek to show the social and economic forces in the situation involved and to examine the strategy of the leader.

Cooperates with allied movements, particularly by furnishing them with facts relative to the part religious leaders and organizations take in social action. During 1933-36 the sources of help will come chiefly from the returns of the Social Action Questionnaire sent in by 4700 clergymen.

Answers requests from individuals and organizations for specific information in the field of religion and labor.

Works for social legislation, especially in the field of workers' rights.

Sets up local conferences at which religious leaders, laymen and students live with workers in their own environment and discover first-hand what their problems are.

Conducts traveling economic seminars for religious leaders who desire first-hand information about conditions in industry and agriculture.
The Religion and Labor Foundation
Invites Your Support

To Become a Member Means—
THAT you will receive help eight times a year from a bulletin that deals with tested methods of working for economic justice. The replies of 4700 clergymen to the Social Action Questionnaire afford a rich source of materials for the issues of 1935-36.
THAT you will support a national movement that breaks through ecclesiastical barriers and brings together religious spirits of all faiths to deal with basic human issues.
THAT you will, through the Foundation, aid and encourage leaders of organized labor who are trying to build up a collective morale among the workers of the nation.
THAT you will, upon request, receive information on specific problems in the field of religion and labor.
THAT you may purchase at cost copies of Foundation publications and reports.
THAT you will receive free (with a membership paying $2.50, or more) a copy of "Capitalism and Its Culture" by Jerome Davis.

Religion and Labor Foundation Reading List

No. 1. The Minister's Place in the Social Conflict. A report of an investigation into the causes for the dismissal of the Reverend Claude C. Williams from his pulpit in Paris, Arkansas. 15 cents.
No. 2. The Story of Claude Williams. A brief, 3-page review of Claude Williams' experience and influence as a radical religious leader. 5 cents.
No. 3. Capitalism and Its Culture, by Jerome Davis. John T. Flynn, writer and investigator for the U. S. Senate Committee, says, "This book ought to be prescribed reading in every class in political science or economics."
No. 4. The Case of Dr. Yard. An account of the work of Dr. James M. Yard at Northwestern University, and of the conditions under which he was let out of his position. 15 cents, as long as they last.
No. 5. A Study of Protestant Church Boards of Control, by Jerome Davis. A study of 387 local church boards of the leading Protestant denominations showing who is in control. Ten cents.
No. 6. Whither the Negro Church? A stirring 49-page pamphlet dealing with the social and economic problems facing the Negro church. 15 cents.
No. 9. Collective Bargaining for Consumers. Issued by Cooperative Distributors, a National Consumers' Cooperative Union. 9 cents each, or 5 cents in lots of ten or more.
WHO'S WHO IN THE R. L. F.

HONORARY PRESIDENTS

J. E. Haggerty, President, Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems and Director, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University.


Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Regional Secretaries:

H. B. Kahn, Colorado
Howard A. Kester, Tennessee
Claude C. Williams, Arkansas

Executive Secretary

Willard E. Upham

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jerome Davis, Chairman
Herman A. Braunigam
P. H. Callahan
Allan K. Chalmers
Eleanor Opanahaver
Sidney Goldstein
Robert C. Herring

A. G. Baldwin
Bernard J. Bamberger
W. H. Barchart
Albert A. Beaven
John G. Bannett
John G. Biddle
Dwight Bradley
Charles S. Brown
J. F. Burke
Vincent Burns
S. Parke O'dman
Robert L. Olsom
H. Fay Campbell
Edmund B. Chase
Elisabeth Christman
George S.Couss
Albert P. Coyle
James R. Cox
Abraham Cronbach
Rexel M. Davis
Gardiner M. Day
Shawneen Eddy
A. B. Elliot
Phillipl Elliot
Harold Fay
O. Sherwood Gates
Charles W. Gilkey
Elizabeth Gilman
William E. Gilroy
Israel Goldstein

John Haynes Holmes
Edward L. Israel
John A. Leup
Douglas O. Maitland
A. J. Muzio
Reinhold Miehlehr

National Committee

Herbert D. Graetz
Harold Gray
Ernest O. Guthrie
Herman J. Hahn
S. Ralph Harlow
Erdman Harris
A. A. Heist
Arthur E. Higa
John Hope
Walter E. Horton
Lawrence T. Hoole
Lynn Harold Kechel
Allan A. Hunter
J. B. Hunter
Harold B. Hunter
Paul Hutchinson
Cecilia I. Jeffrey
Paul Jones
Howard A. Kester
El Kegos
A. Soper Kratz
Maynard C. Krusger
George B. Lackland
Halfornd E. Leecock
Alex Lynn
Paul A. Manley
Louis L. Mann
Oscar E. Maurer
Thornton W. Merriam
Jacob Mirriss
Darwin J. Moser

L. Hollingsworth Wood, Treasurer

Frank Olmstead
A. Philip Randolph
Edward Thomas
Charles G. Webber
Stephen S. Wise

Herbert A. Miller
Evelyny Williams
Charles C. Morrison
Mead Nelson
Richard Mifflin
Kelly O'Neal
Kirk K. Page
William Pickens
Arthur Pound
Elden B. Price
Clarence Skidmore
Guy Emsz Skyler
E. B. Shults
H. Norman Sibby
Tucker P. Smith
Edmund D. Sober
George Soule
Miltton H. Stegner
Alfred W. Swann
Ronald J. Tarnby
Wellman H. Titker
Henry P. Van Eunten
H. J. Voorhis
John Warden
Wellman Warner
Robert Whitaker
Ellis White
Walter White
Claude C. Williams
J. B. Wilson
Wmalfred Wygal

WATQOJU.L OIOO:ftu AOI.IOO:ftu
YALE UNIVERSITY

July 27, 1936

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

It was most heartening to learn you said you would contribute towards the Religion and Labor Foundation if you secured a radio contract, especially since I am sure that you will have a radio contract if you desire one.

Perhaps I will remind you again of this in October. I hope you manage to get some relaxation away from conventions, speaking and Russian visitors at the White House!

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis
August 31, 1936

Dear Mr. Davis:

I told you that New York State had some rather particularly hard conditions. Here is a concrete letter showing just what I mean. Will you see that someone takes it up and looks into other conditions which I feel sure they will find throughout New York State?

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Chester Davis
Agricultural Adjustment Administration

F.G. Woodman
730 Mill St.
Watertown, N.Y.

tells how the Federal Land Bank and the North Country Farm Loan Assoc. have ruined him and other farmers
August 31, 1936

Dear Professor Davis:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your telegram. I was interested to see it.

Very sincerely yours,

Professor Jerome Davis
Yale University
New Haven
Conn.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you might be interested in a telegram I sent to Governor Landon after his speech on education. I don't think the American people will be fooled by his statements if they examine the record in his own state.

Please don't feel that you must answer this note.

Yours very sincerely,

Yale University
The Divinity School
August 27, 1936

Jerome Davies

[Signature]
COPY OF TELEGRAM

Governor Alfred Landon
Buffalo, N.Y.

As President American Federation of Teachers, cannot reconcile your address on education with deplorable conditions in schools of Kansas under your leadership, as described by your own Superintendent of Schools, W.T. Markham. I understand that there are only ten states in Union having lower number of days school than Kansas. Last year your Superintendent stated 668 schools were closed with many teachers losing salaries. Thousands boys and girls had no opportunity to complete school year. Your Superintendent declared, "Kansas is only state in Union which has made no provision for state aid for schools to provide school privileges for all children, regardless of conditions in local community." Entire American Federation of Teachers with twenty thousand enrolled educators throughout nation sent you telegram protesting these conditions. Probably you have no direct power and control over the schools in Kansas, but surely courageous Governor should endeavor to make his school system the best in the nation. People of America will judge your qualifications by the record in Kansas. Does Kansas represent what you believe to be sound educational policy?

(Signed) Jerome Davis
September 9, 1936.

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I was interested in receiving your letter with its enclosure illustrating concretely the conditions in New York State which you had mentioned. Governor Myers is asking the Federal Land Bank for a report on the particular situation described, and I will follow up on it personally. When we have looked into the matter, I shall write you again.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Chester C. Davis
Member of the Board
October 12, 1936

My dear Mr. Davis:

I have no radio engagements as yet so cannot promise to help the National Religion and Labor Foundation although I will keep it in mind. After the election, no matter which way things go, I may get something.

I was interested in reading about your broadcast and am glad to know that you enjoyed doing it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis

American Red Cross

c/o Yale University

New Haven, Conn.
October 5, 1936

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will remember that you were generous enough to promise to make a contribution to the National Religion and Labor Foundation, provided you did some radio work. I was to remind you in October.

I hope very much that you can make us a pledge, payable at any time in the next few months, as the organization desperately needs it.

I had some fun the other evening broadcasting for Labor's Non-Partisan Committee for the President. It certainly resulted in an avalanche of letters.

I suppose you are so used to political campaigns that they are not disturbing. I am convinced of one thing - that the President will win.

Very sincerely yours,

Jerome Davis

[Signature]

Jerome Davis
PROGRAM

10:00 A.M. Business Session, Executive and National Committees.
Library, Y. W. C. A.

12:30 P.M. Luncheon, Middle Room, Y.W.C.A.
Speaker: REV. LEON ROSSER LAND,
Associate Minister, The Community Church of New York, and Director,
Bronx Free Fellowship.

3:00 P.M. Business Session, Executive and National Committees.
Library, Y. W. C. A.

6:00 P.M. Annual Dinner, Hotel Garde
Speaker: RABBI SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN,
Free Synagogue, New York; Chairman, Social Justice Commission,
Central Conference of American Rabbis.
Mr. JOHN BROPHY, Director, Committee for Industrial Organization,
Washington, D. C.

8:30 P.M. Mass Meeting,
Assembly Hall, Y. W. C. A.

Brief reports by members of the RLF Traveling Economic Seminar
who investigated conditions in the TVA and the sharecropper country.

Progressive Forces of Religion and Labor
Join Hands in New Haven

The New Haven Central Labor Council, July 2, 1936,
adopted the following resolution and invited the R. L. F.
to recommend a fraternal delegate from the clergy of the city.

WHEREAS The National Religion and Labor Foundation
is a non-sectarian movement, including in its membership
and on its committees persons from all the major religious faiths.

WHEREAS The Foundation brings together leaders in
the fields of religion, education and labor to study and
remedy unjust conditions, so that the social creeds of the churches and the synagogues may
become a reality in the community.

WHEREAS The Foundation avoids paternalism so often
characteristic of bourgeois social and missionary
effort, and invites workers into its councils to share
in the planning of the program.

WHEREAS The Foundation upholds labor's ethical and
legal right to organize and bargain collectively
through representatives of its own choosing, its right
to speak without intimidation, its right to assemble
and demonstrate without interference, and to strike
and picket to win decent working conditions and
standards of living.

WHEREAS The Foundation sponsors many practical
activities, such as trips to study economic conditions,
presentations to inform leaders on methods of social
action, work for progressive labor legislation, hearings
where the facts about industrial conflicts are
brought out, and conferences in which the representa-
tives of business, the church, the schools and labor
are brought together.

WHEREAS The Foundation believes in and works for a
brotherly society here on earth where all may work
and share fully in the abundance of their labor, with-
out discrimination because of race, nationality, color
or political affiliation.

WHEREAS The Foundation believes in and encourages
the development of cultural and spiritual values in society.

BE IT RESOLVED That we, the delegates to the New
Haven Central Labor Council, endorse the purpose
and program of the National Religion and Labor
Foundation, that we express our appreciation of the
presence of its national headquarters in our city, and
that we invite it to nominate a minister, subject to
the approval of this body, as a fraternal delegate.
RELIGION

Religion stands at the crossroads. Throughout the world the parties of social progress are, in general, either passively or actively anti-religious. Organized religion, on the defensive, tends to range itself, actively or passively, with the conservatives or reactionaries. But the tide of social evolution cannot forever be dammed by the dykes of vested interest. The progressive forces are bound to win; and it looks as though the bursting of the dykes would be quick and catastrophic. If in that hour religion is found still on the side of reaction, as it was in Russia, it must suffer almost total eclipse. Its existing forms will be doomed to destruction.


LABOR

Labor Day, 1936, brings to the working people of America new hope, and also a new challenge. The trade union movement can rightfully be proud of its tremendous contribution to the building of our nation, and to the fostering of the ideals of freedom and democracy. Now, confident of its power, organized labor must carry on its glorious tradition by new advances throughout the country.

JOHN BROPHY, From A Labor Day Message, in Union News, August 24, 1936.

* * *

If you want to know how ministers and teachers are helping labor in its advance toward peace, security and democracy

Write to the

National Religion and Labor Foundation
87 Orange Street
New Haven, Connecticut

The National Religion and Labor Foundation Announces its ANNUAL FOUNDATION DAY PROGRAM

In

New Haven, Connecticut
Saturday, October 3, 1936
Nov. 5, 1936

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Congratulations on the greatest tribute that has ever been given to a President by an enthusiastic people. I firmly believe that Coughlin, Townsend, et al. were all working together to swell the tide!

Just before the election I sent out to some thirty thousand teachers throughout the nation the enclosed telegram to Landon and his reply together with an analysis of the deplorable educational record in Kansas.

I have been very much amused in this campaign at how reactionary the colleges and professors have been. Approves of this you will be amused to know that Yale was unwilling to have even you come and speak in our Henry Wright Lecture this year. Last fall after approving of Senator Nye's coming and after the tickets had been sold, they officially asked him to postpone his coming. I was surprised at this but I never dreamed the feeling would be so tense that they would not welcome the wife of the President of the United States! Why is it that the educated classes who ought to be the most intelligent are frequently the most blind!?

Sincerely and confidentially,

[Signature]

I was thrilled to try and got
speech at New York and
letter to President. I now

Jerome Davie
November 9, 1936

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am very glad to get your letter as I was so distressed to hear that they did not approve of you at Yale University. I did not wish to go to Yale and am glad that they did not want me since Yale and Harvard, and the New York financial district, produced the only "boon" of the campaign!

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
409 Prospect Street
New Haven, Conn.
GOVERNOR ALFRED LANDON.
AS PRESIDENT AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, CANNOT RECONCILE YOUR ADDRESS ON EDUCATION WITH DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS IN SCHOOLS OF KANSAS UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, AS DESCRIBED BY YOUR OWN SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, W. T. MARKHAM. I UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE ONLY TEN STATES IN UNION HAVING A LOWER NUMBER OF DAYS SCHOOL THAN KANSAS. LAST YEAR YOUR SUPERINTENDENT STATED 458 SCHOOLS WERE CLOSED WITH MANY TEACHERS LOSING SALARIES. THOUSANDS BOYS AND GIRLS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY TO COMPLETE SCHOOL YEAR. YOUR SUPERINTENDENT DECLARED, "KANSAS IS ONLY STATE IN UNION WHICH HAS MADE NO PROVISION FOR STATE AID FOR SCHOOLS." ENTIRE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS WITH 10,000 ENROLLED EDUCATORS THROUGHOUT NATION SENT YOU TELEGRAM PROTESTING THESE CONDITIONS. PROBABLY YOU HAVE NO DIRECT POWER AND CONTROL OVER THE SCHOOLS IN KANSAS, BUT SURELY COURAGEOUS GOVERNOR SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO MAKE HIS SCHOOL SYSTEM THE BEST IN THE NATION. PEOPLE OF AMERICA WILL JUDGE YOUR QUALIFICATIONS BY THE RECORD IN KANSAS. DOES KANSAS REPRESENT WHAT YOU BELIEVE TO BE SOUND EDUCATIONAL POLICY?

JEROME DAVIS, PRESIDENT,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS.
December 7, 1936

Dear Mr. Davis:

I do not see how I could go to Yale until late in the winter. Then would you want me and on what subject would you wish me to speak?

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Ave.
West Haven
Conn.
YALE UNIVERSITY
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I fear I haven't yet replied to your friendly note of November ninth, I have been away. After the election landslide I raised again with the Yale authorities the question of our inviting you to speak here and they are now willing to have you come. If you feel that you could do so I can arrange a meeting in the same large auditorium in which you spoke last time, with Governor Cross presiding. But please don't feel that you must accept.

In regard to my own position, I enclose a statement signed by Charles A. Beard and other prominent men. As to what I shall do next year I do not know. I think I could be of more service to the United States in Russia than anywhere else because I speak the language and because of my long and intimate knowledge of conditions there. I wish that the President might appoint a special representative to act under the American Ambassador over there, or to report to him directly on conditions. Everyone seems to feel that within a few years Europe will be involved in war, and the United States will then need more representatives in Russia. I realize that the State Department does not like to have anyone appointed outside their own career men but in the case of Russia it seems that exceptions might be made.

The next four years are going to be epoch making in the United States and throughout the world,—I am glad that we have a Roosevelt in the White House.

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis
December 16, 1936

My dear Mr. Davis:

I could go to Yale on Tuesday, February 23, and would prefer to talk about "Human Welfare and the Common Life". However, I would have to make this date more or less tentative as I never know when something in the family might upset my plans.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am delighted that there is a possibility that you might consent to come to Yale. I suggest that you come any time that you can conveniently do so, the earlier the better. If you could offer us two or three different dates, we could decide on one and reserve the hall. I would then reserve the date with the Governor and arrange to have the Yale Glee Club sing.

As to the subject, whatever interests you the most would be acceptable. I should be glad if you cared to speak on "Labor and the Intellectual" or "Human Welfare and the Common Life" but any subject which you liked would be fine.

Cordially,

[Signature]

YALE UNIVERSITY
489 Ocean Ave.
West Haven, Conn.
Dec. 10, 1936
January 6, 1937

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am more than sorry that I can do nothing for the Religion and Labor Foundation at this time. I have no radio contract as yet, and can make no new pledges until my present obligations are met.

In regard to your letter of January 4, I would be very glad to attend a dinner with the teachers of the city. It is kind of you to suggest this and I know I would enjoy meeting and talking to this group.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
The Divinity School
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The White House
Washington D.C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

In connection with your speaking at Woolsey Hall on Feb. 23rd, I wondered whether you would care to have us arrange an informal dinner the same night with the teachers of the city? We would probably hold this at the same Hotel at which you spoke before and it would be under the auspices of the American Federation of Teachers. Please let me know your desires in this matter. We, of course, think you would be rendering a great service to say a few words to the teachers but we do not want to press this if you think it would be too much of a burden.

Sincerely yours,

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want to thank you for so generously offering to come to speak at Yale on February 23. I have reserved Woolsey Hall, in which you spoke before, for that date and am writing the Governor today asking him if he would be kind enough to introduce you.

You may remember that you were generous enough to say that you might be willing to make a pledge toward the Religion and Labor Foundation for this coming year. We should be most grateful if you could let us know about this.

With deep appreciation and high regard,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

December 23, 1936
PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF RELIGION AND LABOR JOIN HANDS

in NEW HAVEN

1. To provide an exchange of speakers and leaders between religious and labor organizations.
2. To promote the Co-operative Movement by helping the local Consumers' Club.
3. To build up attendance at the Open Forum of the Central Labor Council.
4. To furnish data to ministers and religious organizations on the living conditions of workers - wages, diet, housing, health.
5. To cooperate with the Central Labor Council in carrying through its clearly defined progressive program announced last January.
6. To publicize prompt, authentic reports on industrial conflicts that may arise.
7. To set up special committees to raise funds for the Eddy Delta Farm in Mississippi, and for the New Era School under the leadership of Rev. Claude C. Williams.
8. To put on a union label campaign to encourage churches and social agencies to purchase union made and approved commodities.
9. To aid professional groups which are affiliated with organized labor such as the American Federation of Teachers.
10. To employ a Graduate Fellow to do organizational work with the youth of the city.
11. To fight for the preservation of civil liberties in the community.

in CONNECTICUT

1. To organize local branches of the R. L. F. in two industrial centers where there are councils of churches and central labor bodies.
2. To encourage a constructive relationship between church councils and central labor bodies in these centers by an exchange of fraternal delegates.
3. To conduct one week-end seminar to New York to have conferences with the heads of national and international organizations in the fields of religious, labor and economic relations.
4. To publicize the votes of legislators on measures related to problems of labor and industry.
5. To set up commissions to aid in the investigation of industrial disputes, to furnish accurate data to the interested public, and urge prompt and fair adjustments.
6. To hold an annual Institute on Church and Labor Relations to appraise the economic and legal status of the worker and develop coordinated forms of action.

across the NATION

1. To urge councils of churches, ministerial associations, youth movements and labor bodies, to affiliate with the R. L. F. and accept an exchange of fraternal delegates.
2. To make at least one concrete demonstration in an individual industrial community of what the Religion and Labor Foundation can do to aid the forces of labor.
3. To organize Claude Williams Clubs to publicize conditions in Arkansas and raise funds for the New Era School in Little Rock.
4. To set up two Traveling Economic Seminars in 1937, one in the South and one in the Pacific Northwest.
5. To double the number of subscriptions to Economic Justice and introduce special additional pages for particular labor unions.
6. To set up a few Locals of the Foundation in experimental centers prepared to act in emergency situations.
7. Help trade and industrial union organizers by introducing them to progressive clergymen and teachers in the local community.
8. Coöperate with allied movements, such as Workers Defense League, Southern Tenant Farmer's Union, American Civil Liberties, et cetera.
Our Need...

PROPOSED NATIONAL BUDGET
1936 - 1937

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jerome Davis, Chairman
Herman A. Bratigan
P. H. Callahan
Allan K. Chalmers
Elizabeth Christman
Eleanor Copenhaver
Sidney Goldstein
Hubert C. Herring
John Haynes Holmes
Stephen S. Wise

L. Hollingsworth Wood, Treasurer
Edward L. Israel
John A. Lapp
Douglas C. Macintosh
A. J. Muster
Reinhild Niebuhr
Frank Olmstead
A. Philip Randolph
Charles C. Webber

Staff

Executive Secretary
Willard Uphaus
Regional Secretaries:
H. E. Kahn, Denver Area
Howard A. Kester, Tennessee
Claude C. Williams, Arkansas

* * *

If you want to know how ministers and teachers are helping labor in its advance toward peace, security and democracy,

Write to the
Religion and Labor Foundation
87 Orange Street
New Haven, Connecticut

The R. L. F. at Work
in NEW HAVEN
in CONNECTICUT
across the NATION

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

... is an Inter-faith Quest in the Interest of Social and Economic Justice.
February 3, 1937

My dear Mr. Davis:

Many thanks for your letter. I will not arrive in New Haven until the afternoon of the 23d, and will go to Dr. and Mrs. Cushing and will also call on Dr. and Mrs. Ladd.

I will be glad to go to the dinner at six o'clock and Mrs. Scheider will be with me. I will leave for New York after the lecture.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
2110 Edwards Hall
New Haven, Conn.
Jan. 30, 1937

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

This is just to report to you that all is going forward here for your lecture at Yale University on the night of February 23rd. The entire Yale Glee Club will sing in your honor.

The teachers of the community are meeting at dinner at the Hotel Garde in your honor at six o'clock that evening also. This is the same Hotel at which you dined on the occasion of your last visit.

I think President Angell would like to entertain you for luncheon but he will doubtless write you directly.

If I can do any thing to help, please let me know. Should I reserve a place for anyone else besides yourself at the dinner?

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you very much for your note of February 3rd. The teachers are quite excited about your willingness to take dinner with them. We are delighted that Mrs. Scheider will be with you. I am enclosing two little leaflets about the American Federation of Teachers, under whose auspices you are to speak at the dinner.

Some of us are strongly sympathetic with the President’s move on the Judiciary, and are much amused at the opposition. I have been writing and speaking in favor of the plan.

With warm regards,

Jerome Davis

JD:it
Encl.
Information About the American Federation of Teachers

1. The American Federation of Teachers was organized in April, 1916, and was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in May, 1916.

2. At the present time there are 200 locals distributed throughout the country. New England to the Pacific Coast.

3. The largest locals are in New York City, Cleveland, Atlanta, and Chicago. These locals are called teachers unions, or federations, or by other names.

4. Locals may be formed in any city or county on the application of a minimum of seven members by any group of teachers except teachers in schools that are established for commercial or religious purposes. The organization is primarily for public school teachers, but teachers of any grade from kindergarten to university are eligible. Principals are eligible under certain time restrictions. Superintendents are not eligible.

5. Charters are issued after the proper application has been made to the national office at 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, on the payment of $10.00.

6. Each local pays Per Capita dues to the national organization at the rate of 10 cents to 40 cents per member per month, depending on the salaries of the members of the local.

7. Each local establishes the dues to be paid by its own members, depending on the extent and the expense of its own activities.

8. It is advised that each local affiliate with the state federation of labor and the city or county central labor body. The expenses of such affiliation are always low.

9. The American Federation of Teachers, like other unions, is autonomous within the American Federation of Labor. It cannot be compelled by any labor authority to take any action it does not wish to take. The conventions of the American Federation of Teachers constitute the authority of the organization.

10. Organizers are assigned to form locals in any part of the country and to advise charter members on the practical management of a local, as well as on policies related to local and sectional situations.

American Federation of Teachers
506 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

In an address at the University of Wisconsin

Professor Jerome Davis
Yale University

gives six reasons for joining the American Federation of Teachers:

First: such an organization protects salary, tenure, and intellectual freedom. One has only to remember the D. A. R. black list, the expulsions at the University of Pittsburgh, and the more recent outrageous incident in connection with Dr. H. A. Miller, at Ohio State University, to realize how narrow is the margin of freedom in many universities.

Second: this organization helps to bridge the gap between abstract theory and the realities of social life. The teacher stands in peculiar danger of being too theoretical, of divorcing ideas from action, of dealing with abstractions rather than actual life. The American Federation of Teachers prevents this as it is a teachers organization with a social program.

Third: the teacher needs to join the American Federation of Teachers because it is affiliated with the organized labor movement.

Teachers stand in danger of falling victims to smug respectability, of considering themselves as just a little bit better than the rank and file of workers. We need actually to become partners with the toiling millions. From a selfish standpoint this will secure the backing of millions of workers in a more effective way for an educational policy for which teachers stand.

Fourth: teachers need to join the American Federation of Teachers because it is the most progressive organization of teachers in the country.

Education needs to be remolded, experimented with; and this organization is willing to listen to new ideas before they become popular. Furthermore, it stands guard against dangerous legislation and the action of selfish predatory interests.

It was the American Federation of Teachers that was the first to protest against the Lusk Law. It was the same organization that protested against the bill for the censorship of history teaching. Again it was the Federation of Teachers which blocked turning Education Week into a period of disguised propaganda for militarism.

Fifth: we need organization because it is group solidarity that brings courage and fearlessness in speaking the truth.

We must all be kept from being intellectual serfs. The individual teacher alone may not dare speak out for the right in an unpopular cause but with an organization behind him, aggressive action for the right is possible.

Finally, without some such organization, education for democracy and democracy in education is made a hundred times more difficult. What would the conditions of labor be like in this country without labor unions? We should have complete economic serfdom. Organization is just as desperately needed in the educational field as in that of labor. Sociology teaches that it is group action which is most effective in our day. The teachers should be one of the most highly respected groups in the nation. This is possible only as they become more organized and more powerful. The American Federation of Teachers gives them not power or organization for selfish personal ends but for the welfare of all children and of society itself.
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

On behalf of the Yale Divinity School and the Henry Wright Cottage Committee, as well as on behalf of the teachers of New Haven, may I express our deep appreciation to you for so generously giving of your time in coming to New Haven? I have heard nothing but the highest praise of your two talks and I am sure they accomplished great good.

With great appreciation for your generosity to us all,

Very sincerely yours,

[J.D.'s signature]

February 27, 1937

Yale University
The Divinity School

409 Prospect Street
New Haven, Connecticut
March 4, 1937

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you very much for sending me the clippings. I really enjoyed my visit to New Haven very much indeed.

I will let you know as soon as I hear anything.

Very cordially yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
The Divinity School
Yale Univ.
February 25, 1937

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you might be interested in the account in the Yale News of your address. The photographer apparently caught you in a very delightful but perhaps not so usual pose.

I perhaps should have said to you in speaking about possible appointments in the Social Security or the Department of Labor that I am on a teaching schedule until June. I have also agreed to take a group of professors to Europe for the Bureau of University Travel in July and August. Consequently any appointment for me should begin in September. Of course if it was important enough I could get away by cancelling some of these commitments.

Again thanking you for the generous service you have rendered us all,

Cordially yours,

[Signature]

Thanks & glad the photograph was good

[Handwritten note]
President’s Wife Delivers Address
At Woolsey Hall

Before Audience of 1700
First Lady Pleads For
Human Goodness

GLEE CLUB ENTERTAINS

We must have a feeling that we are part of the common life of the country, that nothing in life is alien to us, that nothing is beyond the pale, that there is nothing that does not touch us,” so stated Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt to a large audience of 1700 in Woolsey Hall last night, when she delivered the address for the Henry Wright Cottage Fund.

Presented by Judge

The “First Lady” was introduced by Judge Patrick O’Sullivan, 1908, as the “most gracious in manner, kindly in every action, leader by hereditary, crusader by choice, humanitarianized by instinct.” She proceeded to win over an enthusiastic gathering by her address on “Human Welfare and the Common Life.”

Describing the many interests she has had since she was a child, Mrs. Roosevelt said it was necessary for us to broaden our field of investigation if we were to obtain our common goal of human welfare. She highly recommended Martha Glidborne’s Play “Trouble in Here Sews,” a book in which the author describes several conditions as she saw them as a WPA investigator. “By reading this we could actually enter into some phases of life which we had not previously been familiar with, and they so increase our basis for understanding and our immersion in the common life,” Mrs. Roosevelt stated.

Interest in Fellow Men

The President’s wife said that she had recently been approached by a gentleman who invited her to a song festival to be held by some mountaineers. When she accepted readily, he said, “there are many things you believe that I do, but there are many things you do that I don’t like.”

Further investigation brought out that there was a strong similarity between Mrs. Roosevelt and the gentleman’s wife, both of whom had a great interest in their fellow human beings. Mrs. Roosevelt wanted to hear the mountaineers, his wife wanted him to build new homes for his employees. This he did, only to find that they did not receive any more pleasure.

President’s Wife Delivers Address

(Continued from Page One)

from their new homes than they had from their old dwellings.

He therefore came to the entirely false conclusion that they were incapable of appreciating better things.

The gentleman appeared himself by saying that there are some people who are destined to lead miserable existences on this earth. His employer’s wife, however, declared Mrs. Roosevelt could have appreciated his improvements warmly if he had brought them on gradually and with an understanding of his workers. He did not have enough imagination to share their point of view, and by not sharing this, he could not participate in the common life.

Experience Important

“Every day we are beginning to realize how very necessary a study of our own surroundings is to our understanding of the common life. Only when we have had a vast amount of experience among a variety of people can we really enter into it.”

“In this country we are coming to a certain point of view where the human element is more important than any material consideration, we are making one step in the direction of the brotherhood of man. If we ever hope to have the common life, we must never lose sight of this great desire to participate in the common life if we were not eventually to become a reality.”

The program was opened by the Glee Club which gave a rendition of Mother of Men, Old Yale, Mrs. Roosevelt was particularly pleased with this song, the first of the six presented.

(Continued on Page Three)
March 17, 1937

My dear Mr. Davis:

Mr. Frank Bane, executive
Director of the Social Security Board,
suggests that you write him giving
details about yourself and the type of
position that would interest you.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
The Divinity School
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
Mr. Jerome Davis  
Religion and Labor Foundation  
Hotel Woodstock  
New York, New York  

Congratulations on the splendid work you have done and good wishes for the future.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT  

May 24, 1937
On Tuesday evening, May 25th, the Religion and Labor Foundation is giving a testimonial dinner to Professor Jerome Davis at the Hotel Woodstock in New York City. It would be very encouraging to Professor Davis and to us all if we could receive a word of greeting from you. You know how much Professor Davis has been doing for years in behalf of the underprivileged of the land, and of us believe that his work in relation to the organized labor movement has been one of the chief causes why he has been let out of Yale University. One reason we are having this dinner is to let the world know that Professor Davis has many friends who have greatly respected him for his courageous work.

Very sincerely yours,

Willard Upham
Executive Secretary
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am not sure that I thanked you for your generous words at the dinner which was held in my honor at New York. I deeply appreciated your taking the time from your busy life to think of me.

In view of the two addresses which President Angell has just made to the graduating class, one attacking the President of the United States and the other implying that as a result of the present administration the nation faces communism using fascist methods (see the enclosed clipping from the Times), I think it is almost an honor to be discharged by him!

I never cease to marvel at all you are able to accomplish for the good of the people. I am just off for Europe and Russia, taking a group for the Bureau of University Travel. Again may I thank you for all you have done for us here in New Haven.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Davis
Dr. Angell at Yale Warns That Nation Faces Communism Using Fascist Methods.
My dear Mr. Davis:

I would like to see you but am afraid it will not be possible on the Fourth. I am leaving that day on a lecture trip and every minute seems to be filled. Perhaps we can arrange it when I get back.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
459 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D.C.  

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You may remember that I have recently returned from a trip through Europe, especially in the Soviet Union. I expect to be in Washington on November 4. If you should happen to be free and in the city on that day I would be very happy if I could have the opportunity to see you for a few minutes.

I have been much amused at all the propaganda about Black. I am inclined to think the conservatives have overplayed their hand on the issue.

With high esteem,

Respectfully yours,

Jerome Davis
December 7, 1937

Dear Mr. Davis:

I was glad to have your interesting note from Brazil. I will look forward to seeing you when you return, and I hope you have a fine trip throughout.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
On the Routes of the Flying Clipper Ships
Rio de Janeiro
Brazil
Thanksgiving Day

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am afraid I may not have thanked you for your very good letter. I am now on a tour of South America by air. I am taking quite a few pictures which are interesting. Perhaps I will send some of them to you on my return. They may serve to remind the President of his recent visit.

Rio is certainly a beautiful city and Brazil as a whole is a most interesting country. What great problems confront the
rulers and the people. Have been interested in the new Constitution. I expect to see the new Minister of Justice, Campos, in a few days and perhaps President Vargas also. Will hope to see you on my return to Washington in December.

Sincerely

Gionne Davis
489 Ocean Ave.
West Haven, Conn.
January 11, 1938

My dear Mr. Davis:

I was interested in your letter and will be very glad to see you. Do let me know in advance when you expect to be in Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am back from travelling over 15,000 miles by air in South America. Have been syndicating articles on Brazil. You will see comment on them in the current issue of Time.

I appreciated your note and should be only too happy to call to see you any time you can spare a few minutes. I was glad to hear from my friends at the Cooperative League of America that you managed to see them.

You will be interested to know that in all my air-plane travel in South America I could only find one American business man who supported the President. I should hesitate to quote from them. It was humorous and pathetic. To such extent has brain atrophy set in among those who are blinded by the desire for excessive profits.

Let me know any time that is convenient as I have to run up to Washington every now and then anyway.

Cordially,

Jerome Davis
Malvina T. Scheider  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt  
Washington D.C.  

Dear Miss Scheider,  
I certainly enjoyed my luncheon at the White House. I have just returned from lecturing to large audiences in Florida. Everywhere I went my references to the President were received with applause. However, on my return I received the enclosed critical letter the only one I have had from all the people who heard me. Because of its references to Mrs. Roosevelt I am sending it to you together with my reply. If Mrs. Roosevelt would be amused by the references to her, you might care to show it to her on the other hand if you think best just throw it away together with my reply.  

This note requires no answer.

Cordially,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis
Daytona Beach, Florida,  
January 28, 1938.

Dr. Jerome Davis,  
Yale University,  
New Haven, Connecticut.

My dear Sir:

Having heard your address in the auditorium here recently I desire to convey to you some questions some of the audience as well as myself are pondering over.

Possibly the cooperative plan of business in our nation might be the means of solving some of the friction between capital and labor. Were you worth a million dollars and invest one-tenth of it in some legitimate business, would you do so for profit or just to make an investment to help the public in general? Profit is the only incentive that induces man in America in all walks of life to make investments. They expect some time in the future to wrestle with old age and want to be prepared for it. Also it is human nature to want profit. If you should invest the above sum—if you had it—and not do it for profit, you are an odd human being. Two, Henry Ford has been the means of bringing bread and meat to more adults and more children than any industrialist in America. He has paid a higher wage than any man I feel you could mention. If I were he I would discharge every Red or Communist in my plant, causing any trouble in any way, or any other person. It is his property and under the constitution he has the right to say what he desires about his own property. He is an American and capable of handling his own business. This is a free country or suppose to be, I say let him alone under such conditions. He has come up from a one-horse plow. Fortune and his business sense met at the cross-roads. Three, I am unable to see that a man with all the intelligence you possess should pay Mrs. Roosevelt such a compliment. Their family record since being in the White House is rotten. She helped to get two divorces for a son and a daughter in Reno since March 4, 1933. F.D.R. always makes long trips alone. She never goes along. That is never the way in America. Some time ago a large group of good wives and mothers of Michigan sent her a protest because she made in a public address a statement to the effect that young women should smoke and drink to have the experience. Now she is about to bob her hair, a pretty specimen for the woman, a lady, in the White House. I suppose she smoke cigarettes and drinks cocktails, and then for a man of your type to praise such a WOMAN, a lady, is far more than I can see. She is never to be the type of woman to be the leader of my mother, nor any true, decent mother. Recently she lectured to a large group of P.T.A. workers in Birmingham, Alabama, and when she finished she demanded the proceeds and left town. So help me God I WILL NOT endorse such a type of womanhood. I am sure Jesus Christ would never have such standards for motherhood and decent womanhood as she. She is a disgrace to follow Dolly Madison and Grace Coolidge.

Yours for American standards and true, decent motherhood.

[Signature]

Samuel Darrow
Dear Mr. Samuelson:

Thank you for your letter. I always welcome letters and criticisms from my audience. Let me answer your three points in their order:

1. In regard to the cooperatives, I am glad you also feel that they may be of some help. I recognize the incentive of the profit motive but believe it should be guided into channels which serve the common good as well as self interest so far as possible. I think the Consumers Cooperative movement does this to a considerable degree. I suggest you read the book by Childs, Sweden, The Middle Way. (Yale Press, New Haven, Conn.)

2. I share with you the feeling that Henry Ford has been a great benefactor of the human race but I think the United States Government is bigger and greater than any one man. I feel that Henry Ford must observe the laws laid down by Congress and I think he must abide by the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board. It is not a question of his discharging a Communist. It is a question of whether he should be permitted to discharge a worker simply because he belongs to the trade union. I think in the end Henry Ford will permit his workers to join the union and they should do so.

3. In regard to Mrs. Roosevelt, I can speak with far more assurance than on the other two points because I know her and you don't. I happen to know that she does stand for high Christian ideals. I know of no other lady in America who is doing more for the poor and the needy and for great and noble causes than she is doing. Instead of keeping the money which she makes from her radio and lecture work, she is devoting it to humanitarian causes for the common good.

When Mrs. Roosevelt came to New Haven last year to speak to the public school teachers she not only paid all her own travelling expenses but even would not permit us to pay her taxi fare. Her life of service speaks for itself.

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis
Sixth Russian Seminar

UNIVERSITY TRAVEL Summer School, Sociological Aspects of the Soviet Union. An impartial study of Soviet problems and progress with emphasis on such social institutions as the Family and the School; industry and agriculture. Designed to develop an intimate picture of the new world of the Soviet Union, the fruits of yesterday’s planning, the seeds of the future. (Bureau of University Travel Certificate, specifying the character of instruction received in various subjects and suitable for validation by School and College authorities may be applied for in advance of sailing.) (No prerequisites.)

As the Sixth Russian Seminar is announced one may well ask, "What is the magnet that draws people to travel in the U.S.S.R., or having been there once, why do they eagerly plan to go again?" Perhaps the answer is that it is unlike any other country in the world. The look of it is different. Its people think and act differently in important respects. The tone and tempo are different.

Jerome Davis Knows the U.S.S.R.

That may not be everyone’s answer to the reason for Soviet travel, but certainly Dr. Davis provides ample reason for the preference of Russian travellers for the Bureau Seminar tour. Beginning back in World War times, his experience in Russia represents such activities as being in charge of 150,000 war prisoners in Turkestan, in charge of Russian Y.M.C.A. work, industrial investigation work in 1926 for a group of American business men, technical adviser (with Mr. E. A. Filene and others) for a labor delegation in 1927, on personal investigation work in 1932 and 1935, and leader of the Bureau’s Fifth Russian Seminar in 1937. The charm of his personality and his genius for stimulating leadership brought spontaneous expressions of enthusiasm from all who shared the enjoyment of last year’s tour.

Breathless!

However leisurely our itinerary may be planned, the U.S.S.R. is a breathless country. Here are 170 million people striving toward the achievement of a mighty goal. Farms, homes, libraries, workers’ apartments and clubs, health centers; the great industries of the country — steel, tractors, oil, textiles; even its recreation at such resorts as Yalta and Odessa and in all the major cities — every phase of living is tempered with the concepts of socialism. With Dr. Davis as leader, the 1938 Seminar is the chance of a lifetime, for enjoyment, for accurate information, and for interpretation of this exciting new country.

TOUR S18: Sail from New York, June 22 on the M.S. PILSUDSKI arriving Copenhagen, June 30, continue as shown in calendar to Moscow, July 11, thence to Berlin and Hamburg sailing Westbound from Hamburg, July 14 on the S.S. NEW YORK arriving New York, July 22.

Prices: With third class ocean passage $525. With tourist class ocean passage $514.

TOUR S19: Sail from New York, June 22 on the M.S. PILSUDSKI and continue throughout as shown in the calendar, sailing Westbound from Gdynia, July 29 on the M.S. BATORY arriving New York, Aug. 8.

Prices: With third class ocean passage $725. With tourist class ocean passage $631.

Bureau of University Travel
Newton, Mass.
Scandinavian Travel Seminar
Nils G. Sahlin, Ph.D., director; Department of German Languages, Fellow of Timothy Dwight College, Yale University.

UNIVERSITY TRAVEL Summer School, Social and Political Aspects of Scandinavian Democracy. An exploration of modern living in Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, plus a brief comparison with fascist Germany, socialist U.S.S.R. and the modified democracies of Poland and England. A broad-gauge course with opportunities for specialization of interests. (Bureau of University Travel Certificate may be applied for in advance of sailing.)

A tour for MODERNs! To just a touch of Germany, Poland and the U.S.S.R., countries where life marches in spectacular procession, there is joined a four weeks' itinerary in Scandinavia, a land of steady growth and orderly development. Whether the major interest of the traveller be social, political or artistic, Dr. Sahlin will reveal the stimulating contribution his native Sweden and its neighbors have to make. Here in the "near" North, in the midst of a country of incomparable beauty, a people of great technical skill and spiritual vigor have carried forward their cultural achievements from remote antiquity to modern times, always a step ahead!

A Rich Harvest
Is it the arts which interest you most? The Scandinavians have a supreme ability for applying them to everyday affairs, in their dress, their architecture, the crafts of peasant life.

Are your most intimate interests in the fields of the social and political sciences? Then city housing, the co-operative movement, and evidence of the achievement of a high degree of liberty and prosperity for both business and labor claim your attention from every side.

Perhaps your first interest is to see the source of a people who have made such a vast twentieth century progress, their antiquities? Nowhere else in Europe has freedom from the strife and pillage of recurring wars permitted such a degree of retention of historic landmarks of unusual interest and significance. You may not be able to stay forever in these northern countries... but you will want to.

For the Modern American, absorbed in the present with its golden opportunities for experience and adventure, yet with a keen eye for the past and the future—for you, this is the perfect modern Argosy.

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*By Motor

1965: Complete tour shown in calendar.

Prices: With third class ocean passage $455. With second class ocean passage $615.


Price: With third class ocean passage $815. With second class ocean passage $1,335.

Price: With third class ocean passage $1,645. With second class ocean passage $4,055. With first class ocean passage $7,495.
March 15, 1938

My dear Mr. Davis:

I gave your letter to the President and am enclosing the memorandum he sent me in reply. I am afraid the world is not idealistic enough as yet!

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jesse Davis
489 Ocean Ave.
West Haven, Conn.
March 1, 1938

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am very seriously considering the opportunity at the University of Newark. The Department of Human Relations, as projected there, is of great interest. The one difficulty is a matter of finances and we are applying to the Carnegie Foundation to remedy that.

President Hutchins of the University of Chicago has agreed to go on the Advisory Council. We intend to have others, such as Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York.

We should like very much to have you consent also to be on this Advisory Council. As I told you, we will be carrying forward adult education in New Jersey, utilizing all the resources of the University and studying the origin and growth of prejudice concretely in the local communities. Your name, in addition to the others, would be of great value. It is not our intention to impose on your time except that we would appreciate the opportunity of mailing you our annual report of work done.

I have been troubled by the situation in Russia and the latest announcement regarding the trials in the Soviet Union. I fear this will make still more difficult the building of understanding and good will between the American people and the Soviet Union.

I think the American Government should have an unofficial observer at these trials who could report personally to the President about the whole situation. I am quite well aware that Mr. Henderson, in his capacity of Charge d’Affaires, will probably attend. But it seems to me it would be very helpful if someone who knows all the background and the men on trial themselves could be present as a representative of the American Government.

If it were desirable I should be willing to leave immediately. I knew all these men from my work as head of the Y.M.C.A. during the World War. I have personally autographed pictures of Lenin and Stalin.
I could go directly to Stalin and get the inside story of at least what he thinks is true. I should think this would be of tremendous advantage to the United States Government. It would not be necessary to make any public announcement about this but simply to let the Russian Government know that I was representing the Government.

There may be reasons why this suggestion is not feasible. I do feel, however, that the momentous consequences of increased misunderstanding will be most unfortunate.

It may be said that anyone sent from here would arrive late for the trials but I think there is little doubt that if an individual went quickly he would arrive before the trials are over. After all, it is only a day by air from Berlin to Moscow.

The important thing is for the observer to be there as much of the trial as possible and that he also contact Stalin and others who know all sides of what is really happening.

I must say that all these trials make a bad impression on me as I know they must on the public at large.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
April 1, 1938

My dear Mr. Davis:

Much as I would like to serve on the Advisory Board for the Department of Human Relations of the University of Newark, I cannot do so as long as my husband is in office. When we leave Washington, I will be glad to consider it.

Very sincerely yours,

DDn

Mr. Jerome Davis
& Legislative Commission on Jails
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Washington D. C. 

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,  

Many thanks for the memorandum from the President. Perhaps I am a bit too utopian but I believe I could convince the President that the proposal was not entirely unthinkable from the other side. We all welcomed the President's suggestion for making America a haven for political refugees.

I hope very much that you will be willing to serve on the Advisory Board for the Department of Human Relations of the University of Newark. We will promise not to take your time other than to send you a semi-annual report of the work. Thus far, President Hutchins of Chicago, President Baker of Milwaukee, Dean Clark of the Yale Law School, Dr. McIver, Head of the Sociology Department of Columbia University, Clarence Pickett of the Friends Service Committee, and Sir Wilfred Grenfell have all agreed to serve. I enclose a brief preliminary report about the project.

Have just been in Washington helping to draft the bill for Federal Aid to Education. I believe that this bill can do more to protect the real needs of the country than the navy bill can ever do.

Cordially yours,

[Signature]

March 26, 1938
The University of Newark plans next year to establish a Department of Human Relations. This Department will carry on a program of adult education in five communities in New Jersey in which forums will be established and classes arranged. In connection with this work it is planned to study concretely the origin, growth and development of prejudices in each of these five local communities. At present a great deal is said about prejudice but we know relatively little about its origin and spread within the local community.

The forum would be the center from which this study would be made. The entire resources of the university would be available for this project and every professor who could make any contribution would be asked to concentrate on the problem. A series of weekly seminars in relation to the entire project with faculty members would ensure their cooperation.

The following outline gives a brief shorthand statement of the project:

I. Scope and Purpose

A. To make a contribution in the field of Adult Education
B. To study the origin, growth and development of group prejudices in the local community and to give a practical demonstration of how it can be constructively combated through adult education.
C. To start forums and group seminars in not over five communities in New Jersey.

II. Method

A. Analytical and diagnostic
   1. A faculty seminar to discover how various specialists can collaborate on the problems mentioned under I.
   2. To arrange arrangements with local agencies so that they will cooperate in this study through their various facilities and field workers.
B. Positive program
   1. The organization of public forums in not over five communities in or near Newark; these forums to cover a series of five or more addresses to be followed by discussion.
   2. These forums would also include discussion and might lead to research by discussion groups, adult classes, institutes and conferences.
   3. Efforts could be made to encourage:
      a. Broader social programs by schools, churches, clubs, and other institutions.
      b. The reading of books, especially along the lines discussed in the forum lectures. The books could be displayed in the local libraries before and after each lecture.
      c. Lectures by other organizations in the community.

III. Organization

A. A director with a full-time secretary and part-time assistant
B. A lecturer for a faculty seminar who would meet with a selected group from the faculty for an eight weeks period, to be followed by another eight weeks with the faculty plus representatives from outside agencies.
C. An advisory committee representing nationally known individuals and organizations which might cooperate. President Robert Hutchins of Chicago University has already consented to serve. The cooperation of the Bureau of Education of the Federal Government has already been promised.

IV. To undertake this program for a five year period during which the methods and results would be continually weighed and criticized.

V. Proposed budget

The University of Newark is prepared to assume one-half the budget or ten thousand dollars a year provided an equal amount can be obtained.
April 20, 1938

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am sorry that, as I will not be here, I cannot speak during your conference on May 7 and 8.

The President says he cannot see you at this time. However, I could see you sometime when you are here or in New York.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
FOR THE PRESIDENT

"FDR - Could you see him for a few minutes or should I ask for dinner? X.R."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR
MRS. ROOSEVELT

I am sorry but I cannot see him at this time.

F. D. R.
April 7, 1938

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Many thanks for your letter of April 1. I am delighted to know that you would be willing to consider serving on the Advisory Board for the Department of Human Relations whenever you leave the White House.

Just now I am planning a national conference to promote the enactment into law of the major recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. We plan to have this conference on Saturday and Sunday, May 7 and 8, in Washington. It will be held under the auspices of the National Education Association, the Progressive Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. We will also have one hundred or more of the leading organizations of the country act as sponsors.

The conference will take place at the National Press Club. We plan to have the conference open at 10 o'clock in the morning with President Hutchins of the University of Chicago. We would like very much if you could also speak at that time on the need for Federal aid for education.

At noon at a luncheon meeting, we have planned to have representatives of the three great religious bodies, Catholic, Protestant and Jews. In the afternoon, we hope to have both John L. Lewis and President Green as well as representatives of the farm organizations. Sunday morning, we plan to have representative from the Senate and the House. Most of the sessions will go out over the air.

I wish it might be possible for me to see the President about this conference. I am enclosing a memorandum which embodies some of my ideas on how money expended for education would aid in promoting recovery. If the President will promote the passage of a bill on Federal aid to education at this session, I feel certain that we could get all the organizations, including both the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. behind it.
President Green has already given me assurance that he would speak. If Green and Lewis were drawn together on the common platform of devotion to the welfare of the children and youth of the country, it would be a spectacular gesture which would also aid in promoting recovery, I should think.

I hope you will forgive me for writing at such length but I feel the importance of the matter makes it necessary.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
MEMORANDUM from Jerome Davis, President of the American Federation of Teachers, representing 30,000 teachers.

In the ninth year since the start of the depression, mass unemployment continues as the major problem of America. Figures compiled by the United States Office of Education indicate that some five million young people, between the ages of 16 and 25, are out of school and out of work.

Unemployment is especially tragic to young people who see no hope, no prospect of jobs, of normal life, of careers and marriage in the future. Unable under present conditions to realize their legitimate hopes in life, their plight forces them into a mental and spiritual state which makes them the easy prey of demagogues and potential dictators.

In view of these circumstances, we of the American Federation of Teachers recommend a definite program to the Congress of the United States which we believe of even greater importance than vast military and naval expenditures.

1. Utilize at once our schools as centers of child welfare. At least 6,549,000 children, approximately 22.2 per cent of the 29,500,000 pupils now attending school, are suffering from physical handicaps -- such as weak hearts, tuberculosis, impaired sight and hearing, defective speech, and undernourishment -- according to researches of the United States Office of Education. Researches conducted by the United States Public Health Service indicate that 66 per cent of American children have decayed teeth, 32 per cent have defective vision, and 21 per cent have bad tonsils. Further, we hold that every child in America is entitled to at least one nourishing meal a day, served through his school without cost.

Figures supplied by the United States Office of Education and the Department of Agriculture reveal that dairy and farm facilities to the extent of 4,500,000 cows, one and a fourth million acres of vegetable truck farms, and 1,500,000 acres of fruit farms could be so utilized in supplying food to be served by the schools without cost. This would enlarge the home market for our farmers.
It would comprise a national investment in child health -- an investment basic to the moral and spiritual, as well as to the physical welfare of our people. Every child has a right to care and nurture and food. This is not charity; it does not carry the stigma of indigency, any more than free public education carries that stigma.

This child welfare program would create immediate employment for 31,037 physicians, 80,200 dentists, and 63,628 nurses, according to statistics compiled for 1936 by the I.S. Falk Memorial Fund.

2. Rehabilitate the school plant. According to the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, approximately 1,400,000 children are housed daily in school buildings condemned as unsafe or unsanitary; 1,000,000 children are housed in abandoned stores, churches, lodge halls, and similar quarters. Millions attend school on a part-time basis or are herded together in buildings loaded beyond their planned capacities. More than forty per cent of our school houses were erected before the opening of the present century; thousands now in use date back to the Civil War period. Our construction industry continues to lag behind the rest of American industry. Immediate erection of needed schools would stimulate this vital industry. It would provide employment at union wages. It would comprise an investment of immediate necessity and lasting value.

3. Restore to the children those educational and health activities dropped as a result of the depression and provide such activities for children who have never had them.

These include nursery schools, playgrounds, community centers, health-building activities, and guidance and vocational clinics.

These activities are needed to ward off crime, mental disease, and physical deterioration.

4. Establish many more forums throughout the nation to help realize the public school ideal of an intelligent, informed public.
Let every school house be a place for the full, frank and free discussion of the great issues before our nation. Let every act of government, local and federal -- let every point of view -- be subject to full discussion and searching criticism. Let these forums study carefully the propaganda of those who oppose free public education and determine what interests such propaganda represents. In this manner, let the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights of our Constitution be engraved on the minds and hearts of our people.

We would say to the members of Congress, that the ideals expressed in this program represent American democracy at its best. They go back to the founders of our Republic and of our public schools. Voiced by Horace Mann and supported by the humble folk of America, they gave to our land a system of free public education.

Good Americans today, as in the time of Horace Mann, want these ideals realized. We declare that democracy in America is unsafe as long as it can be said -- as the President has said -- that millions of our people are "ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed."

It is possible to end poverty only if the American people have the advantages of free democratic education. The first step must be the maintenance and extension of public schools. To keep our schools true to the American democratic ideal government funds for education should be expended only for public schools -- in accordance with the Constitutional provision for separation of church and state; and local communities, not the federal government, should control public schools and public forums -- in accordance with the Constitutional provision for freedom of speech, press, and assembly.

The children of today need this program. Professor Paul R. Nort's study, made under the auspices of the federal government during the Hoover Administration,
shows what expenditures are needed and where they are needed. President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education has more recently brought in an excellent report with recommendations.

We urge support for the revised Harrison-Fletcher Bill and its enactment at this session.

These millions of children and youth should not be kept waiting further.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Many thanks for your good letter of April 20th. I hesitate to impose any extra burden either on you or the President in a period like this but it would be very nice if we could have a word of greeting to the Conference either from one or both of you.

You will remember that the Conference is to promote Federal aid to education in line with the President's Advisory Committee on Education Report. We have achieved the miracle of securing support both from President Green of the A. F. of L. and John L. Lewis! At the Conference we will have various Senators speak as well as President Graham of the University of North Carolina and President Baker of Milwaukee.

We believe in Federal Aid to Education because it is the only way we can achieve a more equal educational opportunity for all the children of the nation. I enclose two pages from our national periodical which please don't feel you have to read.

Our Conference occurs in the Auditorium of the National Press Club, Washington on May 7th and 8th and if you could send a word of greeting to me in advance to be read there or a telegram at the time, it would be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis
Federal Aid Moves Forward

The public school system in the United States greatly needs improvement. Glaring inequalities characterize educational opportunities and expenditures for schools throughout the nation. The level of educational service that can be maintained under present circumstances in many localities is below the minimum necessary for the preservation of democratic institutions. Federal aid is the only way in which the difficulties in this widespread and complex situation can be adequately corrected.

Thus begins the official summary of the general conclusions of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. These are stirring and heartening ideas, immensely encouraging to those who have long felt that Federal aid is indispensable if the severe crisis in education is to be relieved, and if the unjustifiable inequities are even to be partially corrected.

There are many enemies of Federal aid to education. Some are deluded, some hypocritical, some misinformed. At the moment of writing, they have not yet become articulate, but the brass bands of the parade of opposition, honest and otherwise, will soon be blaring. It is of prime importance that every AFT member memorize certain minimum facts about Federal aid, and utilize the present situation for spreading knowledge about the proposal. The excellent analysis by Charles H. Thompson appearing in this issue gives all the important data. The administration in Washington is distinctly favorable to the whole idea.

It is particularly gratifying that the committee's proposals on Federal aid parallel in so many respects the provisions of the O'Day-Scott Bill, introduced at the instance of the AFT.

The Committee recommended not merely Federal aid, but educational equalization. By adequate safeguards it would be made certain that Negro education and rural education receive sufficient assistance to bring them closer to equality with white and urban schools. The Committee recommends state control of planning and supervision of instruction, thus overcoming that old bogey of Federal interference with state rights.

The general problem of the education of youth received the attention of the Committee. In this connection, it recommended that the CCC and the NVA be combined, and that the new agency take over control of the CCC camps because long-continued use of the army to administer a civilian educational enterprise was not in the American tradition.

One aspect of the Federal aid proposal has already aroused much discussion. It is the recommendation whereby the states would be permitted to allocate limited funds to non-public schools, to be used for transportation of students, textbooks, scholarships for pupils 16 to 19 years old, and for health and welfare services. Such a recommendation is questionable, since it violates the principle of separation of church and state. In evaluating this proposal, however, the following points must be remembered: 1. the expenditure of such funds is permissive, not obligatory; 2. 43 of the 48 states have laws or constitutional clauses (or both) whereby such distribution of funds to non-public schools is impossible. Under the circumstances, it would seem wiser to get the Federal aid law on the books now, and to fight against distribution of funds to non-public school groups in the few states where such a possibility arises. To center attention exclusively on this feature of the bill would endanger the possibility of any Federal aid at the present time.

Warm congratulations are due to Professor Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman, and to the other members of the Committee for a thoroughgoing, realistic, and progressive report. The next job is to whip their recommendations into proper form for introduction into Congress. This is now being done by combined NEA and AFT agencies.

Congratulations are also in order for the hardworking AFT National Legislative Committee and National Legislative Representatives. However, their job is still largely ahead of them, in spite of much spadework accomplished. Each union member has an urgent task to perform in this connection. Write to your Senator and your Congressmen. Tell them what you think of Federal aid to education.
The AMERICAN TEACHER
MARCH-APRIL, 1938

VOLUME XXII
NUMBER 4

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Growth of the AFT

The January per capita report presents an encouraging picture. The total paid up membership in January, 1938, represents a 58 per cent gain over the same month in 1937, is more than twice the membership of the same month in 1936, and is more than three times the membership reported for December, 1934. By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that at the time of the A.F.L. convention at Denver only three unions out of approximately one hundred showed a greater gain in convention votes since 1929 than the American Federation of Teachers. . . . It is a significant fact in education in America that thousands of teachers are awakening to

the need for organization and united action. In the cities of New York, Chicago, and Cleveland more than 15,000 teachers have joined the ranks of the American Federation of Teachers. In such representative American cities as Atlanta, Ga.; Springfield, Ohio; Bloomington, Illinois; Parkersburg, West Virginia; and Butte, Montana, from 80 per cent to 100 per cent of the teachers are AFT members. Locals from coast to coast are experiencing splendid growth in membership. . . . Teachers are rapidly becoming cognizant of the fact that superintendents alone are helpless in withstanding the pressure of organized groups which are actively attempting to curtail school programs. It has become obvious that teachers themselves must unite to protect educational standards and to solve their own economic problems. . . . The present rapid growth of the American Federation of Teachers indicates that teachers of America are taking a serious interest in the task of building a citizenry for a democracy in the richest nation in the world.

Big Business Finds Its Voice

In their articles on “Big Business Finds its Voice” in Harper’s for January and February, S. H. Walker and Paul Sklar point out that while big business was demoralized by the depression and since 1929 has been scorned by the public and attacked by the politicians, big business has not capitulated. Instead, it is determined to sell itself as successfully as it sells its products. In selling itself, big business stresses that the prosperity of all of us is dependent on the prosperity of business, that America has the highest standard of living in the world, and that capitalism has made such a high standard possible. . . . Every avenue of propaganda—advertising, radio, speakers, and movies—is used to sell the virtues of business. Backed by General Motors, the du Ponts, Ford, and U. S. Steel, the message of business is entering every home and every school. Particularly successful has been the penetration into the public schools of business propaganda in the guise of scientific films. Teachers, seldom critical, and anxious to take advantage of these films, rarely question their point of view. Few teachers realize that the philosophy and the program of big business are influencing their thinking and the thinking of their students. Under numerous slogans to the effect that what is good for business is good for the people, the propaganda of big business has as its aim to discourage the growing conception that government is a legitimate agency for remedying the maldistribution of wealth through use of the taxing power to pay for social legislation, such
Educational Kaleidoscope

Teachers are being arrested in Japan. On a single day it was reported that in Tokyo fifteen government and private university professors had been arrested and that throughout Japan three hundred and seventy-five others had been taken into custody. “Documents seized were said to show a program calling for opposition to Fascism and war and cooperation in world wide democratic movements.” One or two fearless presidents of Japanese universities have resigned, the others remain silent. Two American teachers return to the United States rather than remain silent and impotent while the rape of China continues. In China American schools are being destroyed with American scrap iron fired by Japanese soldiers.

In Brazil we find illiteracy, poverty, disease, and dictatorship. In Spain schools are being destroyed and children forced to fight almost before they become old enough to bear a gun. Meanwhile our government refuses the right to trade with Loyalist Spain. Apparently the world is not yet safe for free public school education dedicated to truth and the common good. Even in our own country in spite of all our educational heritage only about twelve per cent of our adults graduate from high school. In some states the appropriation for Negroes actually sinks as low as $5.20 per year.

Believe it or not, at present in America we are not even teaching what democracy is, much less defending it. Professor Fraser of the University of Michigan has proved from an exhaustive examination of our text-books that our schools neither explain nor defend democracy. The result is that a child might easily think that even the Ku Klux Klan program, disguised as it often is under slogans such as “patriotic liberty and the right of private property” was democratic. No wonder many adults continue to fall victims to muddled thinking when it comes to the great issues confronting this nation. Some school boards would even penalize or expel an outstanding democratic teacher who joined the American Federation of Teachers movement while promoting or rewarding any nonentity who supports the status quo.

President Conant of Harvard recently reminded us that today eighty per cent of the families of the country receive no more than $2,000 a year and cannot afford to send their children to college. The United States therefore has a vast untapped reservoir of ability and brain power which is probably worth far more than all our untapped natural resources. To remedy this situation we should provide public scholarships to college and universities sufficiently generous to pay all expenses, and open on equal terms to the best brains of the rising generation, regardless of class. We need the conservation of human resources even more than natural resources.

The President’s Advisory Committee on Education has recently spoken. At last as a nation we are beginning to recognize that education needs national support. Elsewhere these proposals are commented on at length. Of course, the amounts proposed (only seventy million dollars next year) are inadequate as the committee itself recognizes, but this is a beginning. We do not approve of all the provisions but we do believe that on the whole the proposed program should have the enthusiastic backing of those who desire to see educational progress.

America hardly flickers when a billion dollar naval program is proposed. Yet in reality educational appropriations are of far more value. An intelligent, informed electorate, geographically situated as we are, can always protect itself. Ignorance is far more dangerous to America than hostile armies. Conversely, education is the very basis of peace, prosperity, and defensive power.

The American Federation of Teachers is engaged in a patriotic quest to build the best of possible educational systems. Already we are cooperating with the National Education Association and the Progressive Education Association. We also have a joint committee with the American Association of University Professors. We have long been actively working to promote Federal Aid to Education. We hope in the near future to call a great national conference at Washington to advance this cause.

Every member of our organization can well rejoice in the fact that from New York to Chicago, to Atlanta, and to the Coast we are going forward in the enrollment of public school teachers. By the time you read these words we shall have made a one hundred per cent gain in membership within a two year span. Chicago has become one of the three largest local unions of teachers in the world. The New York College Teachers Union has become the largest in its field. Yale and Harvard have long had locals. We welcome with this issue a new local at Princeton University. But the times require us to double and quadruple our efforts. Let us build a greater Federation, one in which we are promoting justice and unity, both within our own ranks and within the world of labor.

Jerome Davis.
Radio Education

Will Radio Replace the Teacher?

I. KEITH TYLER

The use of radio by teachers in the classroom undergoes attack from time to time by those who should be its best friends. Teachers who call themselves progressive and those who profess an interest in democracy in education should be the very ones who are most enthusiastic about the opportunities which radio affords for the education of children. Yet many teachers who pride themselves on their progressive educational practices turn a cold shoulder to radio education and a number of leaders in the American Federation of Teachers have taken up cudgels to attack it. Such is the unfortunate situation with regard to an educational tool which in itself is neither good nor bad! Like books or films, the radio can be used either for worthy or for unworthy ends.

Many of us who have devoted our time to a study of the field of radio education have thought that the old bugaboo “Radio will displace the teacher!” had long since been laid to rest. Direct teaching by radio, which comes nearest to taking over the functions of the teacher, has become less and less important in the thinking of most radio educators and broadcasts of this type occupy smaller and smaller proportions of time. Yet, in the epidemic emergency in Chicago, when the radio was used in makeshift fashion to do a small fraction of the job that the schools had been doing, some teachers raised the cry that their positions were endangered by this modern invention. They felt it their duty to attack radio education in the cause of teacher freedom.

This would be ridiculous if it were not so tragic. Sellers of soaps and mouthwashes, politicians and statesmen, demagogues, musicians and preachers, turn the radio to their own ends. But a few presumably enlightened teachers see in it only a threat to their own security. As though a mechanical invention in itself could ever nurture the young with that fine combination of artistry and scientific technique which represents teaching at its best.

Now that the Chicago schools have re-opened and the hue and cry has settled down, it ought to be possible to examine the radio as an aid and asset to the teacher without any one drawing the implication that the whole movement is an attack upon the security of teachers. Whatever may have been the hasty conclusions drawn by the Chicago school authorities as a result of their naive experience with emergency broadcasting, time and wise counsel have already sobered their thinking along modest lines. The newly organized Radio Council of the Chicago schools is trying to find out what broadcasts have to offer to aid education. I am sure that no one any longer believes, if he ever did, that a complete educational job can be done through broadcasting.

Let us understand at the outset just what radio education is. The radio is nothing more than a means of communication with certain potentialities greater than sight, reading, or direct experience, but at the same time with very definite limitations. The radio can provide experiences for children in the classroom but it cannot observe the results. It can take but little account of the individual needs and interests of children and it certainly cannot in itself provide either diagnosis or remedial treatment. In itself it is as purposeless as a book or a film. It becomes helpful and educational only when used judiciously in the accomplishment of desirable objectives by a teacher who knows the needs and interests of her particular group of children.

Democracy, to be effective, must rest upon the intelligence and understanding of those concerned. Provincialism, narrow textbook teaching, one-sided presentation of controversial issues, and preoccupation with skills and unrelated information, are all enemies of democracy because they tend to prevent the development of critical intelligence and social sensitivity on the part of children. The frequent use of the radio can do much to overcome provincialism, to supplement the textbook, to bring in all sides of controversial issues, to develop a concern with current problems and to educate emotions as well as intellect. For this reason, I believe that if the radio is used intelligently, it can make a tremendous contribution to the classroom. How can children be concerned only with their own neighborhood when they hear frequent dramatizations of life in other communities, when they follow the news via radio and when they witness by means of a radio commentator stirring events that occur in other parts of the world? And especially when a school does not have a good library nor adequate enrichment material the teacher can still supplement the textbook by bringing children into contact with great personalities, with fine music, with discussions of current problems, with dramatizations of folk tales and with various interpretations of history and geography.

In a similar way, I cannot understand why teachers who call themselves progressive are not among the foremost users of the radio. No doubt the reason is largely...
May 16, 1938

Dear Mr. Davis:

I gave your message to the President and he tells me there is nothing he can do this year to help with the passage of the bill for federal aid to education.

With my regrets, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Ave.
West Haven
Conn.
May 13, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR
MRS. ROOSEVELT

Nothing this year.

F. D. R.

This line blank.

[Signature]
April 29, 1938

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just received a letter from the National Education Association of the United States in regard to the bill for federal aid to education.

This has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Thomas, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. In the House it has been introduced by Congressman Fletcher, H.R. 10340.

The National Education Association says "unless the President takes the initiative and requests Congressman Larrabee to report the bill out, based on the Advisory Committee's report, I think we are going to have a rather difficult time getting the bill out in time to be voted on at this session."

Would it be possible for you to ask the President if he could do anything towards the passage of this bill?

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your note of May 16. I am sorry that the President does not see his way clear to helping with the passage of the Bill for Federal Aid to Education as this session, but I can well understand his position.

I wish you were in a position to accompany us on our tour to Europe this summer but I realize you probably have still more exciting tours to make.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis

We had a good conference at Washington.
JEROME DAVIS
Leads a Tour to
EUROPE and the
SOVIET UNION

EIGHT COUNTRIES:
ENGLAND
DENMARK
SWEDEN
FINLAND
U. S. S. R.
POLAND
GERMANY
FRANCE

$495 UP

BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL
NEWTON - - MASSACHUSETTS
SIXTH RUSSIAN SEMINAR

ITINERARY AND DAILY CALENDAR*

June 29 NEW YORK. Sail S. S. Normandie.

July 4 SOUTHAMPTON. Boat train to London. Preliminary sightseeing. Attend session of House of Commons or a theatre in the evening.

July 5 LONDON. The chief sights of the great City on the Thames—Westminster Abbey, the Tower, Parliament Houses, St. Paul's, the Government offices along Whitehall, etc.

July 6 En route to Copenhagen.

July 7 COPENHAGEN. Flourishing capital of the Danes, important center of the Co-operative Movement, to which special attention will be given during our drive about the city, one of the most interesting in Europe.

July 8 By ferry across the narrow Oresund to the Swedish port of Malmo, thence by rail through beautiful rural landscape to Stockholm.

July 9 STOCKHOLM. Magnificently situated between Lake Malaren and the Baltic Archipelago, Sweden's capital is unrivaled. Our city drive includes the superb Town Hall, symbol of the nation's democracy, and other sights. The highly developed system of Co-operatives will be carefully observed.

July 10 STOCKHOLM. Continue sightseeing, and in the afternoon board a steamer for Finland.

July 11 HELSINKI (HELSINGFORS). A trip about this handsome city of the Northland includes the new Parliament House, the Open Air Museum, the Co-operative centers, etc.

July 12-13 LENINGRAD. Beside the memorials of the Petrograd of Czarist days stand countless evidences of the new life that pulses through the Soviet Union. We see former palaces converted into social agencies, visit workmen's homes, nurseries, recreational centers, etc., and see the amazing contents of the famous Hermitage.

*This revised itinerary for the Sixth Russian Seminar (1938) supersedes all previous announcements.
July 14-18 MOSCOW. As capital of 170 million people
and a country of vast area, as the center from which
Soviet ideals and policies are disseminated throughout the en-
tire Union, Moscow is today one of the most fascinating cities
in the world. Our visit gives ample opportunity to see all
that is most interesting in the city and its environs: the Red
Square with Lenin's Tomb and the Kremlin, the Museum of the
Revolution, the Tretyakov Art Gallery, House of Boyar, Regis-
tries of Marriage and Divorce, the recently opened Lenin
Museum, the Central Park of Culture and Rest, the Propylae-
torium and the many projects still under way.

The BRIEFER TOUR leaves group at Moscow July 18.
By rail to Paris via Warsaw and Berlin, sail from Havre July
$495 with third class round trip ocean fare.
$590 with tourist class round trip ocean fare.

July 19-20 KHARKOV. A rapidly expanding city pul-
sating with new life, as evidenced in the huge Palace
of Industry (Europe's largest office building), the Children's
Palace, and the Sport Stadium.

July 21 SEVASTOPOL. We enter the heart of the Crimea,
a fertile region of great historical and contemporary
importance. In addition to the city itself we shall take the ex-
cursion to Chersonesus, the "Russian Pompeii," and then drive
over "the Crimean Corniche" via Balaklava to Yalta.

July 22-24 YALTA. The "pearl" of the Crimean Riviera,
surrounded by mountains that reach close to the
Black Sea. In this playground of Czarist days we have oppor-
tunity to observe its new uses as a recreation and vacation land
for Soviet workers and young people: the Pioneer Camp at
Artek, the rest camp of Selam; and Livadia, a sanatorium that
was formerly a summer residence of Nicholas II. Visit a
collective farm.

July 25 En route to Odessa by steamer.

July 26 ODESSA. Great seaport of the Ukraine. Sight-
seeing includes important points in the city and the
mud-bath sanatorium at Liman.

July 27-28 KIEV. Proud of its title of "Mother of Russian
Cities," the capital of the Ukrainian Republic is
both a cultural and industrial center. We contrast the ancient
beauty of the eleventh century Cathedral of Sancta Sophia
with the modern blocks of workmen's apartments and city offices.

July 29 WARSAW. A day in the stirring capital of
Poland, now one of the powerful nations of the
Europe that has evolved since the Treaty of Versailles.

July 30 En route across Poland and Germany to Berlin.

July 31 BERLIN. The Nazi capital of a nation that has
recently been aggrandized by the addition of
Austria's population of seven million.

Aug. 1 En route to Paris via Cologne.

Aug. 2 PARIS. As we spend a day in the beautiful city
on the Seine there will be opportunity to appraise
the results of the Popular Front Government.

Aug. 3 HAVRE. Sail S. S. Champlain.

Aug. 10 Arrive NEW YORK.

PRICES FOR COMPLETE TOUR
$685 with third class round trip ocean fare.
$790 with tourist class round trip ocean fare.

The TOUR and its LEADER

DR. JEROME DAVIS, leader of the Bureau’s Sixth Russian Seminar, is remarkably equipped to give an informative and stimulating interpretation not only of the Soviet Union today, but as well of the countries of Western Europe included in the tour.

Author, lecturer, world traveler, President of the American Federation of Teachers, Dr. Davis has long been a student of social, economic, and political questions both in this country and abroad. His acquaintance with the U. S. S. R. goes back to 1918 and the earliest days of the Revolution. He has since revisited the Soviet Union frequently; the last time as recently as 1937, when he conducted the Bureau’s Fifth Russian Seminar with unqualified success.

As an opportunity to gain a first-hand knowledge of the vital forces affecting the world in which we live, there could be no more valuable experience than to accompany Dr. Davis on this tour.

GENERAL INFORMATION

WHAT THE PRICES INCLUDE: The cost of the trip from New York to New York as described in this announcement includes round trip ocean passage at the minimum rate (whichever class you choose), rates as of November 1, 1937 (higher priced steamship accommodations available upon payment of the additional expense involved), United States and foreign taxes, first class hotel accommodations including room and three meals a day; first class on North and Baltic Sea steamers; second class rail except in England where third class is the equivalent of second on the Continent. In the U. S. S. R. tourist class accommodations are provided. Other items included in the price are motor transportation and motor excursions; transfers including luggage; tips to station porters, hotel porters, and other hotel employees for regular service rendered; travel programs, entrance fees, and tour leadership; one opera and one theatre performance; and our special baggage consisting of a hard case and portmanteau which become the property of the traveler.

WHAT THE PRICES DO NOT INCLUDE: Passport and visas (except for Russia which is included in the tour’s cost), tips to stewards on transatlantic steamers, steamer chair and rug, expenses of a personal nature such as laundry and beverages not included on the regular bill of fare.

HOW MEMBERSHIP IS SECURED. A deposit of $25 sent to the office of the Bureau of University Travel, Newton, Massachusetts, to your local travel agent, or to a Bureau representative secures membership in the tour. This deposit is refunded in full up until a month of the Eastbound sailing date if you cannot go. Steamship accommodations are allotted in the order of application and, since most travelers sail during the crowded season, it is imperative to register early if the better cabins are to be obtained. The balance of the cost of the tour is payable five weeks before sailing. A statement of the general character and conditions of University Travel is contained in our Permanent Announcement, “University Travel, Its Purposes and Methods,” the eleventh edition of which, with the above modifications, is hereby made a part of all our travel contracts.

Printed in U. S. A., 4/15/38
Schools to Preserve Democracy

By Jerome Davis,
President of the
American Federation of Teachers

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS,
506 South Wabash Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois
SCHOOLS TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY

America believes in free, tax-supported schools. Our very existence as a democracy depends on maintaining the public school system. But, to be effective education must be related to the changing social scene. Too often it is isolated behind cloistered walls.

We are living in stirring times. Spain, the battleground of democracy, proclaims to the world the horror and suffering which fascism brings. Japan is tolling the temporary death knell of civilization in the East, bombing, murdering, burning as she goes.

It may be some consolation to realize that the human race is still in its infancy. If we were to divide the life of man on this planet into a twelve-hour day, then recorded human history would only take a few minutes. It is not, therefore, so surprising that we are still in the stage of barbarism and war. Yet, unless education can instill in mankind throughout the world an understanding of economic processes and a willingness to sacrifice for justice and peace, humanity may again experience a form of collective suicide, world war.

At the moment we are probably facing one of the four major transitional periods in all our brief human span. The first is the period of beginnings, the dawn of human history. The second is the rise of the Roman Empire. Third came the beginnings of the modern era, starting about the time Columbus discovered America. Today we are in an era of change from "rugged individualism" to some form of collectivism.

MAJOR CHOICES CONFRONT US

Confronting us are certain major choices: dictatorship versus democracy, tyranny versus freedom, a rationally planned economy with work for all or a rampant individualism with unemployment for millions, an economy of abundance versus an economy of scarcity, an era of international cooperation or of internecine strife, an economic order which is socially controlled or one in which material values are supreme.

If America and the world are to decide these master issues on the basis of reason and intelligence rather than blind passion and selfish intrigue, it will be because of a sound education. If social intelligence is lacking, if exploitation is widespread, then we will fall easy victims to fascism, dictatorship and war.

I have recently been in Brazil. The population is some 80 per cent illiterate. Roughly 98 per cent of the people are propertyless, while 7 per cent own the wealth. No wonder that their ruler, Vargas, was able to disband Parliament, tear up the Constitution and rule by a personal dictatorship backed by military and economic royalists. No wonder that in their schools freedom is almost non-existent and teachers are forced to lecture against "Communism" every school day without having the faintest idea what Communism means. Small wonder that such books as Tarzan and Tom Sawyer are both banned as dangerous.

Teachers may believe they can keep isolated from life, but Brazil demonstrates that the effects of the social and economic order cannot be evaded. In the end, teachers share the lot of the common worker and farmer, whatever that is. For example, a teacher returned to Brazil after finishing a course at Teachers College, Columbia University, recently wrote for help to his friends in this country. He was thrown into jail because Columbia University,—home of John Dewey, William Kilpatrick, and William Bagley,—is considered communist! To such absurd lengths does South American fascism bring education.

Brazil is a warning. If we cannot stop the fearful unemployment all about us, if we cannot build genuine democracy within our schools, then we too may fall victims to fascism.

NEED FEDERAL AID

We, in America, are in danger of traveling along the road to fascism. In the first place, we do not give education to all our children, not to mention underprivileged adults. We have too many districts which might be termed intellectual slums. The fact is that over 3,000,000 children of school age, between five and seventeen years, are not enrolled in any school. In eight states we find blighted school areas, where over 25 per cent of the children get no more than 150 days of schooling each year, and even this little is below standard. Alabama has
over 18,000 children in just such short-term schools, while Arkansas has over 25,000.

In Oregon, Vermont and Rhode Island only 76 per cent of the children are in school; in Alabama, only 59 per cent. The basic cause of this condition is the poverty of the regions.

Many rural children have to suffer what might be termed mental starvation. For example, even in such a relatively advanced state as Pennsylvania the average rural child gets only 135 days in school, while his city brother receives 196. In Georgia, the typical rural youngster is in school only 125 days a year. Rural areas cannot afford to pay salaries sufficient to secure and hold adequately trained teachers. Salaries of rural teachers fall as low as $450 per year, and even lower.

Now all of this means that the federal government must come to the aid of our schools. The President's Advisory Committee on Education has recommended a beginning program. The recommendations are being given legislative expression in a revised Harrison-Fletcher bill, backed by the American Federation of Teachers. This measure should receive the support of every citizen.

SHOULD EDUCATE FOR DEMOCRACY

Just as dangerous as lack of money is lack of a proper content of education. Professor Fraser of the University of Michigan, after an exhaustive investigation, has accumulated evidence that most schools neither explain nor defend democracy. As a result children tend to think that mere words and paper constitutions are enough. Both children and adults are made ready victims of glib propagandists. They are misled by the titles and paper programs of organizations, instead of examining the meaning of the organizations' actions. How many of our citizens fully realize that the rapidly growing Ku Klux Klan and such groups as the American Liberty League cover up programs friendly to dictatorship and terror by employing such verbage as Americanism, freedom, Protestantism, purity, and white supremacy?

The following two letters from "educated" Americans, who wrote the writer after a national radio broadcast on "Education and Democracy" speak for themselves:

I am not a member of the K. K. K. but as near as I can learn they are the one organization that stands for real Americanisation and believe in keeping America for the Americans and do not allow any Roman Popery in their Program. I do know all they teach in Parochial schools is hatred toward anyone that does not conform to their Roman way of thinking. Why not get busy and inform yourself before knocking the K. K. K. hereafter.

The second one reads:

I today heard your ignorant address. If the people would come back to the true education, namely, to the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour, things would soon be different, and no need of any unions and rebel Reds.

Fascist organizations are created by dictatorial special interests. Hence, they cannot afford to seek the support of all the people by advocating programs which genuinely meet the real needs of farmers, workers, and common folks. They must rather play upon the sentiments of the people by using paper programs couched in language deliberately selected to arouse spontaneous and unthinking loyalty. In actual practice, fascist organizations strive to capture or destroy democratic ones, such as trade unions, cooperatives, and teachers' unions. For example, Mussolini's labor syndicates are in reality captive unions.

To meet the danger of fascism, education must teach children to go down below mere verbage and surface attractiveness. When some giant corporation prints a picture of a beautiful girl and then tells you to buy their brand of tire, adults must be able to see through the subtle psychological appeal. Similarly, when business combinations display posters all over the United States with an entrancing picture of a little child captioned, "What Hurts Business Hurts Me," the average citizen should have been trained in school to analyze the hidden motive. Too often our schools have failed to do this.

If we are really to build democracy in America we must make all our institutions democratic. Schools must demonstrate democracy in their organization and administration. School superintendents should not be dictators. Nor can democratic schools condone such instances as the removal of a student editor in a Chicago high school because he dared to criticize some of the activities of student monitors. Proponents of democracy throughout the country should applaud when teachers and labor organizations, acting jointly, cause an undemocratic ruling of a school board to be set aside, as hap-
pened when teachers belonging to the Chicago Teachers Union were ordered not to hold meetings in their school buildings.

The only answer to fascist trends is democratic organizations. That is why we believe that the American Federation of Teachers is on guard for all the people.

**SCHOOLS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE**

The schools belong to the people and should never be run in the interests of economic royalists. Let me cite an example of action which must be resisted by all who believe in democracy. In New York, the ludicrous and unconstitutional McNaboe bill, which could have debarred all progressives from teaching, was actually passed by legislators who presumably had failed to learn in our schools the real meaning of democracy. (The Governor vetoed the bill, saying he did so to protect democracy.)

The schools should be run for the common people, by the common people,—in fact, should be schools of the people. This means that teachers, themselves, should have a voice in educational procedure. Students, too, should have representation. It is dangerous to keep them unthinking pawns in the educational process.

Schools should teach the realities of the present economic order,—its unemployment, its exploitation, as well as its technical marvels. Students should learn that Americanism and democracy are not mere words, but rather a living process. Whatever helps to increase the welfare of the common people through self-participation in a richer and nobler life is true democracy. Conversely, any organization not democratically controlled, which piles up profit for the few at the expense of the many is undemocratic.

The schools should help build up a culture based on the needs and aspirations of our people. Education should assist in obtaining happiness and beauty for the common people. It should embody their longings, their dreams, their hopes. Much more should be done to spread opportunities in the field of the arts than America has yet done.

It goes without saying that such a program demands academic freedom. It is outrageous that great American universities have been known to bar distinguished leaders of American public opinion such as Judge Pecora and Senator Nye. It is socially wasteful that young teachers of outstanding promise and accomplishment in the economic field should be told that no matter how long they stay they will never be promoted. Why should teachers in Flint, Michigan, be discharged for expressing sympathy with labor during a labor dispute? To defend truth and freedom by doing all in our power is the duty of every teacher and every citizen.

**SCHOOLS UNDER ATTACK**

All over the country a strong attack is developing on the American system of free public education. It is partly based on the specious cry of economy. It is partly based on the plea that we must replace general education with a narrow kind of vocational training. We do need real vocational education; but this should not be used as a substitute to deprive Americans of the kind of education which helps them to understand themselves and the problems of our country.

In the face of these attacks, based on plausible though falacious pleas, the schools are weak because they too often fail to respond to present social needs. Subject matter and procedures are often outworn and based on viewpoints unsuited to modern conditions. Teaching methods and curricula frequently represent a gigantic and pathetic cultural lag.

One powerful answer to these attacks on democratic education is to bring more democracy into our schools. One cure for the ills of the educational system is more democracy in education. We must make our schools more and more responsive to the needs of the American people. We must arouse the people in defense of democratic tradition and democratic education.

The American Federation of Teachers has therefore established a National Educational Policies Committee, which is leading all locals of the organization in a nation-wide program to prepare policies to aid our schools in realistically meeting the needs and problems of our democracy. Throughout the country, the committee is fostering public discussions of the crucial issues in American life.
and the ways in which the schools should be helping to deal with these issues.

YOU HAVE A PART TO PLAY

Every teacher has a part to play in securing schools that will preserve democracy.

1. Write your Senators and Congressman to support the amended Harrison-Fletcher bill for federal aid to our schools.

2. Through all organizations to which you belong and by means of individual letters make known your disapproval of all actions threatening academic freedom.

3. Join the American Federation of Teachers and help it to establish locals in those communities where teachers are not yet organized in a democratically controlled organization. The American Federation of Teachers is a national organization, controlled by classroom teachers, and affiliated with organized labor. Help to muster the power of the teaching staff of America behind our slogan: Education for Democracy; Democracy in Education.
July 5, 1938

Dear Mr. Davis:

Many thanks for your letter and good luck to you on your journey. Do come to see me when you return.

With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Just a word of greeting as I sail on the S. S. Normandie directing a tour for the Bureau of University Travel. Incidentally I have already received invitations from Mr. MacDonald of the British Cabinet and others to confer with them.

I have accepted the position as Director of the Department of Human Relations at the University of Newark for the time being but John L. Lewis recently wrote me that he would back me for a position on one of the Federal labor boards such as that of the Maritime Board or some other if I would give the word. Since I am President of an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, The American Federation of Teachers, it is nice to have backing from both camps. I confess that I would prefer such a Federal position if I could ever get it. I did so enjoy the year I spent as Impartial Arbitrator in the garment trade ironing out differences for the employers and the workers.

I understand that at the Harvard Commencement some of the old graduates dressed in barrels and carried signs saying, "This is what one of our classmates did to us". At Yale one of the graduates went without a shirt in the parade carrying a banner reading "F. D. R. took my last shirt". Probably you have heard about this but I thought it was too good to miss.

Perhaps when I return from Europe I shall have the chance to see you.

Cordially,

[Signature]
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Many thanks for your letter which I received on my return from Europe. I should enjoy very much coming to Washington whenever it would be convenient for you to see me. Please address me at the University of Newark, Newark, N.J.

As you can see from the enclosed clipping from Time I was re-elected President of the American Federation of Teachers. The account is not quite accurate as I gave no announcement about my new position.

Everywhere I went in Europe I found the prestige of the President even greater than that of Wilson. He was the one leader in the world today that all the best people seemed to unite in praising.

Col. House, as far back as 1932 when he wrote the introduction to my book on Russia, urged me to seek appointment as Ambassador to Russia. I have been to Russia nine times, speak the language and know Stalin well enough so that I could go to him at any time. I think I could be of service to the United States in Russia and I hope that some time the way may open up for me to go there from the government. I realize you have nothing to do with such matters.

Do let me know when I can come down and see you.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis

President
Davis' Diplomacy

The American Federation of Teachers is the labor union of U. S. school teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Until a year ago A. F. T. was founder of a fight of its dignity. Its conventions were lively and acrimonious. Last week, retiring to the little town of Cedar Point, Ohio (an amusement resort) for its 2nd annual meeting, A. F. T., by compromise and finesse, succeeded in attracting almost no public attention.

The federation this year had reasons for avoiding doctrinal fireworks. Chief reason: its coming of age in Chicago, where Local No. 1 (thanks to memories of payless pay days and a political spoils system in the school system) has enrolled 8,500 of the city's 13,000 teachers and gained for the federation its first majority in any city. Last week, having doubled its membership in two years, for the first time A. F. T. set its cap hopefully for the conservative rank & file of the nation's 1,000,000 teachers, of whom it has so far enrolled a scant 3%, some 30,000 members in 250 locals.

The Chicago delegation, biggest at the convention, came determined to squelch the left-wing New York local. But no squelching was done. Opening the meeting, President Jerome Davis earnestly pleaded: "One of the greatest tasks confronting our federation is how to build unity with all the forces that are opposing dictatorship and fascism. We must do our utmost to make unity the keynote of our convention." The rest of the 500 delegates proceeded to support Chicago's resolutions, condemn the Kehl-Nash machine's "interference" with Chicago's schools, elect two Chicagoans to the executive council. They also watered down a resolution on the Spanish war, contented themselves with asking the U. S. to end the arms embargo against the Loyalists.

Skillfully, President Davis buried the chief bone of contention: the A. F. of L. C. I. O. issue, on which the teachers' federation is sharply divided. So touchy is this subject that a referendum authorized by the last convention has not yet been held. Having made peace with A. F. of L.'s President William Green, President Davis last week pulled a surprise out of his academic cap: an offer from Mr. Green to let the teachers' organization, which has refused to pay the special assessment for fighting C. I. O., use the assessment for its own organizing work. The convention unanimously approved this face-saver, kept itself in good standing with both camps of Labor.

At week's end, President Davis was re-elected to a third term, beating Chicago's vivacious Lillian Herstein, 536 to 274. Well pleased at the convention's harmony, the teachers' president had other reasons for celebration. A free lunch since he was fired from Yale two years ago and became an academic freedom case. Professor Davis announced to the convention that in September he would begin a new job, as head of a department of human relations in an unnamed eastern university.

Lawless "Heroes"

Psychology Professor Knight Dunlap, of the University of California at Los Angeles, last week made a proposal* shocking to many a U. S. educator: that humanity should be told that it is sometimes a duty, for the sake of human progress, to commit crime. Children, said he also, should learn that it is sometimes necessary to defy their parents. His thesis: if nobody ever broke a bad law, mankind would eventually get into a rut, sink back into savagery.

Some laws, said the professor, are bad from the beginning; others worse, with time and change. Unless someone dares to violate such laws and leads others to disregard them, they are not repealed. All progress. Sample bad laws: Prohibition, anti-gambling, anti-birth control. Professor Dunlap's list of history's lawless heroes: Jesus Christ, Margaret Sanger, John Brown, Robert E. Lee, George Washington (crime: treason against Britain), several other unnamed U. S. Presidents.

Said Dr. Dunlap: "Women . . . seem less object in their obedience to foolish laws than are men . . . it was once against rigid convention for women to expose their legs in public . . . ."

*In the September issue of The California Monthly, the University's alumni magazine.
September 17, 1938

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The American Federation of Teachers is planning a national prize contest open to all the high school students of America. The first prize will be a trip to the World's Fair in New York, the second $75.00 and the third $50.00 and the fourth $25.00.

The subject which has been suggested is, "Organized Labor, America's Problem or Opportunity!"

We believe that this contest will do a great deal to promote genuine thinking on the part of high school students. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has already agreed to serve as one of the judges. William Allen White has been proposed as another and we should like very much to have you as the third.

We realize how busy you are and should be glad to have someone in our office sift out all the poor essays so that you would only have to read the half dozen best essays in the contest, if you so desired.

I cannot tell you how valuable I think your acceptance of this position would be to the success of the project. We have to get the contest by various patriotic societies and conservative superintendents, and I believe your name and that of William Allen White would guarantee the success of the contest.

I have a number of things which I would like to discuss with you and should be happy if you would let me know when it is convenient to come to the White House.
I am glad that the reports are so encouraging from Rochester.

I am sending a copy of this letter there as well as to the White House.

Although I said in my last letter to write me at the University of Newark, I think it might be quicker if you would address me at my home at 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Connecticut, when you write.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
Miss Malvina Scheider  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Scheider:

I am very happy to accept the invitation to lunch at the White House tendered me by Mrs. Roosevelt on Tuesday, September 27th at one o'clock.

I should be very grateful if you would arrange an opportunity for me to have a few moments of confidential conversation with Mrs. Roosevelt, either prior to or following the luncheon.

I am leaving to speak in Cleveland Saturday evening and expect then to go to Chicago where I could be reached at 506 South Wabash Avenue, but will arrive in Washington early Tuesday morning.

If I do not hear from you I will plan to phone you at the White House at ten o'clock and you could leave word if you desire to have me come a few minutes early. If I do not reach you at that time, I will understand that I am to come at one o'clock.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
Democracy in Education—Education for Democracy

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
506 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

September 17, 1938

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White House
Washington, D. C.

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I think it might be quicker if you would address me at my home at 469
Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Connecticut, when you write.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
My dear Mr. Davis:

I have written to both Mr. Andrews and to Secretary Perkins about you and I hope there will be an opening in the line of work you desire.

I am returning your letter from the Civil Service Commission.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.
October 21, 1938

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am so pleased to have the little alarm clock. I think it is quite delightful and it was so kind of you to send it to me.

I gave your letter to the President and he asks me to tell you that he has read it.

With many thanks for your gift, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 14, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR
MISS THOMPSON

The President has seen the attached and asks if you will be good enough to acknowledge.

G. G. T.
My dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Thank you for your letter and for writing to Mr. Andrews and Secretary Perkins. Probably I should not have mentioned the Newark University matter at all but it does show the power conservative interests do have.

If war is only a cowardly evasion of the neglected problems of peace, is it wise to appoint men as Ambassadors abroad who know nothing about the country or the people they are going to? Does it promote friendship with a people embracing one-sixth of the land surface of the earth not to have any Ambassador appointed at all? Entirely apart from my own interest in Russia, I feel certain that in these troublous times an Ambassador from the United States should be in Russia all the time.

When in Washington I intended to give you a little alarm clock which I picked up in Paris. Instead of striking a bell for the alarm this clock plays a little tune and keeps playing it over and over again until it runs down. I thought you would be interested in it but if you already have too many clocks, give it away to some one who would enjoy it. I am mailing it under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis

P.S. Last night we had our Convention of Labor's Non Partisan League of Connecticut. We heartily endorsed the President but we would have been more enthusiastic about some other Senator than Lonergan! I hope he has a better record at next session.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Your letter apparently crossed one of mine to you. I had not intended my remarks about the Russian situation for the President. I can't help but feel that in spite of many mistakes which have been made and are being made, in the U.S.S.R., that a residuum of outstanding achievement for the masses of the people will remain, perhaps permanent contributions towards progressive government of the future.

I believe that the way to build international friendship is in representatives who can show understanding and sympathy with the people of foreign countries. Russia presents an unusual opportunity for the United States to help in the formative period of a great nation. I remember that Wilson once said that Russia is an "acid test" of our international policy. I wish that the United States might be following the constructive policy of reenforcing those Russian trends —towards peace and against German dominance in Central Europe, which so many Americans favor. I fear that there is grave danger that Russia may become isolated in the European scene with possible grave consequences.

However, all of this is not for the President. I just couldn't resist saying it to you, what I have felt ever since my first return in 1918.

I am glad that you liked the clock and hope its merry little tune has a long life.

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Washington D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Thank you for sending on to me the reply of Frances Perkins to your note about me. I had the rare privilege of meeting Elmer Andrews on the plane which we were travelling from Houston to Washington. I enjoyed talking with him immensely and I think I should enjoy greatly being associated with him.

I have followed your travels via the papers and was interested to note that in Wisconsin the magnetic attraction of your speaking was so irresistible that all the highwaymen had to do was tell the cashiers at the window that they could listen to your lecture to have them surrender all the intake! It almost seems as if the dear ladies should make good the loss to your charities.

The prize contest for High School students is going forward splendidly and is attracting a lot of attention.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Oct. 24, 1930
November 22, 1938

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you might be interested to see the announcement of the prize contest. You will remember you consented to serve as one of the judges.

I did all in my power to get William Allen White to serve as a judge, but in the end, he decided he just couldn't do it. He is getting very old and has to conserve his eyesight as much as possible. So I finally went down as one of the judges myself so that we could go ahead.

We have sent this announcement to five thousand superintendents of schools in the United States.

I have been quite interested in the response. Most of the superintendents are very cordial. One Catholic superintendent, for instance, in Iowa, asked for three hundred copies to post in the schools under his jurisdiction.

However, we have had a few replies from superintendents who seem to think that it is un-American to have students write on such a subject as organized labor. When will the conservatives learn that organized labor is just as much a part of American life as American business, or the Republican Party?

Mr. Andrews wrote me he expected to put me on staff as soon as additional money was granted by Congress, which, I suppose, will be in February. Many thanks for writing to him.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Davis
PRESIDENT
PRIZE CONTEST
Under the Auspices of
The American Federation of Teachers

Open to Every High School Student in America

On The Subject:

Organized Labor —
America’s Problem or Opportunity?

First Prize: One Hundred and Twenty-five Dollars
or aid toward visiting the World’s Fair
in New York, if preferred.

Second Prize: Seventy-five Dollars

Third Prize: Fifty Dollars

Fourth Prize: Twenty-five Dollars

Conditions of the Contest:
Each contestant must submit a typewritten paper of from 1500 to 3000
words (5 to 10 typewritten pages) on the subject: Organized Labor—America’s
Problem or Opportunity? Each paper must carry the name and address of the
contestant and the name and address of the high school he attends.

Contestants must send their manuscripts to:
CONTEST DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Manuscripts which do not reach this office by March 31, 1939, are in-
eligible for the contest. Manuscripts will not be returned. The American
Federation of Teachers reserves the right to publish any papers submitted.

JUDGES —
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
William Green, President, American Federation of Labor
Jerome Davis, President, American Federation of Teachers
January 17, 1939

Lear Mr. Davis:

I was much interested to see your remarks and appreciated your bringing them to my attention.

With many thanks, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
January 9, 1939

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I accepted an invitation to speak in Washington on the same platform with Secretary Ickes, but when I arrived, I found that Mr. Ickes decided not to deliver his radio broadcast against the Dies Committee.

You may be interested in one page of my remarks which speaks of the Roosevelt Administration.

Please don't feel that you have to answer this.

With warm regards,

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis

JD:WP
uogwa

Jerome Davis
PRESIDENT
"It is fortunate that during the past six years we have had a President in the White House who has fought unceasingly for justice and democracy for all the people. As a result, democracy which had been lessening prior to his inauguration, has again been advancing. No matter to what sector of American life we turn, whether to industrial labor, to the farmer, or to the middle class, we find freedom and democracy has been promoted. We have only to look back in the record of the Roosevelt Administration to see the enactment of the Wagner Act, protecting the traditional American rights of labor. We must see that it will not be amended. Again, we see an advance in the Social Security Act, the guarantee of bank deposits, and the other measures which have so radically promoted the welfare and happiness of all the people.

"Yet we find, as in the days of our forefathers, that the vested interests attempt to condemn the President of the United States in the name of democracy. They charge that because he has interfered in some measure with the financial autocracy, that he is a dictator. As well might it be charged that George Washington was a dictator because he interfered with the tyranny of taxation without representation, or Abraham Lincoln when he tried to perpetuate the Union and end forever the tyranny of slavery. History will vindicate President Roosevelt as history has already vindicated George Washington and Abraham Lincoln."
February 21, 1939

Dear Mr. Davis:

I have to be away from March 5 till early April, and the remainder of the spring is so filled for me, because of foreign visitors and family duties, that I do not feel I could take another engagement. I deeply appreciate your invitation to speak for the American Federation of Teachers and regret that I cannot accept it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.
February 13, 1939

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

As you may know, we have enrolled in our ranks some thirty-five thousand teachers throughout the United States. We have locals at all the large colleges, such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Columbia. Some of the most prominent scientists in the world belong to our Federation, for instance, Einstein, Boaz, and others.

We are planning a big eastern conference dinner, to which all the members of our Federation in the East will send delegates. We should like very much to have you as our guest speaker on this occasion.

You could speak on any subject that you desired to, although we should naturally prefer to have some reference to the welfare of the childhood of the nation and the necessity or more and better education.

We had thought of holding this dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on any date which would be convenient to you. If, however, it would be more convenient, we could arrange to have the dinner in Philadelphia, or even in Washington, D.C. We want to suit your convenience and make it as easy for you as possible. We are willing to accept any date that would be most convenient for you.

We would also be happy, if you can come, to make a financial contribution to any charitable organization you might name. I can assure you that our Federation is unanimously behind all that you have been doing to promote social betterment and the welfare of the American people.

It seems a long time since I listened to the speech of Mr. Chamberlain as came from your radio in the White House. The war was postponed, but I fear it is only an armistice. I am going to England April 1 to speak to two thousand teachers there, but I should get back before the war starts!

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis
Jerome Davis, President
Dear Mr. Davis:

I have read these papers as well as I can. I am enclosing a list of names with the ratings. I never feel myself very adequate to evaluate the real work and thought that the young people put into this work when I do not know them personally and haven't watched them work in other ways.

I hope, however, I have been fair.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
American Federation of Teachers
506 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Hyde Park, N.Y.
June 29, 1939.
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will remember that you were kind enough to promise to rank a few of the better papers in our contest open to all high school students in America. Of the hundreds of papers which have been submitted, President Green and I have eliminated all but eleven, which we enclose herewith for your consideration.

You will be interested in the wide range of states from which these papers come. You will also be interested to know that one is written by a Negro girl in her senior year in high school.

I feel guilty in sending on eleven, but since President Green and I differed a little on some of them, it really might make a difference in the awarding of the prizes. If you do not have time to read all eleven, perhaps you could get your secretary to sift out five of the poorer ones and just read the six best.

Since I am leaving for Europe, directing a group for the Bureau of University Travel, on June 28, perhaps you had better send the papers, together with your grading, to the American Federation of Teachers, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

It would be helpful if you could grade these, ranking the first as near one hundred as you cared to, and then on down. The awards will be made as soon as you complete your grading.

I deeply appreciate your generosity in taking your time for this, as I know the great number of activities which press upon you. On behalf of the American Federation of Teachers, may I express our appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Davis
PRESIDENT
PRIZE CONTEST
Under the Auspices of
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Open to Every High School Student in America
On The Subject:
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JUDGES:
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
William Green, President, American Federation of Labor
Jerome Davis, President, American Federation of Teachers
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marvin R. Alberg</td>
<td>1845 S. Broadway</td>
<td>Denver, Colo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Brandt</td>
<td>1385 Albany Ave.</td>
<td>Brooklyn, N.Y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grace Halterman</td>
<td>St. Paul's High School</td>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mimi Segal</td>
<td>559 Webster Ave.</td>
<td>New Rochelle, N.Y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evelyn Burke</td>
<td>557 Halsey Street</td>
<td>Brooklyn, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Goldenberg</td>
<td>158 East 49th St.</td>
<td>Brooklyn, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillian Allen</td>
<td>Rural Route 4</td>
<td>Cookeville, Tenn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarke Alexander Chambers</td>
<td>Blue Earth, Minn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yolanda Lancelot</td>
<td>267 Lockwood Avenue</td>
<td>New Rochelle, N.Y.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
July 8, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

In Mr. Davis's absence in Europe I am acknowledging your very kind note of June 29 with the high school papers and your rating for them. It was more than kind to give yourself so generously to this time-consuming process of evaluating. You could so easily have picked the ultimate of your duties.

It must be a common experience with you to find here and there the results of your interest or labor such as this, in comradeship, growth or achievement.

Sincerely yours,

Thurston Davis
(Mrs. Jerome Davis)
September 27, 1939

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am in entire agreement with you in your attitude on Russian Communism and I like your speech.

I feel that at present one's estimate of Stalin must wait further developments. Anna Louise Strong insists that Stalin does not trust Hitler and therefore moved in to Poland to protect it. If that is so, of course time will tell. I do not like adding to the nations who move in in a military way, however, and I have never much liked the wholesale executions in Russia any more than I liked them in Germany. They do not seem to be quite civilized.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
Sept. 20, 1939

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Thank you for your note. Your last sentence about Stalin suggests that I make clear my own position.

I have always maintained that there are certain fundamental evils in Russian Communism: 1- militant atheism, 2- a lack of liberty, 3- a monopoly for one political party only, and 4- beaurocracy. There are others that might be mentioned. Now I think not if I could discuss my estimate of Stalin we might find ourselves in essential disagreement. It is true that I look at him as an able man who was somewhat conditioned by the evils of the Tsar's regime including imprisonment for political action against oppression. Considering his background I am not surprised by what he has done. Nevertheless, of course I am opposed to the invasion of Poland and I had wished thru these last months that England and France and Russia could reach agreement. Perhaps when the immediacies of the war crisis are over and the rush of the Special Session is out of the way, we could talk this over. I believe first, last, and all the time in American Democracy but I dont need to remind you that there is much we must still solve including the problem of unemployment.

I enclose my presidential address which gives my position and which I hope expresses the position of those in the vanguard of education today.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
PRESIDENT’S ADDRESS
BY
DR. JEROME DAVIS
23rd National Convention
OF
American Federation of Teachers
AUGUST 21, 1939
BUFFALO, N. Y.

Fellow Delegates: Last week I attended the World Congress on Education for Democracy. I took part in the preparation of the section of the Conference dealing with the civic rights of the teacher. We finally adopted a statement that the teacher should have the right to join any organization which he considers valuable from a professional and civic standpoint. Prior to this Congress I was directing a group made up largely of professors and teachers visiting educational and governmental leaders in eleven European countries. The gravity of the situation confronting the world stood clearly revealed. All the nations fear a major explosion at any moment. Vast expenditures are being used for armament, and millions of men are under arms. Treaties are no longer worth the paper they are printed on, and few of the nations place any reliance on the pledges of the Nazi powers. Education has suffered seriously.

Even an international educational conference in Paris, which I was scheduled to address, was cancelled because of the war crisis. Actually I flew from Switzerland to Paris to address this conference and only after I arrived, found it was not to be held.

Anti-semitism like a deadly pestilence has been let loose by fascist nations and is even beginning to invade democratic states. Only a few weeks ago I talked with a teacher in Vienna dismissed because of a trace of Jewish blood, her property confiscated and she herself forced to do the most degrading tasks.

The United States is not completely immunized from such pestilence. Those of us who believe with all our hearts in the heritage of free America, in democracy, in education for all, must stand guard against every threat to education and freedom. To understand the present we should review the past.

A few episodes from the history of public school education in the United States may be helpful. You will recall that the first public high school was established in Boston in 1821. The first compulsory attendance law, requiring only twelve weeks of school in the year for children was passed in 1852 in Massachusetts, less than one hundred years ago.

Compulsory education in England dates only from 1878, and in France from 1882. In the United States by 1889, twenty-five other states had passed some form of compulsory attendance law, but according to the report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education in 1890, the law was inoperative, except in Connecticut and Massachusetts. This means that less than fifty years ago we had no compulsory education law which was generally enforced. But by the outbreak of the World War in 1914, all but six southern states had such a law, and in 1920 Mississippi, the last state to hold out, capitulated.

In the fight to establish free public schools a bitter battle was waged. The forces which opposed free education, according to Professor Cubberly's "Public Education in the United States," were:
“the aristocratic class, the conservatives, politicians of small vision, residents of rural districts, the ignorant, narrow-minded and penurious, taxpayers, Lutherans, Reformed Church, Mennonites and Quakers, southern men, and the proprietors of private schools.”

You will notice that some of these same forces are working to throttle and dismantle our public school system today. It was only about a century ago that the Rhode Island farmer threatened to shoot Henry Barnard, a champion of public school education, if he ever caught him advocating “such heresy as the partial confiscation of one man’s property to educate another man’s child.” A member of the Indiana legislature in 1837 declared that when he died he wanted engraved on his tombstone: “For lies an enemy to free schools.”

The Governor of Massachusetts said that he hoped the time would never come when we had a system of free public schools in the United States. In Rhode Island, responsible members of the legislature even went so far as to say that an attempt to tax a community for public schools would be resisted at the point of a bayonet. As far back as 1859, John Randolph, before the Virginia Constitutional Convention said: “Among the strange notions which have been broached there is one which has lately seized the minds of men, that all things must be done for them by the government, and that they are to do nothing for themselves. . . . Look at that ragged fellow staggering from the whiskey shop and see the slobber who has gone to reclaim him. Where are their children? Running about ragged, ignorance, set on to take the penitentiary. Why is this so? Ask the man and he will tell you, ‘Oh, the government has undertaken to educate our children for us. It has given us a premium for idleness, and now I spend in liquor what I otherwise should be obliged to save to pay for their schooling.” In other words it was charged that free schools for children meant drunkenness for parents.

A law was passed in Pennsylvania providing for free schools in all districts accepting them. Out of 987 districts, 485 either voted against schools or stubbornly took no action. The rich violently opposed the schools while the poor championed them. In certain districts outspoken advocates of free schools were not allowed to reside or conduct an honest business. The opposition to the public, tax-supported schools in Pennsylvania in 1854 and ’55 was described in these words: “There is no more certain method of stirring up the public opinion of a virtuous and frugal people than by picking their pockets.”

The implication was that free public schools robbed the people.

The Bishop of Rhode Island declared, “The public schools are Godless schools.” Up to 1850, not a single governor had advocated free schools.

The New York Tribune of October 17, 1850, declared: “That the backbone of the opposition is hostility to being taxed to school other men’s children.” One citizen declared the proposal was worse than highway robbery. In the New York Evening Post of August 27, 1850, it said: “The children of the poor will grow up idle and lazy if education is provided free of charge.” A meeting held in Chariton, Saratoga County, as reported in the New York Tribune for September 26, 1850, adopted a resolution which declared that the tax-supported school system “is infidel socialism in its principles, unjust and oppressive in its operation, immoral in its tendencies, irreligious in its consequences, and injurious to the cause of education.”

Carleton, in his volume on “Economic Influence on Education,” says: “It is extremely interesting and important that many of the points advanced against free education . . . have reappeared in more recent years under a slightly different garb in opposition to other radical or progressive measures.” Even the principle of liberty was used to blast free public schools, for it was said liberty meant non-interference with the individual. Had communism been in vogue at the time, the proponents of free public school education would certainly have been called communists. It is not surprising, therefore, that our Federation, which is meeting the frontal attack of the vested interests of the day, should be charged with communism. The fact is the overwhelming proportion of our membership is not communist, and never has been communist. But we believe in the American principle of freedom to the individual in the matter of race, religion and political belief. We are committed first, last and all the time to faith in America, in faith in the people and in democracy. Our program in a time like this demands solidly united efforts. Only through unselfish devotion can we win for children everywhere progressively better education.

We must realize afresh our obligation to organized labor. We all know that it was the working class in the early days of our republic who fought for and secured free public schools.

Robert Dale Owen and the Workingmen’s Party as far back as 1830, not

2. Richmond Enquirer, November 24, 1829.
only advocated free schools, but urged that the state provide free food, clothing, and shelter for such school children as needed it until maturity.

I have called your attention to these facts because we are confronted with the same struggle today that our forefathers met in the early days of the nineteenth century. The depression has resulted in launching attacks on American education which, if successful, would undermine the very foundations upon which free public schools have been built. There are those today who question whether the public schools are worth the cost. Others would abolish free tuition, and introduce the fee system. This proposal, of course, emanates from those so comfortably situated economically that their children would not suffer. Others charge that we are packing the curriculum with all sorts of useless courses. "Away with the fads and frills of education," they say. Oftentimes the attack is masked under the charge that children should be introduced to the fundamentals and the gateways of knowledge. The Mayor of one large city is favoring economy in education, even neglected to include reading in the list of fundamentals of other educational process. In the State of Connecticut a reactionary Republican Governor tried to close two of the state teachers' colleges, but so violent was the reaction of the trade unions, and the common people, that he was unable to effect this so-called "economy." In Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, to mention just a few, attempts were made to pass restrictive school legislation.

The results in Pennsylvania meant that 6,000 teachers received no salary for months. In Georgia, schools in forty-one counties were closed. New York State, supposedly the leader in public school education, cut state aid $10,000,000 in 1932. This meant a loss of about 1,000 teachers in New York City alone.

Against this campaign the American Federation of Teachers must mobilize all its forces. This means that the Federation should stand united against all attacks from without. This is no time to quarrel or differ among ourselves about extraneous and inconsequential matters. The efforts to array one group against another or the whispering campaign charging individuals with communism is a grossly mistaken one. We should all take to heart the resolution adopted by the New York State Federation of Labor just four days ago which reads:

Whereas, There is being spread in this State the poison of Anti-Semitism in an attempt to divide the ranks of labor, and

Whereas, Such tactics, using the pretext of "Bolshevism" and the poisonous propaganda directed against people for their religious beliefs, and

Whereas, Such fascist movements, beginning at first with attacks against labor organizations as "Communist," and spawning religious and racial偏见 in order to divide the population, have wound up in Italy and Germany by crushing the entire labor and trade union movement, and

Whereas, An alert trade union movement, benefiting from the experience of European workmen, must be on guard against such union-wrecking attacks from the first moment they come into view, therefore be it

Resolved, That the New York State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns such agitation, whether done by any individual, a newspaper, an association or any other agency, as un-Christian, anti-democratic, anti-labor and detrimental to the interests of the bona fide unions, whose function it is to afford protection to working men and women, regardless of race, color or creed.

There is no one who believes in Americanism or democracy more wholeheartedly than does your President. I would do anything within my power to protect the principles of democracy and the basic rights which Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln have handed to us; namely, liberty, equality and fraternity. But our major enemies are first, the forces of fascism which would destroy democracy entirely, and second, those forces in each community and state which would curtail education. I am certain that there is not a delegate to this convention who does not favor standing shoulder to shoulder in opposition to retrenchment in public education, who does not believe that we must go forward towards new and better schools, with better provisions for meeting the needs of the childhood of the nation. In this program, we can all unite solidly together, no matter what our differences of race or creed or political belief.

We must not forget that the Institute of Propaganda Analysis states that there are some eight hundred Nazi and fascist organizations at work in the United States, and that reactionary business interests generally, whenever a depression occurs, even to a limited extent, center their first attack against educational appropriations. The forces of reaction, of course, are always disguised. Few people today would come out openly and say that they oppose public school education. Rather the attack against education is made under the guise of "balancing the budget."

We must not forget, however, that there are influential people in the nation who are working openly to discredit democracy. For instance, in the
In the training of soldiers until protests from outraged citizens led to its withdrawal: "Democracy—a government of the masses. An authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of direct expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude towards property is communistic, negating property rights. Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it is based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice or impulse, without restraint, or regard to consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."

If this definition of democracy could be officially used in the U. S. Army for five years without its detection or withdrawal, what shall we think of the kind of education in real democracy that is being portrayed in the moving pictures, over the radio, and in the controlled press? The American Federation of Teachers, therefore, is standing on guard for democracy itself.

If American democracy is to endure, we must provide equality of educational opportunity for all. Today over a million children of school age have no school. The fact that business is poor is no reason for penalizing children. Every child in every state is a future voting citizen with equal political rights.

At present some groups such as Negroes and poor whites are discriminated against. In many states we now have blighted areas where schools are closed and libraries non-existent. In the rural areas of most of our states mental starvation can be found. Here schools are open only a few months a year. In these areas children tend to fail victims to child labor. Only Federal Aid to Education can bring equality of educational opportunity to all.

It is sometimes charged that America will be bankrupt if expenditures are not drastically reduced. But education is the last field which should be cut. We are actually spending one hundred million dollars on a single battleship; yet schools are infinitely more important to the nation than battleships. In a single year we spend more money on chewing gum than on education.

I have said a few words about the development of education in the United States. Let me add a brief word about the record of the American Federation of Teachers. We started in 1916, and for eight years the Chicago Union furnished us a president, Mr. Stillman. We should honor the arduous services rendered by Mr. Stillman for eight years in this pioneer period of our growth.

From 1924 through 1925, Florence Rood of St. Paul was president, followed by Mary C. Barker of Atlanta for a five-year period extending through 1930. You know the record since then. In 1934 we had less than 10,000 members. Today we have 32,500. A year ago the financial report showed 297 locals were paying per capita. This year’s report shows 301. In the past two years we have reduced somewhat the heavy death rate of our locals. But at least now our birth rate is so high that we have a heavy net gain. While our W. P. A. teacher membership has been going down, our classroom teachers have been increasing by leaps and bounds. Four years ago we had almost no standing committees. Now we have a notable group of committees. They will report to you for themselves. Even a year ago we had no paid editor. Now we have a full time editor and one of the best educational periodicals in America.

No doubt every president of the American Federation of Teachers has dreamed that our organization would at some time pass the hundred thousand mark. Certainly this dream is nearer realization today than ever before in the history of the Federation. In the short space of four years we have increased our membership over three hundred percent. It is probable that in from five to ten years, we will pass the hundred thousand mark, provided we are able to avoid bickering and internal conflict, and concentrate our major energies on the task of achieving educational progress. The outstanding growth of the Federation and its national success have not been without their inconveniences and responsibilities, grave and otherwise. For instance, after I had been in England, one small school girl aged twelve wrote asking for an article every month for publication in her journal. I have received requests from more serious educational journals in Mexico, Russia, England and France. In the United States one of the pictorial magazines asked for aid. Pathe News wanted to work out a short news reel showing the closing of the schools and appealed for help, which I gave them.

During the past year from October to June, I have spoken over two hundred times and have written two thousand five hundred letters. We have given increasing attention to plans for organization and I believe that this feature of the work of the Federation should become increasingly effective.

One of the unique projects this year has been the prize contest on Organized Labor open to the high school students of America. Many fine papers were received from fifty different cities, and the contest awakened interest in the labor problem among teachers, students and the public. One state even offered a special prize for the best paper from that section. Through a special gift
which has not yet been awarded all the winners will receive a year's subscription to the Reader's Digest. It was somewhat discouraging to find how many of the papers submitted in the contest condemned trade unions and urged the establishment of company unions. They were reflecting the sentiment of their communities and, I fear, what they may have learned in school. The recent report of the "Regents Inquiry Into the Character and Cost of Public Education" in New York showed deplorable conditions. Education was found not to meet the requirements of modern life. The more schooling a child had the more materialistic he seemed to become and the less inclined to favor public service. It would seem that the schools are often not providing a real understanding of the democratic way of life. Yet unless they do this, we stand in danger of fascism.

I hardly need to remind you of the fate that is in store for our membership if Fascism ever should triumph in America. From an educational and scientific standpoint Nazi ideals are ludicrous but the results would be tragic. For instance, under Nazi ideology, to be consistent the Nazis could not use digitalis for heart trouble, because it was discovered by a Jew, Ludwig Traube. In the case of tooth trouble they should not use cocaine, for that was discovered by a Jew, Solomon Stricker. If they have diabetes, they might as well die, for a Jew, Mikowski, had a hand in the discovery of the cure for that. Germans like music, but if they are Nazi they should not listen to the music of either Toscanini or Mendelssohn and of course they should not listen to any music on the radio because the radio itself developed from the discoveries of a Jew, Heinrich Hertz. As far as books are concerned the German is debarred from a great many of the noblest works in any language. The fact is, Germany today is confined within the straightjacket of a mad and impossible theory.

In a world of change where dictators ruthlessly crush self-determination and democracy, shall education merely seek to adjust students to the prevailing social order or shall it seek the reconstruction of society? As I see it, education must make for social change. If we believe in perpetuating democracy then we believe in a society that consciously seeks the widest possible degree of responsible participation and intelligent self-direction. Unfortunately many, even in America, do not believe that all should participate in our democratic process. They would shut out the Negro and the propertyless. They believe in the rule of the upper class. To this group, democracy means merely certain forms of government, certain expressions in the constitution, which are all right as long as they do not interfere with their profits and privileges. Faith in the intelligence of the common people they call nonsensical and dangerous. Any democratic process which means responsible control by all the people they oppose and brand its advocates as "reds" and "bolshies.

Naturally the man who believes that democracy gives the unrestricted right for the powerful to exploit his neighbors does not believe that education should probe into the methods and practices by which the powerful rule the masses.

Let me cite a concrete example from my own home town. In the school attended by my daughter they have a current events class. When my daughter was called on she told of the efforts of the Mayor of New York City to install public electricity and reduce the rates to the people. This threat had forced the private corporations to lower their rates. The teacher immediately called her up and said that the discussion of such questions might get the class and the teacher in trouble. The children were told not to bring up such controversial questions again.

The unrepresentative character of the Board of Education in New Haven is shown by the privileged status its members: It includes the manager of the Winchester Manufacturing Company, the manager of the G. & O. plant, the president of Cowles & Company, and three others, all of whom hold high positions in the business world. The only remaining member is a doctor.

What some of our business men actually think of education for democracy can be illustrated by the following as reported in the New York Times:

Two thousand teachers, administrators and business leaders are attending a session of the New York State Educational Association. The business leaders are not backward about telling what they consider wrong with education and what industry expects of the schools.

"Mr. Jones, a manufacturer, listed several "illusions" which he said would have to be dispelled before "true prosperity" could be achieved... Educators, he declared had not provided "ideological allergy tests" to dispel many of the current illusions. These "illusions" were listed by Mr. Jones as equality, democracy, security, collective bargaining and economic planning.

He continued, "No fantasy of dreamers has exercised such a devastating effect upon countless millions or upon the course of human events as the illusion of equality. For more than 150 years it has served to delude the masses into belief in equality of individuals and races."

Education should constantly reinterpret democracy in terms of changing
conditions. This means that we must make youth feel its responsibility for self-direction, self-control, and purposeful participation in social change.

The school has a responsibility to help students and society to examine critically and to weigh its practices. In fact, unless the school does this, society stagnates or decays until severe crisis or explosion occurs. Society should therefore protect the school in its critical and analytical functions.

Now, if the school should help students to take an active part in securing social progress, then I believe this proves the absolute necessity of affiliation with organized labor which has usually championed change for the better. We must remember there has always been change in every society and there always will be. The crucial question is the rate of change and the kind. In the dictator countries the rate of change has been rapid and revolutionary, but inimical to freedom. Can the democratic countries keep up a high enough rate of progress to preserve economic well-being, social justice and liberty? On the answer to this question hinges the fate of the world. Much will depend on what education does.

I want, therefore, to spend a little time on why education for social change is so vitally necessary in this crisis era. In a world in which our present economy is gradually breaking up and in which fascism and Nazism are frankly using force and military power for national aggrandizement, the democratic nations are on the defensive. It is not only that fascism threatens the annihilation of democracy through war and military destruction from without, but fascism threatens invasion against the forces of democracy from within. It is the latter danger which is very much more potent. To guard against this danger we need education for social change.

We are living in a kaleidoscopic world. We have new standards, new styles, new techniques. We cannot afford to use old, discredited methods in any field. But we are still in danger of teaching for an individualistic economy in a socialized age. Too often we teach children to believe that the person succeeds who outdistances others. In reality, we should inculcate the thought that the individual succeeds who pulls up the group most effectively. The child who gets individual high grades for himself alone may be developing a selfish individualistic attitude which will mean that he exploits his ability and his fellow men when he graduates. Now it is precisely at this point of education for social change that I believe the work of the American Federation of Teachers is so effective. Let me illustrate by telling what some of our locals are doing.

Chicago has done notable work. Here is a quotation from Harper's Weekly, "The work of the Chicago Teachers Federation has put millions into the city treasury ... and out of it has come a better, finer Chicago, and a school system so much better than the old that comparison fails." The date when this was published was 24 years ago in 1915. And the Chicago Union is doing notable things today. To begin with it has enrolled a majority of all the teachers in Chicago. In the political field it helped to elect Paul Douglas to the City Council. This year for the first time Mayor Kelly and President McSaheney decided to stop opposing the Union and recognized it as the bargaining agency for Chicago teachers.

The Union secured the restoration of Mr. Cook and Mr. Wolf to the Teachers College. They also secured the right to use school buildings for Union meetings and to distribute Union literature. The Teachers Credit Union has grown in membership from 500 to 1,500. Full medical care has been made available to all teachers for $18 a year. The Union Study Class has continued to meet twice a month with a distinguished group of speakers. Besides the Union Teacher a News Bulletin is published every week which serves as the eyes and ears of the Union. Radio addresses are also given. Had I time I would tell more of the work of the Chicago Union. I like to mention New York next just to prove that Chicago and New York can exist harmoniously and unitedly on the same page together.

To New York State we must hand the banner for the largest membership increase during the past year with a total net gain of 1,734. They also organized six new public school locals, two new college locals and one new W. P. A. teachers local. Besides a state-wide bulletin the "Union Teacher" they have issued frequently during the legislative session a news letter and have actually distributed over 5,000,000 leaflets against curtailment of the educational budget.

The State Federation of Teachers has established a state office with a full time secretary. They have also employed Dr. Bella V. Dodd as full time organizer and Legislative Representative. Besides a state per capita of two cents they levied a special assessment of $1 per member (50c for W. P. A.) and collected it. The tentative budget for next year is $8,000. They have had to meet a strongly entrenched drive by a Republican Legislature to cut state aid by 25%. The actual cut made was 10%. They also defeated a measure to reduce the salaries of New York City teachers. They are waging a strong fight to secure a supplementary appro-
pation for education at the next session of the legislature in 1940.

The New York College Teachers Union, the largest union of its kind in the world, has the highest membership in its history, over 1,100. It has gone far toward democratizing higher educational procedure in New York City and has been complimented for its activity in this regard by Ordway Tead, Chairman of the Board of Higher Education in New York City.

Here is an extract from the report of the Pittsburgh Local. With the shift of Pennsylvania to control by reactionary Republican machine politicians, our work this year has been almost exclusively concerned with holding the gains made under the liberal Democratic regime. The first attack was made upon tenure. Our first move was to make a careful, analytical, objective study of the tenure question, backed by careful research. We got out a study, had it mimeographed, sent it to every senator in the legislature, and to over five hundred important individuals and organizations throughout the western part of Pennsylvania.

After the hearing before the Education Committee on Tenure the Pittsburgh Local prepared a digest of the testimony together with an analysis of the issue and sent it out to teachers and others all over the state.

Atlanta, Georgia, has continued her notable record. We are all proud of what Vice-President Allie Mann and the other officers have accomplished. With over 95% of the teachers of the city in the Union, her record is second to none anywhere. Other locals in Georgia have also been active. For instance, the Augusta Local writes: Because of the failure of the General Assembly of Georgia to provide adequate funds for the operation of our seven months' school law, our Board was faced with a deficit of $25,000. The Finance Committee of our Board, faced with this situation, met and decided that it would be necessary to reduce teacher's salaries ten per cent. A meeting of the Executive Committee of our local was called immediately. We invited the President of our Board of Education and the Chairman of the Finance Committee to this meeting. We had a complete discussion of the financial condition of the local Board. Within three days time, the Finance Committee met again, and decided that the Board would negotiate a loan so as to maintain our salary schedule.

The Erie Federation of Teachers writes: During the past three months we have been fighting locally the Erie County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League. We have defeated their retrenchment program here in Erie and have succeeded in having a budget adopted by the Board of Education which included no salary cuts. The guiding force behind this league in Erie is the General Electric Company; not officers of the company but the company itself. In Pittsburgh, the guiding force has been the Westinghouse Electric.

The Essex County Federation of Teachers in New Jersey writes: I consider our outstanding achievement during the past year to have been the defeat of permissive pay-cut legislation. The president of the State Teachers Association had knowledge of political plans to push through this bill ten days prior to its introduction (for immediate action), but neither said nor did anything about it, hence acquiesced. We learned of it the last minute; organized a telegram campaign from till 11 the very night the bill was to be reported out; we contacted all sorts of associations all over the state, and the bill was buried under the avalanche of protest.

The Cambridge University Union in four years has increased its membership from some thirty to two hundred and twenty-five. At Harvard the Union has come to be accepted by the administration and a majority of the faculty. This year a departmental chairman and the president himself has conferred with the grievance committee of the Union and mentioned the Union tenure and appointment report in the deliberations of the faculty. President Conant also officially met with and delivered an address to the Union.

The Union has an excellent monthly bulletin, and a series of meetings with key speakers. It has more than doubled its membership in the past year.

In labor matters the Union has been active. It played a vital part in the victorious strike of the Georgian restaurant workers; lent their aid to the Harvard dining hall employees in winning a new contract; gave effective financial and other support to the Cambridge Taxi Cab Co. drivers. Union members also played a leading part in Labor's Non-Partisan League. It also arranged the third annual conference of the State Federation of Teachers at Harvard with some 400 people attending.

It is too early to describe the work of the various locals in the summer schools throughout the country. However, to cite one example, Local 442, the Palo Alto Teachers Union, conducted a successful summer program on the Stanford campus. It held meetings and distributed literature to a large proportion of the teachers in attendance. George T. Guernsey, editor of the American Teacher, took part in this campaign. The Palo Alto Union urges...
that more attention be given by the national office to ways and means of promoting work in the summer sessions.

I could go on for hours quoting from Minneapolis, St. Paul, Ohio, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and all the other locals. But perhaps the samples given prove beyond doubt the constructive struggle of the Federation even where numbers are small.

In closing may I remind you again that we are struggling not for ourselves, but for the continuation of democracy itself in these United States. Democracy, according to Thomas Jefferson, is a society dedicated to the proposition “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Again to use the definition of Lincoln, democracy is “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. With fascism on the march in Europe, with the outbreak of a world conflict possible at any moment, we must stand guard against retreatment in education, and for advance in the school system. The fact is the perpetuation of democracy demands a program both of defense and offense. All parties in the United States have recognized the necessity of protecting our material defenses. They have not recognized the necessity of protecting our spiritual defenses. This is primarily the task of the schools. If democratic ideas, values, standards are to be embodied in the thought life of America, it is the schools which will achieve this end. We must train the rising generation to recognize that democracy is impotent unless it is implemented in an economic life which is democratically organized.

Democracy means opposition to every form of special privilege; it means the promotion of religious and similar formations of tolerance; it means promoting understanding and brotherhood, not only within our own country, but between races and nations, it means unbelieving war on poverty and unemployment; and of course, it means a perpetuation of liberty and freedom both for the teacher and the student.

As teachers, engaged in the quest for democracy in education, we must never permit ourselves to be fooled into attacking boogey men instead of the real enemy. Wasting time on inconsequential internal disputes while education is being throttled is criminal. Let us stand unitedly loyal to our great Federation.

My experience is that attacks usually are made against the very individuals and locals who are achieving the most for the Federation.

Every democratic organization must have within its ranks differing political faiths, differing methods of work, but surely we can all be united in the struggle to perpetuate democracy and education. Naturally any organization dedicated to democracy and freedom will be attacked by sinister forces who would like to control it. Our membership will resist any sinister influence, no matter from what quarter which seeks to undermine liberty, equality and fraternity.

I have faith in the delegates to this convention, that they will not permit us to be led into the byways and morasses of inconsequential strife and conflict, that we will center our major attention on education and go forward unitedly to promote the welfare of the childhood of America. Let us have faith in America, faith and loyalty to each other, faith in the Federation we love. Let us not do mere lip service to the ideal of democracy in education and education for democracy but here and now let us build the democratic process into the very fabric of our lives, into our educational institutions, and into the national life.

I want to close this address with a word of greeting. The President of the United States who has probably done more for labor and for education than any other President appeals to the American Federation of Teachers to help the Federal Government in formulating its educational program. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt writes:

The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Davis:

I am glad to send greetings to the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers. It is hardly necessary to reiterate that schools are the foundation of democracy and that therefore teachers are rendering a most fundamental service to the state.

How the Federal Government can best carry on its function and at the same time preserve the maximum of local initiative and individual liberty constitutes a challenge which must be met. This problem affects particularly the relation of the Federal Government to education.

I hope that groups like the American Federation of Teachers will continue to give their profoundest consideration to the question and thus assist the Federal Government in arriving at the wisest decision with respect to its part in the great educational program of the several states and of the people.

Very sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.
Jerome Davis, Esq.
President, American Federation of Teachers,
489 Ocean Avenue,
West Haven, Conn.
Dec. 16, 1939

Hon. Martin Dies
Washington D. C.

Dear Congressman Dies,

According to the New York Times of Dec. 11th the recent report of J. B. B. Matthews stated that I was a "Communist fellow traveller" and made other derogatory statements. May I say that the charges are unqualifiedly false and for making statements somewhat similar altho worse, I am suing the Saturday Evening Post for libel. I trust that you will see that the false statement quoted above is corrected or that this letter is printed in the record of your Committee.

Sincerely yours,
December 21, 1939

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Mr. Dies. I hope you win your case and am sorry that you lost the two positions.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Conn.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

America is again indebted to you for what you did in defence of the Youth organization before the Dies Committee. It is unbelievable the malicious crusade of falsehood that is sweeping our country as a result of the pernicious activities of this Committee. No doubt they have done some good but they have done a world of harm. I have lost two positions because of this campaign altho in neither case did the "powers that be" believe the propaganda against me. However, it had done so much harm that they were afraid to go thru with the appointment. I enclose a copy of a letter which I have just written to Mr. Dies.

What Russia is doing is most disheartening but I suppose just such actions are to be expected considering the background and the fact that you have a dictatorship untempered by the restraining effect of democracy.

With appreciation for all you are doing,

Cordially,

Jerome Davis
Jan. 22, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Thank you for your note. I want to make clear that the activities of the Dies Committee and their unwarranted attack on consumers organizations on whose Board I serve did not make me lose any position in which I was already serving but it did play havoc with two important positions for which I was being considered. It enabled the conservatives to use the Dies Committee to block the appointment. I suspect that is the rather general effect.

At present I am speaking widely over the nation before Foreign Policy Associations, Rotaries and Forums. I find that on the whole the people are for the Dies Committee. I am interested also that a large number say they hope the President runs again because they would like to have Eleanor Roosevelt in the White House! They say that is even more important than having Franklin D. there.

It seems a tragedy that poor Finland has to go thru so much suffering. I was there this summer and saw most of the government leaders. I enclose a picture of the stadium that they planned to use for the Olympics. I am glad that Finland seems to be holding its own so nicely.

Please dont feel that you must reply to this note.

Cordially,

Jerome Davis

—Register Now For The Primaries—
June 15, 1940

Dear Dr. Davis:

Thank you for your letter of June 11. I am interested that you are going as a delegate to the Democratic Convention.

I will ask my husband for an autographed photograph, but I am not sure he is not too busy at present. I will send you one of mine as soon as some new ones are ready.

As to your last paragraph, I do not think any of our men will have to fight in France. I do hope they would be willing to fight for the things we believe in in this country if they were threatened.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Connecticut
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. Leonard:

Please see second paragraph in Mrs. Roosevelt's letter attached. Mrs. R. says to ask Missy for a picture.

Mollie Somerville
Mrs. Somerville:

This came to our files again. Will you be good enough to send Mrs. JR’s photo to Paris as per Mr. de Brand’s instructions. The file remains to your approval I believe.
Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Roosevelt,

I am going as a delegate to the Democratic Convention from Connecticut and I am going to vote for a third term for the President no matter what he says about it. I think in a crisis like this we need his experience and at the helm.

He probably has forgotten but some years ago I gave him a very unique Russian stamp that Chertkov, the Secretary to Tolstoy the writer, had sent me which had cost him half a million roubles. Do you suppose the President would be willing to send me some time a personal photograph which he would autograph to me so that I could have it framed? I know this is a good deal to ask in a time like this but I should deeply appreciate it if it could be arranged. I don't want to add insult to injury by asking too much but I should also feel it a high honor if I could receive yours too.

I go tomorrow to speak to the national student Christian conference. I hate to think of their ever being called on to fight in France. I hope that may not be necessary.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

June 3, 1936
September 16, 1940

Dear Dr. Davis:

Thank you very much for your letter and the copy of the one you sent to Mr. Sutherlin. Good luck to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven
Connecticut
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I thought you might be interested in the letter I wrote resigning as Chairman of Labor's Non Partisan League of the State of Connecticut because they refused to endorse the President. We would have had a majority anyway but when Mr. Oliver resigned as National Director on the same issue the Amalgamated Clothing Workers withdrew and that weakened our forces.

I believe that the vote is going to be close in Connecticut but I am going to do all in my power to see that it is a Roosevelt victory.

Please don't feel that you must answer this note.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis
Mr. Calvin Sutherland  
Chairman, Labs Non-Partisan League of Connecticut  

Dear Mr. Sutherland:

I believe that President Roosevelt has done more for labor than any other President and that the overwhelming majority of the organized workers of Connecticut believe that his election is in the best interests of labor and the American people.

It is significant that the Connecticut Federation of Labor has gone on record supporting him. Long ago the Automobile Workers Union endorsed his candidacy. Both Phillip Murray, Vice President of the C. I. O., and Mr. Kennedy of the United Mine Workers are working for his election. The rank and file of labor throughout the country will vote for him.

I am unalterably opposed to the election of Wilkie whose record it seems to me proves clearly that he cannot be depended on to support progressive labor policies and that he has fought the great program of T. V. A.

I want to do everything in my power to see that President Roosevelt is elected in November and shall not hesitate to speak and write in his behalf. It is apparent to me that since the withdrawal of the Amalgamated and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union a majority of the Executive Committee of the League are unwilling to endorse President Roosevelt for the Presidency. Some of them feel that my efforts in his behalf would be embarrassing to them.

In view of my conviction, therefore, that President Roosevelt should be elected, I hereby tender my resignation as Chairman of Labs Non-Partisan League of Connecticut to take effect immediately.

Fraternally yours,

Jerome Davis
WAR PRISONERS' AID
of the
World's Committee
of the
Young Men's Christian Associations
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

New York
November 30, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Just a note to thank you for the delightful evening at the White House.

It occurred to me that you might like to have a couple of the circulars about our work, and I am also including two or three small leaflets.

When we think of the heroism of the English and Canadian aviators and soldiers who risk their all in defense of Democracy, it seems only right that America should do a little to make their lot bearable in the prison camps of Germany.

I can conceive of no greater humanitarian task, and one which should be extremely popular with the American people in this war, as it was in the last. I feel sure, therefore, that no real lover of Democracy would place any difficulties in the way of your cooperating in the raising of funds for this great cause.

Sincerely yours,

[signature]

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.
THREE MILLION PRISONERS OF WAR—
After only one year of war, there are now in prison camps, half as many prisoners as were taken during the whole World War. In Germany there are 2,500,000 French, Belgian, Polish and British prisoners; in occupied France 400,000 African and other French troops; in unoccupied France thousands of Polish and Czech legionnaires. Thousands of Germans are in the British Isles, Canada, Australia, other British Dominions, and the British and Dutch Colonies. Interned in Switzerland are 40,000 Polish and French prisoners, and hundreds are in prisons in Italy, Palestine, Egypt, Eastern South Africa, Roumania, Hungary, Sweden and Uruguay.

SONS—FATHERS—HUSBANDS—desperately lonely; SONS who are loved at home; FATHERS who cannot forget their families; HUSBANDS without news from home.

PRISONERS ALL—snatched suddenly from active life and herded into camps where they face long days of manual labor or,
worse, idleness; men who are surrounded by barbed wire; cut off from families and friends. All are confronted with the basic problems of captivity—long days and weeks with nothing to do but think and brood. Each man faces many personal adjustments.

THE Y.M.C.A. IS CALLED TO AID—as it did in 1914-1918, by church and other world leaders—by governments—and by three million needy, imprisoned men.

THE PROGRAM—serves the social, recreational, educational and spiritual needs of the prisoners. Able leaders, prisoners themselves in each camp, are encouraged to conduct social events, recreational activities, educational classes and religious services. In several camps complete universities have been formed—with brilliant leadership of world-famous instructors—themselves prisoners.

ESSENTIAL AIDS PROVIDED BY THE "Y"—include musical instruments, books, athletic equipment, games, reading and writing materials, pens and pencils, a few tools. Without these most of the program would be impossible.

A TRAINED STAFF—of more than twenty secretaries—all neutrals—have been assigned by the World’s Committee and other national Y.M.C.A. bodies for full-time service with prisoners in Germany, England, Canada, unoccupied France, occupied France and Switzerland. Urgent requests have come for a number of additional secretaries for work in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and occupied France.

GOVERNMENTS WELCOME THIS SERVICE—All the belligerent countries have granted permission to the War Prisoners’ Aid of the Y.M.C.A. to send its neutral secretaries into the camps. Because of what it means to the men in the maintenance of morale, the military authorities and the prisoners welcome this service provided for in the Geneva Convention.

WHAT IS THE GENEVA CONVENTION?—The Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war was signed in 1929 by representatives of forty-eight nations and later ratified by those countries now at war. Among the many humane regulations laid down, the Convention encourages those activities which help meet the recreational, intellectual, cultural and moral needs of the prisoners.

All governments holding prisoners are carrying out the letter and spirit of this humane Convention.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE RED CROSS—Under the Geneva Convention the International Red Cross is responsible for the protection of prisoners, for the maintenance of regular correspondence between the prisoners and their homes; and for providing—chiefly through National Red Cross societies—food parcels, extra clothing, cigarettes, etc.

THE YOUNG MEN’S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—through its neutral secretaries—is chiefly responsible for bringing to the millions of prisoners opportunities for a recreational, intellectual, cultural and religious program and for providing the facilities essential for such activities.
THE COST—
Maintenance of work among 3,000,000 prisoners of war and other victims of war from September 1939 to July 1941

Already provided by other countries ....... $19,200
Already contributed from U.S.A. .......... 31,028
Expected from other countries .......... 19,500

$70,728

Additional needed from U.S.A. ........... $193,337

*This amount does not include salaries of secretaries and thousands of books provided by various National Alliances of the Y.M.C.A., the Church of the Brethren, U.S.A., and the European Student Relief Fund (supported by the World Student Service Fund, U.S.A.).

IMMEDIATE HELP IS ESSENTIAL—if the services of the Y.M.C.A., with millions of present prisoners and others being imprisoned daily is to be maintained in the months ahead—immediate help from friends of the Y.M.C.A. and others who believe in the necessity for maintaining these Christ-like services for imprisoned millions.

"Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these ... ye did it unto Me."

Send Your Gift for WAR PRISONERS' AID to Your Local Y.M.C.A., or to

WAR PRISONERS' AID COMMITTEE
John B. Mott, Chairman
Judge E. C. Noyes
E. L. Kochos
Cleveland E. Dodge
Cecil Gamble
R. B. Biltzner, Executive Director
Arthur N. Cotton, Associate Director
Room 510, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City

Make checks payable to

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF Y.M.C.A.'s

Number Two

Printed in U.S.A.
"I Was in Prison...

and Ye Came Unto Me"
"I Was in Prison . . .
and Ye Came Unto Me"

WHILE you read this — in freedom and comfort — there are three million men and boys, and a few women, interned in prisoner of war camps. *Three million men!*
After only one year of war there are now in prison camps half as many prisoners were taken during the whole World War.

In Germany there are 2,500,000 French, Belgian, Polish and British prisoners; 200,000 African French troops and 200,000 French prisoners — now in working battalions — are in unoccupied France; thousands of Polish, Czech, and International Brigade legionnaires are in occupied France; thousands of Germans are in the British Isles, Canada, Australia, other British Dominions and the British and Dutch Colonies: 40,000 Polish and French are in Switzerland, where they sought refuge; and hundreds are imprisoned in Italy, Palestine, Egypt, East and South Africa, Roumania, Hungary, Sweden and Uruguay.

**THREE MILLION MEN** who have been snatched suddenly from active life and herded into camps where they face long days of idleness or manual labor; surrounded by barbed wire; cut off from their families and friends.

“They are not criminals,” said the Commandant of one camp. “They are soldiers out of luck. They are not longer enemies; they did their duty; we do not hate them.”

Who are they? They are members of the armies, navies, merchant marines and air forces captured in battle, as well as alien civilians.

But they are also sons, husbands, and fathers . . .

**SONS** — who are loved at home . . .

A tall, husky Canadian flyer sends personal greetings and his picture to his father and mother by one of the Y.M.C.A. secretaries visiting his camp.

A German boy swallows hard when he receives, in a prison camp in Canada, a picture of his old mother from the hands of a secretary who has seen her in Berlin. “Is she well?” is all he can say — in a choked voice.

*There are a million sons, behind barbed wire.*

**FATHERS** — who cannot forget their families . . .

An old colonel who lost his own son in the war, now in charge of a prison camp, writes to a Danish Y.M.C.A. secretary:

“I ask your cooperation. A Polish officer has received a letter which I dare not give him. His wife and children have been deported from Eastern Poland to a far distant prison camp. The news would break him. I know him. Can you help his family?”

*There are a million fathers in prison camps.*
HUSBANDS—without news from home . . .

"I cannot find words to express my gratitude and relief for the news that my husband is safe. . . . May God bless you for the help you give to us wives who are worrying about our husbands. . . ."

There are a million husbands in war prisons.

PRISONERS ALL—the high and the low—the rich and the poor. . . .

Among the masses are a famous Polish opera singer, a well-known German orchestra leader, British chaplains, Germans who were students in Cambridge, Egyptians who were students in Berlin, French scientists and professors, businessmen, famous doctors, lawyers, missionaries and pastors, merchant seamen and fishermen, peasants and workers.

All are confronted with the basic problems of captivity—long days and weeks with nothing to do—but to think and brood. Each has difficult personal adjustments to face.

Hours That Drive to Despair—Unless . . .

"An accordion came to camp today. The smiles on the Belgians' faces, and the joyous grin on the face of the player as they marched to the dining hall to the music of the new accordion are unforgettable," writes a Swedish secretary in a German camp.

To bring music again into their souls, to fill the hours that would drive them to despair, fully equipped orchestras, pianos, mouth organs and music are being provided as rapidly as possible.

Football and games also are being sent. To one camp in England went recently 25 volley
balls, 25 cricket sets, 50 sets of deck tennis, 50 pairs of boxing gloves, 5 dozen tennis balls, 10 ping pong sets, 50 games of halma, 200 sets of dominoes, 10 sets of backgammon, 200 sets of checkers, 20 sets of chess. . . .

And these were for one camp—out of hundreds which need such materials.

*Little things! Unimportant things?* It is hard for us—in America—to realize that these are the things which may save the minds of thousands of sons, husbands and fathers.

**How Much the Hands Can Do to Save a Personality . . .**

"The French officers gave an exhibition of the things they had drawn, painted and carved," writes an American "Y" secretary from a German prison camp. "What amazing work men can do if he takes time. The etchings were like the beautiful manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Most of us have forgotten that our hands could do something else than hold a fork, steer a car, or peck away at a typewriter."

Pencils, paper and books are being furnished for the prison camp universities. Classroom materials already have been supplied for 5,000 pupils. In one camp alone the following courses of study are offered: various languages, mathematics, geology, civics, religion and philosophy, external pathology, dermatology, gastro-enterology, psychiatry, commercial law, accounting, stenography, history, metallurgy. Books are needed. The Polish Y.M.C.A.'s in Warsaw and Cracow collected and sent fifty thousand books to the camps in Germany. Thousands of books are now being assembled in unoccupied France for the hundreds of thousands of French prisoners in Germany.

From the prison camps may still come some of the great doctors, scientists, teachers and scholars of tomorrow.

**A Crucifix, a Bible, a Prayer Cloth . . .**

"Beautiful altar pieces, carved by the prisoners, reveal the love of man for beauty in worship. . . ."

"Polish officers—living in dismal barrack quarters—have requested cloth for curtains. 'We want one place of beauty and quiet in which to worship God,' they said."
"A young wounded Moslem in a prison hospital beamed with anticipation when a Koran in Arabic is promised. . . ."

This Is the Story ... a fragment here, a fragment there, from the tragic mosaic of three million men in prison—men for whom it is agony to think too much about the past—agony to think too much about the future.

This is the story of their need.

The Young Men's Christian Association is faced with a unique opportunity. It has been called upon again—as in 1914-1918—to serve Prisoners of War, to meet urgent needs of these three million men.

Governments Welcome This Service

All the belligerent countries have granted permission to the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A. to send its neutral secretaries into the camps. Because of what it means to the men in the maintenance of morale, the military authorities and the prisoners welcome this service provided for in the Geneva Convention.

What Is the Geneva Convention?

The Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War was signed in 1929 by representatives of forty-eight nations and later ratified by those countries now at war. Among the many humane regulations laid down, the Convention encourages those activities which help meet the recreational, intellectual, cultural and moral needs of the prisoners.

All governments holding prisoners are carrying out the letter and spirit of this humane Convention.

Relationship to the Red Cross

Ever since the outbreak of hostilities, the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and the International Red Cross have conferred together. They are the two chief organizations having representatives in the camps. Under the Convention the International Red Cross is responsible for the protection of prisoners, for the maintenance of regular correspondence between the prisoners and their homes; and for providing, chiefly through National Red Cross societies, food parcels, extra clothing, cigarettes, etc.

The Young Men's Christian Association, through its neutral secretaries, is chiefly responsible for bringing to millions of prisoners
opportunities for a recreational, intellectual, cultural and religious program and for providing the facilities essential for such activities.

**Relationship to the Churches**

By mutual agreement, the World Christian organizations, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, decided that the World’s Committee of the Y.M.C.A.’s should initiate and be responsible for developing the general program among prisoners of war. Wherever possible, the Chaplaincy Committee of the World Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Y.M.C.A., furnishes Chaplains.

The World Service Student Fund of the U.S.A. is also collaborating through the European Student Relief Fund by providing men and money for special service to students in the prison camps.

**Why Does the Y.M.C.A. Do This Work?**

- Because the principal governments and important world agencies have asked it to do so.
- The Y.M.C.A. gained an experience in the last war which is needed today. Its work during 1914-1918 among the 6,000,000 prisoners of war in twenty-eight countries has prepared it to serve the 3,000,000 now in prison camps.
- The Y.M.C.A. believes in youth and in the value of a person. The average age in many camps is twenty-three. These are the “forgotten” men of today. Unless they maintain their desire to live and to be one’s self, they face despair and mental breakdown.
- The Y.M.C.A. has learned how to help youth create its own program of activities. By an occasional suggestion and by supplying essential facilities, thousands of worthwhile enterprises will be carried on by the prisoners.
- The Y.M.C.A. is an inter-confessional, international and non-political world-wide organization. It has the confidence of trusted leaders in all the nations at war. A special responsibility to share in this work rests on the North American Associations, especially those of the United States, because of their history and world service.
- The Y.M.C.A. has committed itself to render this service by actions taken in July, 1939, by the World’s Committee of the Y.M.C.A., and in October, 1939, by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A.’s of the United States of America. Further action was taken by a representative meeting of laymen and secretaries in New York City on September 27, 1940. This group urged that a special appeal for funds for War Prisoners’ Aid be made immediately.

**Work Under Way**

Today, twenty neutral secretaries are working under the auspices of the World’s Committee of the Young Men’s Christian Associations in Germany, England, Canada, occupied France, unoccupied France and Switzerland. Smaller camps are being visited by secretaries of the na-
tions in which the camps are located. Requests have come for a number of additional secretaries for work in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and occupied France.

This work was begun and is being maintained through the cooperation of the national committees of the Young Men's Christian Associations in Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain, Canada, Denmark, Norway (until occupied) and the United States.

The Cost for Immediate Needs

Maintenance of work among 3,000,000 prisoners of war and other victims of war from September, 1939, to July 1, 1941 .......................... $263,865*

Already provided by other countries ................................ $19,200

Already contributed from U. S. A. ........................................ 31,828 $51,028

Expected from other countries .......................................... 19,500 70,528

Additional needed from U. S. A. ........................................ $193,337

*This amount does not include salaries of secretaries, and thousands of books provided by various National Alliances of the Y.M.C.A., the Church of the Brethren, U. S. A., and the European Student Relief Fund (supported by the World Student Service Fund, U. S. A.)
"Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these
... ye did it unto Me."

Send your gift for War Prisoners' Aid to your local Y.M.C.A. or to

W A R  P R I S O N E R S'  A I D  C O M M I T T E E

John R. Mott, Chairman
Judge Eskie C. Carlson
Cleveland F. Dodge
Cecil Gamble

H. Edward Hird, Jr.
F. L. Kohnle
Fred W. Ramsey
William F. Speers

G. S. Bilheimer, Executive Director; Arthur N. Cotton, Associate Director
Room 510, 317 Madison Avenue, New York City

Make checks payable to International Committee of Y.M.C.A.'s

Number One

Printed in U.S.A.
Personal

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Many thanks for letting me know that my memorandum regarding the refugees was presented to the President.

You will be interested to know that the Canadian Commandants in charge of the various internment camps are such enthusiastic admirers of the President, that several of them intimated to me that they would appreciate his photograph to hang in their Officers' Mess and I have secured photographs and presented them to the camps. It is really a pleasure to work in Canada, because of the universal spirit of friendliness to the President.

You will also be interested to know that in my office I have your own autographed picture, along with autographed photographs from Cordell Hull, Harold Ickes and my good friend William Douglas of the Supreme Court. I want to have with these, some time, an autographed picture of the President. I have a number of his letters which I treasure, particularly one written while he was Governor of New York State, in which he said he would not act to remove a certain sheriff without fear or favor and would be guided solely in the interests of justice and the people.

I realize that the President cannot be bothered with matters of autographing in these crucial days, but perhaps some time when I am in Washington, I could get him to sign a photograph for me.

I am still hoping against hope that Russia may be forced to break with Germany. In the event of active warfare between Germany
and Russia, I might be sent by the World’s Committee of the Young Men’s Christian Associations to work among the prisoners of war in Russia, although I should hope that in that eventuality the United States Government itself might be able to use my services in Russia, since I speak the language. I fear, however, Russia may continue her past tactics.

Please do not feel that you must reply to this note. I realize the tremendous demands upon your time.

Cordially yours,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis,
Director for Canada.
June 25, 1941

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Now that Germany and Russia have at last locked horns, it looks as though it means more peril to Germany in the long run. I have no illusions about Russia's strength. I believe Germany will take the Ukraine, possibly even Leningrad. But every day that Germany can be delayed in this Russian venture is of inestimable value to Great Britain and the democracies.

It seems to me that just as Woodrow Wilson in the first World War made a gesture of good-will by sending an American Red Cross Commission to Russia so the President today would be well advised to take a similar step. Russia will desperately need the help such a commission could give.

In the last World War I was offered a chance to serve on the Red Cross Mission to Russia. I did not feel I could accept for I was in charge of all the Y.M.C.A. War Work in Russia. Now also my work in Canada is of the greatest value in enabling us to do work among the British prisoners in Germany. I believe I could be of even more help in Russia. As you may remember, thru the aid of Senator Borah, I have twice seen Stalin and conversed with him for hours at a time. I know the Russian language and people.

Excuse this letter, for I am just now motoring my family to Canada and am writing en route. Ambassador Moffat knows what I am doing now. If the situation ever arises where I could serve my country, I should be glad to come to Washington.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Dr. Jerome Davis
July 12, 1941

My dear Dr. Davis:

I am more than sorry that my efforts to get an autographed picture of the President for you have failed. It appears that he simply must refuse these requests now as every minute of his time is filled with official duties. No requests for autographs are being brought to his attention, and I can only suggest that perhaps later on, if the world situation eases a bit, he may have more time to do these other things.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Jerome Davis
The War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA
24, Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada
MISS THOMPSON:

Grace Tully says the President cannot sign a photo for Mr. Davis at this time. Since this is more or less a thank you note to Mrs. Roosevelt, I wondered, in the circumstances, if the letter shouldn't be filed rather than answered.  Prudence
August 8, 1941

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am so sorry that I cannot have a meeting at the White House in October, as all my days are entirely filled.

The Institute at Campobello was most interesting and I too wish that you could have been there.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Mr. Jerome Davis
Director, War Prisoners' Aid of the YWCA
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Many thanks for your letter of July 12th. It was generous of you to even think of the matter of the autographed photograph and I quite understand the situation.

Tracy Strong, the General Secretary of the World's Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations who, you will remember, spoke at the Tea at the White House, has just returned from visiting Germany, France and England in the interests of our prisoners-of-war work. Everywhere the opportunity and need for serving the prisoners of war is enlarging. We are now trying to meet the needs of three million prisoners. The number of British prisoners was enlarged due to the Greek campaign. Fortunately, as a result of our work for German prisoners in Canada, Mr. Strong was able to double the number of secretaries serving the British prisoners.

In October, Dr. John R. Mott and the World's Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations will endeavour to raise $502,000 to cover our work throughout the world for the coming year.

Recalling the effectiveness of the Tea at the White House, we wondered if you would be willing to call together a highly selected group of men and women at the White House. Perhaps this time you would be willing to hold a dinner at which we could invite thirty to forty men and women. It was my thought that I could say a few words about the changing psychology of the German prisoners, and then Mr. Strong could speak confidentially about the situation among the British prisoners in Germany. It would be most helpful if this event could take place early in October.
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt

July 24, 1941.

Since hundreds of thousands of Russian prisoners have been taken and some thousands of Germans in Russia, Mr. Strong is urging that I go to Russia to open up the work there. In case it becomes feasible to go, I should like to again write you about a rather unique way by which you could be of service.

I noted with great interest the educational experiment you were conducting at the Canadian Camp. I wish I might have been there.

With warm regards,

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis,
Director for Canada.

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.
August 28, 1941.

dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

This is just a line to say that I shall call at Miss Thompsons at 20 East 11th St. on September 5th at 9:30 a.m. Thank you for your note.

Very sincerely yours,

Curt.
Miss Thompson:
Do you think this should be filed -- or referred to the President for his info.?

Prudence

This is an urgent different. [Signature]
Dear Mr. Davis:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me the birch bark writing set which was made in a prison camp in Canada. I was glad of the opportunity to see a sample of the arts and crafts work which they are now carrying on.

I was interested, also, to learn that the German government has allowed you to double the number of secretaries in the prisoners-of-war camps for the British and Canadian prisoners in Germany.

Thank you for keeping me advised of the progress you are making.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis, Director
The War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA'S
21 Dudas Square
Toronto
Canada

PLF/HY
MISS THOMPSON:

We have the writing set -- shall we send over?

PLK
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You took such an interest in the humanitarian work we are doing among the prisoners of war throughout the world, that I have suggested to Mr. Tracy Strong that he should send to you a sample of the articles made in the prison camps in Europe.

Under separate cover, from the United States, I am sending you a birch bark writing set made in a prison camp in Canada. I thought you would be interested in seeing one sample of the arts and crafts work which they are carrying on.

You will be glad to know that because of the work we are doing in Canada, the German government has allowed us to double the number of secretaries in the prisoners-of-war camps for the British and Canadian prisoners in Germany.

Up to the present time, the Russian government has not granted permission for us to work with the prisoners of war in Russia. I do not know whether this attitude will be changed or not.

With appreciation for all that you are doing for humanitarian causes and for democracy,

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Davis,
Director for Canada.
December 30, 1941

Dear Dr. Davis:

Your letter of December 23 has been received in Mrs. Roosevelt’s absence from Washington. It will be brought to her attention upon her return here.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dr. Jerome Davis
War Prisoners’ Aid of the Young Men’s Christian Associations
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada
December 30, 1941

Dear Dr. Davis:

Your letter of December 23 has been received in Mrs. Roosevelt's absence from Washington. It will be brought to her attention upon her return here.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dr. Jerome Davis
War Prisoners' Aid of the Young Men's Christian Associations
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada
Merry Christmas from the
Canadian prison camp.
This card was drawn by a
German prisoner.

Jerome Davis
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 13, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR E.R.

I don't see how I can comment on this because there is a time for everything and appeals to men and women in Germany and in similar countries just do not get through.

F.D.R.

[Signature]
THE WAR PRISONERS' AID OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

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CANADIAN NATIONAL OFFICE, 21 DUNDAS SQUARE, TORONTO

DIRECTOR FOR CANADA—DR. JEROME DAVIS

TEL. ADELAIDE 7942

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House

Washington D.C.

Dec. 23, 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Altho I did not have the privilege of seeing you because of the impact of the World War, may I summarize just briefly the radical changes in the psychology of the German prisoners in my camp in Canada.

(1) The Germans have suffered enormous losses in their Russian campaign. Nearly all the prisoners in Canada have lost relatives and friends and the effect has been catastrophic and depressing.

When I went to Canada fourteen months ago, the German officers and soldiers thought the war would be all over in two months. They firmly believed England would be defeated.

(3) Today most of them believe the war may last from five to ten years and that the British can hope for is a stalemate.

(4) Many of them are beginning to question Hitler's infallibility but what gives them pause is that they do not see what will happen to their families and to Germany if Hitler loses.

In the light of all this, the greatest failure of Allied strategy thus far, it seems to me, is that no hope has been given to the German people in case Hitler is overthrown. In my judgment a million or more American lives might be saved as well as enormous expenditures if a clear positive program could be outlined by America and England giving hope to the German people in the event of the overthrow of Hitler. This would have to be adopted to the German mentality to be effective.

Why should we not appeal to men and women of every nation and race for a new social order based on justice and world brotherhood? It is not a question of nationality but of the attitude of men on the great social issues of democracy and justice which should make men of every nationality united. I feel sure more
must be done along this line if the war is to be shortened and if civilization is to be saved.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis
February 9, 1942

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am sorry to say that the State Department does not believe any useful purpose would be served by the President's communicating with Mr. Stalin on the question of YWCI activities in the Soviet Union. This belief is based on the refusal of the Soviet authorities to accord the American Red Cross permission for its representatives to observe and supervise the distribution and use of Red Cross supplies; their refusal to adhere to the Geneva Convention for the relief of prisoners of war in spite of requests on the part of this and other governments; and their reluctance to permit any foreign representatives to inspect Soviet prison camps.

The Department appreciates the fact that, because of your personal acquaintance with a number of Soviet leaders, you might be useful to this government as a member of the Embassy staff. However, it has been the experience that such acquaintance is of no value to persons attached to the staffs of foreign governments, as the Soviet authorities exercise the utmost care not to permit officials of other governments to presume upon personal friendship.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Feb. 4, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR E.R.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND
RETURN FOR MY FILES.

F.D.R.

[Handwritten note: Will F.D.R. swing to the right?]
My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of January 28 enclosing an excerpt from a letter addressed to Mrs. Roosevelt by Mr. Jerome Davis of the War Prisoners’ Aid of the YMCA. Mr. Davis states that he does not believe that Mr. Stalin will grant the YMCA permission unless you insist upon it. It is assumed that Mr. Davis is referring to permission for the YMCA to organize relief work among the war prisoners in the Soviet Union. Mr. Davis also suggests that you might desire to send him to the Soviet Union in some official capacity in order to assist the new Ambassador.

In view of the refusal of the Soviet authorities to accord to the American Red Cross permission for its representatives to observe and supervise the distribution and

The President,

The White House.
and use of Red Cross supplies sent to the Soviet Union from the United States, in spite of your personal request to Mr. Stalin that appropriate arrangements be made for such supervision, I do not believe that any useful purpose would be served by your communicating with Mr. Stalin on the question of YMCA activities in the Soviet Union. You may also recall that the Soviet Government has consistently refused to adhere to the Geneva Convention for the relief of prisoners of war in spite of requests on the part of this and other Governments to do so. Since the Department is of the opinion that this refusal is caused by the reluctance of the Soviet authorities to permit any foreign representatives to inspect Soviet prison camps, I believe all the more strongly that any personal representations on behalf of the War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA would have no favorable effect.

I have appreciated Mr. Davis' suggestion that, in view of his personal acquaintance with a number of prominent Soviet leaders, he might be useful to this Government as a member of the Embassy staff in the Soviet Union. It has been our uniform experience as well as that of other Governments that a former friendly personal acquaintance
acquaintanceship with Soviet leaders is of no value whatsoever to a person assigned to the Soviet Union as a representative of or as a member of the staff of a representative of a foreign government. The Soviet authorities, in fact, always exercise the utmost care not to permit officials of foreign governments to presume upon former personal acquaintanceship in efforts to obtain special treatment and they are consistent in extending treatment to foreign officials corresponding to the position occupied by such officials rather than to former personal relationships, reputation for a friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union, et cetera.

It is therefore my considered opinion that the assignment of Mr. Davis to our Embassy at Kuibyshev in any official capacity would not materially contribute to the effectiveness of our representation in the Soviet Union.

Faithfully yours,

 Cordell Hull
August 6, 1942

Dear Mr. Davis:

I showed your letter to the President and he said he wondered whether either you from your conversation with the Russians or the Russians themselves could tell you just where they would suggest starting a second front, giving at the same time the number of men that would be required, the amount of supplies to maintain them and where the ships were coming from. If all this could be worked out, he would be very glad to have it given him in detail.

Sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Jr. Jerome Davis
21 Aundas Square
Toronto, Canada
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

There are a number of Russians here including the brother of Field Marshal Timoshenko. I thought you might be interested in their present reactions. Some of them feel that President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill gave a solemn promise to create a genuine diversion so that the Germans would have to transfer troops from the Russian front and the fact that that has not yet materialized in the face of the tragic situation creates a certain bitterness which is unfortunate. They say that if Canada, England or the United States were invaded we would throw any number of millions into the breach, then why should we not do so for Russia which has held up the progress of the German onslaught from us. If this is the feeling here what must it be in Russia? If the Caucasus goes without a great effort towards a second front, it is unnecessary to emphasize the danger to our cause in the long run. Recognizing the precariousness of doing anything precipitately, is it not possible that an even greater risk lurks in waiting? The next ninety days will determine whether this is to be a long, long war, with the United Nations fighting with their backs to the wall. History is certainly slowly grinding out her verdict of our policies in India, in Russia and throughout the world. God grant that the President may make the right decisions and not be too much influenced by American considerations.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Jerome Davis
August 24, 1942

My dear Dr. Davis:

I think the real answer is that there would be no point in a second front if it could not be carried through from the point of view of supplies from this country and, at the present time, it would be difficult to be sure of having enough boats to do this. Determined as everyone is to win this war, we have an obligation not to sacrifice our men without every precaution and protection.

Sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Dr. Jerome Davis
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada
THE WAR PRISONERS' AID OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

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der the auspices of

THE WORLD'S COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

CABLE ADDRESS: "PENROTH" - ENGLAND

CANADIAN NATIONAL OFFICE, 21 DUNDAS SQUARE, TORONTO

DIRECTOR FOR CANADA—Dr. JEROME DAVIS

TEL. ADELAIDE 7862

AUG 17 1942

August 11, 1942.

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Many thanks for your letter of August 6th. Of course Russians will not be able to answer your questions, but they are reading reports which are circulated all over America and Canada such as the one I enclosed by Michael Foot, editor of the London Evening Standard. They also read the cabled dispatches of the well known American correspondent, Leland Stowe, who says it is "five minutes before midnight" and the next forty days will determine the course of the war. He demands a second front at all costs and says that if one is not established then there will be a third front, but of the Germans making.

What I think the Russians would like to know is wherein the statements by the editor of the London Evening Standard and the correspondent, Leland Stowe, are wrong.

I recognize that the President is undoubtedly doing all in his power and that Winston Churchill, with high ranking Americans, have no doubt been in conference in Moscow in the last few days.

With high regard and esteem for all you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Davis
We Have:

The Men -- The Will -- The Ships

By MICHAEL FOOT
Editor, London Evening Standard

SOMEWHERE on the sweeping plains between two Russian rivers the fate of this planet is being decided. Beneath sun and thundercloud great armies clash by day and night. The largest mechanized forces ever placed on fields of battle are in deadly combat. The stakes involved are proportionate to the numbers of men and the mass of metal. Our deepest fear is that the Russian armies should be destroyed; that they should be encircled, trapped or minced to pieces by superior steel. No wild imagining is needed to assess the results of such a disaster. If the Russian armies of the south were scattered, the Russian armies of the north would be sapped of their strength. The Caucasus and the oil would lie open. Hitler would stand a conqueror greater than Napoleon.

He could return westward with countless legions, unnumbered machines and the priceless boon of immunity in the east. He could devote all his energies to settling his account with this island. He would have riches to gamble and weapons to squander. This conclusion we dare not in our senses contemplate. Our dearest hope is that somewhere between those rivers the Russian armies should stand and fight: the most decisive battle of the world. Another Smolensk; a second Rostov; that the spirit of Sevastopol should be reborn in Stalingrad; such are our hopes. They are just. Already Voronezh has matched the memory of Minsk and Kiev and Kharkov. Novorossisk will outdo Odessa, if necessity should demand. Timoshenko’s armies are still intact. A pile of German dead strewn the banks of the Don and the land of the Cossacks breeds the toughest-joined guerrillas. It is proper to hope. But we dare not put our faith in hope alone.

No escape from the facts is permitted. They stare us in the face. And the British people ask: Must we stand aside as spectators at Armageddon, like racegoers at the course who have placed their bets and can do no more but applaud and shout to affect the outcome? It is an unfair question. British and Imperial soldiers fight for Buez, guard Syria, Irak, Persia, Australia and India. British sailors wage ceaseless war in the Arctic, the Atlantic and every other ocean. British airmen are granted no rest; they give their lives night and day. Together the fighting men of Britain held the pass for freedom and made the Grand Alliance possible. Yet there is one ounce of truth in the anxious, eager questioning of the British people. Not all these exertions are sufficient to dictate the plot in the great eastern battle. Nothing less than our total effort at the hour of Russia’s total effort will do it. Can we do it? Dare we do it? There is no other issue of

(Continued on Page 4, Column 3.)
The Men -- The Will -- The Ships

(Continued from Page 1.)

equal dimension in the whole range of world politics.

We are pledged by honor and interest and word and

When the Russian people call for aid and the

British and American peoples, through the

understandings of their leaders, have sworn their

oath. The whole energy of this nation should now

be devoted to making our promise good. Yet in

some quarters whispers are spread abroad. These

doubts are traitorous. They may be killed. For in

this hour nothing should possess the minds and

hearts of our people but a Fleming purpose to do

the deed.

Have we the men? We have more than the

number who saved Moscow last autumn, more

perhaps than the number whom Timoshenko

commands as the harrier to the Caucasus, count-

less more than the number on whom Auschwitz

calls to save Suez and the East. We have all

their and their American comrades in arms.

They are waiting and training. They cannot wait

forever. They must fight or lose their spirit. What

would Timoshenko give for such reserves?

Have we the machines? We have Matildas and

Valentines and Timoshenko fights with them. We

have two-pounders to equal the German 37 mm.

We have six-pounders to surpass their 50 mm.

We have 27" to beat the 88 mm. We have new

tanks designed for the close country of Flanders

and France. We have bombers to blast the enemy

airheads and fighters to sweep their Luftwaffe

from the skies. We have mastery in the air. How

would Timoshenko counter-attack with such

machines?

Have we the ships? Aye, there's the rub. Well,

we had ships to take 500,000 men to the Middle

East, ships to capture Madagascar, ships to take

huge convoys to India, ships for transporting

supplies to Russia, ships to save an army from

Dunkirk, ships to keep this nation the best fed in

Europe. Ships do not lie idle. They must be em-

ployed according to a rigid rule of priority. Sup-

pose the Second Front became number one prior-

ity. Perhaps then the greatest seafaring nation

the world has ever seen would be able to find

the ships.

Have we the will? That is the real question.

Have we the nerve and muscle to screw our

courage to the sticking place, to hurt ourselves across

the Channel, to break down the coastal defenses,

to burst into Europe, to rescue our friends, to stir

cheer and defiance in every city and town of that

stricken continent, to make every German in

every tortured hamlet walk in fear of his life, to

suffer, to sacrifice and above all to dare? It would

be a bloody, frightful business. "No more Dun-

kirk!" is the cry, and it sounds plausible. But

suppose the Russians worked on this maxim. No

more Kleve; no more Krasnoe; no more Odess-

sa; no more Sebastopol. . . . Is this the doctrine

of victory or are these epic reserves for Rus-

sia?

Dunkirk is not an ignoble name. It shook this

nation from her sloth and raised her to the peak

of her greatness. It made every man ready to

give all for his country. It put property and

wealth and life itself at the service of the Com-
mmonwealth. It made unnumbered heroes from

common men. It saved 250,000 soldiers from cer-
tain death. It made British sailors the proudest

in all the world. It made this people one. It was

the modern miracle. And after: Armada, Moretto

Moor, Blefheim, Quebec and the Marne, this

nation should believe in miracles.

The liberties we cherish and the battles which

have won them for us were not secured by armies

which marched to certain victory. Great issues are

more nearly balanced. Against odds, in the teeth

of power, without the aid of the diet of chance,

the glories of free men have been established.

There is no other way. And if we are only

to plan and prepare and calculate while Russia

dares and Russia bleeds, we shall not deserve to

retain the rank of a great nation.

It was thus on one July 14 at the start of this

age of freedom. With daylight, one idea dawned

upon Paris, and all were illumined with the same

ray of hope. A light broke upon every mind and

the same voice thrilled through every heart: "Vive

And thus shall take the Hastile!" That was im-

possible, unreasonable, preposterous. And yet

everybody believed. And the thing was done.

This is our situation, but in terms of rhetoric.

Perhaps a colder exhortation may be preferred.

These are the words of Clausewitz, the first among

military theorists: "Naturally in war we always

seek to have the probability of success on our

side, whether it be that we count upon a physical

or moral superiority. But this is not always pos-

sible; we must often undertake things when the

probability of our succeeding is against us, if, for

instance, we can do nothing better. If in such a

case we despairs, then our rational reflection and

judgment leave us when most wanted. Therefore,

even when the probability of success is against

us, we must not on that account consider our

undertaking as impossible or unreasonable; reas-

onable it will always be if we can do nothing

better, and if we employ the few means we have

to the best of our advantage."

This is our situation, except that our means are

not few. Our allies fight the great battle of the

war. We can do nothing better to aid them. Be-

fore us lies the enemy's Bastille, inhabited not by

a few lusty crores, but by brave and suffering

friends eager to strike in our cause. There is no

despair in England now. And there should be

neither doubts nor whispers. If the British people

are still truly great, no mood should exist in this

land but the resolve to start the adventure now.

To batter down the prison gates, to summon the

hosts of freedom to our side and to ensure that

if the battle of the Russian rivers be won we can

count ourselves among the victors just as surely

if the battle be lost we shall have to count our-

selves among the vanquished.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 19, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

A nice story.

E.R.

RETURN TO MRS. ROOSEVELT
Aug. 8, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Today I had the unusual experience of playing a tennis match with a German General, the camp leader in one of the officers prisoner of war camps here. Fortunately I beat him 6-4, 6-0, 3-0.

When Germans begin to weaken they go fast! I thought you would be interested in one remark he made, says he, "I guess we will be kept here so long we will be eligible for old age pensions when we get back."

This is a vast change from eighteen months ago when they thought Germany was going to win the war in two months.

Please don't bother to reply to this note.

Cordially,

[Signature]
December 7, 1942

Dear Mr. Davis:

I congratulate all of you in
The National Religion and Labor Foundation
on this, your tenth anniversary.

Cooperation between the liberal
forces in the church and in the labor movement
is one of the great strengths of our nation
and is one of the great necessities in the war
and in the after the war period.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerome Davis
The War Prisoners' Aid of the
Young Men's Christian Associations
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada
Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.  

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:  

We all followed your visit to England with the greatest interest. I only wish you might have gone on to the Soviet Union but perhaps you can do that sometime after the war.

You may recall that the Religion and Labor Foundation which I started had a conference for theological seminary students at the White House last year. It is now planning its tenth anniversary celebration to be held in New York City on December 13th. I wonder if you would care to send just a sentence of greeting which could be read at this meeting and also published in the special anniversary number of the Foundation's official organ? I enclose a copy of the announcement. You could send this to me here.

We are still getting more German prisoners-of-war here in Canada and fortunately a few generals! Their present chastened outlook is in striking contrast to their attitude two years ago when I started the work here. They are beginning to have doubts about the official German reports on the war, and not long ago one said to me he thought Germany would be defeated.

The shackling of prisoners has caused all sorts of headaches and, I think, has been a great mistake. The Swiss Government is trying to get both sides to call it off. I think if Germany won't, we should.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis

November 28, 1942

MRS. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Dear Friends:

On December 13th the National Religion and Labor Foundation will celebrate its tenth anniversary with a public service in the Labor Temple in New York, in which representatives of the church, synagogue and organized labor will take part.

Brought into life in the depth of the depression, the Religion and Labor Foundation has survived and advanced, bringing liberal forces in the church and the labor movement into cooperation, and defending workers in their efforts through organization to improve their conditions of living.

The Foundation has, during this brief period, directed study tours to help ministers, teachers and other social leaders to a first-hand knowledge of labor economic conditions. It has held conferences, conducted investigations and hearings where the welfare of workers was involved, arranged for the exchange of fraternal delegates, set up mass meetings, defended ministers and organizers when they suffered because of courageous social action. Through chapters in many of the theological schools the Foundation has helped hundreds of young men and women in training for religious leadership understand the role of labor in society and participate in organizing campaigns. It has fought Fascist and anti-democratic forces. It has been interfaith, inter-racial, and inter-generational. Its program has implemented the social creed of religious bodies.

As part of the anniversary occasion the Foundation is publishing a 32-page December issue of its official organ, Economic Justice, that will contain appropriate articles by noted authorities and special features describing the principal activities of the Foundation. For this souvenir issue we shall be glad to have greetings from National and International unions, local unions, city and state labor councils, churches, synagogues, social action committees, councils of churches and other friends of the RLF.

On page 3 is a cut-out, giving information about rates, which you may use in forwarding your greeting. This should be received by December 3rd, together with payment and text of the greeting.

Sincerely yours,

John Paul Jones
For Religion

Mark Lewis
For Labor
BROTHERHOOD
OF
TEMPLE AND FACTORY
IN
A PEOPLE'S WORLD

TENTH ANNIVERSARY
NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

SUNDAY EVENING. DECEMBER 13, 1942
At 8:15 o'clock.

LABOR TEMPLE, NEW YORK

BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCONNELL. Presiding

REPRESENTATIVES OF CHURCH, SYNAGOGUE AND
ORGANIZED LABOR WILL SPEAK. SEMINARY DELE-
GATIONS WILL ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN PRO-
GRAM.

SPACE FOR GREETING

Name or Organization

Secretary

Address

Space desired □ 1" x 3¼", $5.00
□ Quarter page, $15.00
□ Half page, $30.00
□ Full page, $50.00

Amount Enclosed $
OUR OBJECTIVES

To bring religious leaders into first hand contact and cooperation with the organized labor movement,

To give them an opportunity to become acquainted with its philosophy, strategies and problems, and

To recognize the potentialities of the labor movement as a means of realizing, in part, the ideals of Jesus and the social prophets.

To bring labor leaders and workers into close association with organized religion.

To acquaint them with the program, activities and problems of the Church and the Synagogue, and

To help them understand the religious and ethical issues involved in the labor movement, and

To inform them about daring religious activity in behalf of labor.

To encourage the progressive forces of religion and labor to work together on specific issues in which justice to workers and the general welfare of society are involved.

To help preserve and extend democracy through using it NOW to emancipate all our people from discrimination, fear and want, and thus to make democracy actually live in our thoughts, in our lives, and in the community.

To establish in American public opinion the moral and legal right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through organizations of their own choosing, and to become an integral force in planning the production and distribution of the basic necessities of life.

To help organized religion implement its social creeds by setting up local facilities for Religion-Labor understanding and action.

To unite student-faculty groups in the theological seminaries of the United States and Canada into an international fellowship of faith and action through which the religious leaders of tomorrow will be prepared for intelligent cooperation with organized labor.

To lay upon the conscience of America the dire condition of vast numbers of our people who do not yet enjoy the protection of social security and labor organization.

To open new and creative ways of experiencing the moral energy and illumination that flow from vital religion.

OUR ACTIVITIES

To set up Religion and Labor Centers in industrial communities, sponsored by interfaith and interunion Boards of Control, with the purpose of interpreting religious and labor movements to one another and of defending the vital aims and needs of workers.

To organize Locals in the theological seminaries, the purpose of which shall be,

To relate members, through action, to the problems and needs of organized labor in the immediate vicinity,

To encourage administrators and faculties to make provision for the study of the history, aims and program of organized labor.

To set up local and regional conferences to exchange experiences and to explore the field of Religion-Labor relationships.

To provide information to ministers and students who desire to relate themselves or their churches to the program of organized labor.

To arrange for an exchange of fraternal delegates and speakers at religious and labor conferences and conventions.

To give public and economic support to ministers and union members who lose their jobs, or otherwise suffer, as a result of legitimate labor action.

To investigate the status and needs of workers in religious and non-profit agencies and to work for their protection through an extension of social security and through their organization into unions.
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CLAUD C. WILLIAMS, People’s Institute of Applied Religion, Evanston, Ill.
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD, New York City
WINIFRED WYGAL, National Staff, Y.W.C.A., New York City

Organizational connection given for purpose of identification only.
April 13, 1943.

Dear Mr. Davis:

I have your letter of March 26th and am interested that you are planning to go to Russia.

I think if a watch is sent to Mr. Stalin it should go through Admiral Standley and will probably be done at a later date.

Good luck to you.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Mr. Jerome Davis
War Prisoners' Aid of the Young Men's Christian Associations
21 Dundas Square
Toronto, Canada.
THE WAR PRISONERS' AID OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

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CANADIAN MEDICAL SOCIETY

MARCH 26, 1913.

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I enjoyed very much seeing you again.

I telephoned Mr. Sayre and made absolutely clear to him that
I was going abroad as a representative of the press. For
your information, besides the Canadian Press, I have concluded
arrangements with the Chicago Sun and with Mr. Marshall Field.
They will syndicate my articles throughout the United States.

I also saw Ambassador Winant who said he
would be glad to do everything possible about the northern route
although he was not certain about its feasibility.

It may interest you to know that Mr. Goppert,
President of the Denoyer-Geppert Company of Chicago, whose maps
are used all over the United States and who recently sent a
special map to the President, wants me to take over a gold watch
to Russia which you will have inscribed:

"To a heroic Russian officer from an American admirer"

I understand that watches are very scarce in the Soviet Union. It
occurred to me that it would be a very fine gesture of friendship
if someone in official authority could send over a gold watch to
Stalin.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Davis