The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

John Collier's social outlook is so fine that I thought you might like to have the enclosed testimonial to Charles Fahy's fine character and availability.

Last Saturday night I was in Des Moines on the same program with Sidney Hillman and Charles Hook, President of the National Association of Manufacturers. The subject which all three of us discussed was cooperation of labor, agriculture and industry. Hillman at the close of his talk urged that you call a conference of the leaders of agriculture, labor and industry. In my talk which followed I urged that labor, agriculture and industry call their own conference and then after they had ironed out differences within and between the groups that they call in government. Later I saw Hillman and O’Neal and they both were exceedingly keen for you to call a conference. The sentiment of the meeting which we addressed was undoubtedly very strong for some action along those lines. I think it might be worthwhile for you to talk to Sidney Hillman and Ed O’Neal separately about how this might be done in the most constructive manner. The significance of this proposal is much more complex in both its political and economic ramifications than they suspect. Nevertheless I am convinced there is something which can be done which will meet politically the growing public demand for something of this sort and which will have a practical outcome. It would be wise to know in advance if anything of this sort would have acceptance in certain key spots.

Respectfully yours,

[Signature]

Secretary

Enclosure
February 18, 1939

PERSONAL

Dear Henry:

I think I have spoken to you, one time or another, about Charles Fahy, who is General Counsel for the National Labor Relations Board. He is among those being speculated about for the Supreme Court vacancy. His chance would be somewhat greater because he is western (New Mexico), and that he is a Roman Catholic might help. He is consistently and wholly a liberal. His social outlook is perfect. He is one of the finest human beings I have ever known. And I really do know him, having worked with him upon a variety of things across fifteen years. He has the necessary size -- I mean, intellectual. But his best side is ethical or spiritual. It just might happen that it would be useful for you to have these thoughts.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosure
Clipping
URGE GROUP UNITY TO WIN PROSPERITY

Speakers at Des Moines Back Council of Agriculture, Labor and Industry

AS AID TO GOVERNMENT

Wallace Proposal Is Supported by Hillman and Hook, Head of Manufacturers

DES MOINES, Feb. 18 (AP) — Secretary Wallace and Sidney Hillman, vice president of the C.W. O., joined tonight in proposing an inter-group council of agriculture, labor and industry, to work with the government for economic reconstruction.

Charles R. Hook, of Middletown, Ohio, steel manufacturer and chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, pledged the support of industry, asserting that "it is ready and anxious to put its shoulder to the wheel along with agriculture, labor and government."

These three leaders, with Secretary Wallace representing the dual roll of agriculture and government, were speakers at the final session of the National Farm Institute, which opened yesterday.

In proposing the plan, Secretary Wallace said it would probably be most consistent with our traditions of democracy for agriculture, industry and labor to form their own council, on their own initiative and entirely independent of the government, but prepared always to cooperate with the government in promoting the prosperity of all groups.

Would Define General Welfare

"The council, if one is formed, should try to define what is meant by the general welfare," he added, "find out whether certain policies help or injure the general welfare and work to create a better under-
The council would be in a better position then any other type of agency to obtain available explanations of governmental policies in the matters of spending, debt and.raise, and taxation, respectively, to affect sufficiency.

It is suggested that this council give its immediate consideration to the development and interest of small programs of expansion in the volatile period of industrial activity and to the price and wage problems, which would be consistent with such an expansion.

"It could also be a government for such assistance as it felt was needed in an aggressive program of increased production,"

Hillman Urges Joint Labor-Agriculture

After urging a "national conference of labor, by labor and government for the reconstruction of the nation, who is also president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, pledged with farmers to drop their traditional distrust of industrial labor.

"American wages are lower," he said, "because of their long and often toil against great aggregates of capital, have lived with much sympathy in the organization of special interests. The process of democracy requires collective action by representatives of well-organized groups, and in the program of reconversion must succeed today without the sanction of government support.

Mr. Hook asserted that industry was not seeking any possibilities to operate in cooperation with agriculture, labor, government or any other group.

"It is not only seeking other groups outside agriculture and labor. It will work for the national welfare. It will be working internally, within its own tactics to contribute to the welfare of its own resources and its own power to the battle for national welfare.

"Mr. Hook predicted that participation in this year's institute would be like a historic not alone for the farmer but for all of us and millions—one of tremendous importance to America."

Farm Leader Stressu Partly

Kinds In Tex New York

DIES MOORE, Feb. 13.—The farmers are fighting for parity purchasing power, but they have to accord the same right to other groups, Edward A. O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, told the National Farmer's Institute today.

He urged coordination of agriculture, industry and labor to work out a program which would enable representatives of such to maintain income comparable with that of other groups.

"Agriculture now has a law designed to give parity purchasing power with other groups," Mr. O'Neal asserted.

"But I am afraid to say that I don't believe it will do it. We have to fight for parity purchasing power for us to reach and maintain parity position for any group, no matter how long the period of time, even with the help of this law. In the same way, unless we achieve an economic balance between groups, is impossible. Therefore, if prices and which consumers will pay for food and fiber.

I am quite far to say that, in my opinion, we never can solve the problem of unemployment in a democratic way except as the different groups work out a coordinated program which, in effect, will provide for parity for all three groups.

The Farm Bureau leader asserted that a better understanding was coming about between labor, agriculture and industry, although he said farmers "do not feel kindly the Phase of the other two. Although there are institutions where which organizations undertake to understand but they do not also understand the situation.

Secretary Williams told the insti- tute that agriculture's parity is the patent greater than 1929. The agriculture base is a national income around $20 billion, with the added efforts at a national income of about $30 billion dollars," he added.

The secretary said, "If they are wise, they would insist on the need for labor and business cooperation with government in order to increase the total production of wealth."
The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I am sure you will find it interesting to glance rapidly over the attached summary of the opinions of 1588 farmers in the middlewest who expressed themselves with regard to what they believe to be the worst part of the New Deal.

Respectfully yours

[Signature]

Secretary
February 16, 1939

FARMER OPINIONS ON WORST PARTS OF THE NEW DEAL

From April 1, 1938 to February 4, 1939, 2,147 interviews with farmers were held in the States of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

They were asked, among other things, to indicate the worst part of the New Deal.

559 had no reported opinion.

Of those having opinions, 62 percent kicked against Government spending, relief, waste, and debt as the worst part of the New Deal.

5 percent kicked against trade agreements as the worst part of the New Deal.

7 percent against foreign policy and war preparation.

4 percent against labor policy.

5 percent against prohibition repeal.

3 percent against the farm programs.

1 percent against dictatorship and regimentation.

2 percent said everything was wrong with the New Deal.

8 percent listed miscellaneous items.

4 percent said everything was all right with the New Deal.
THE WHITE HOUSE

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

February 27, 1939

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is an account of an interview with
Winston Churchill which I thought you might like to
read.

Respectfully yours,

H A Wallace
Secretary
Interview with Mr. Winston Churchill

London

February 10, 1939

This morning I left early with Robert Boothby, who used to be Winston Churchill's secretary, to spend the day with Mr. Churchill at his country place in Kent. We motored for about an hour and a half and finally arrived at a beautiful red brick house overlooking a perfectly lovely valley. We were ushered into a magnificent room filled with books and large windows which looked out on the whole place - formal gardens on the right, a duck pond in the center and a series of walled gardens with another dwelling, about half completed, on the left.

Boothby said: "There is the great man himself working away."

I spied a figure climbing down from a ladder. Pretty soon Churchill himself came in. He had been busy doing the masonry work on the garden walls and the new dwelling which he proudly pointed to, claiming he had built the whole thing and actually had laid every stone with his own hands. He was most informal, direct and easy, with gray-blue eyes and an exceedingly intelligent, round well developed head. Clad in blue overalls, which he wore all through lunch, he made a picture I shall never forget - the contrast of his workingman's clothes with the intellectualty of his conversation and the grace and beauty of his table. Mrs. Churchill, still very handsome and gracious, joined us and we sat down to a very delicious meal.
Mr. Churchill opened the conversation by praising Roosevelt, saying that his recent statements may be responsible for saving the peace of Europe — certainly they have given both the French and English a feeling of confidence that must undoubtedly encourage their respective Governments to take a much firmer stand than they might have otherwise.

We then discussed my visit to Sir Horace Wilson. My own impression of Wilson as he fades into perspective is that he is a sort of an English Cardinal Richelieu. Somehow I feel I can't trust the man — that he is both pious and hypocritical and that he would be completely unscrupulous in the methods he used to accomplish his own ends. As an influence around Chamberlain and the Government I feel that he may well play a fairly deceptive game. I gathered Churchill was not a complete admirer.

We entered into a lengthy discussion of English defenses. The navy, according to Churchill, was tiptop, in fact there was no reason at all to doubt that Britain and France in event of a war would have control of the seas. The air force was getting better every day. The regular anti-aircraft around London had shown a great improvement during the last three months. The so-called home defenses against air raids which constitute the building of trenches and shelters for the removal of the population from dangerously congested districts was still in a dreadful shape and has not as yet the proper personnel to manage it.

Mr. Churchill then dwelt on the Spanish situation and its influence on the whole European situation. It was amazing how our views coincided. He said it was all very well for the British to gloat that Franco would have to turn to them in order to re-construct Spain, since they were the
only people who had the money to give Franco the essential help he needed. Franco in addition was absolutely positive that England's sole objective was an independent Spain free from any entangling alliances and it was natural that this attitude should coincide with Franco's own feelings in the matter. Undoubtedly both the Italians and the Germans were far from popular in Spain. But how could anyone in their senses imagine that either Germany or Italy after the great help they have rendered the Franco cause were going to give up the fruits of victory to the English without a struggle. And this is precisely why the situation today is so very precarious. The Conservative Party all along had played for a Franco victory feeling that in the end Franco would have to turn to England. On the other hand, Mussolini's ambitions for a Mediterranean Empire required control of Spain. Thus in the Spanish situation there exists the immediate seed of conflict. In Churchill's estimation the probabilities were that it would bring on a crisis within the next few weeks. In addition he felt that Hitler had now reached the peak of his military power. From now on he would grow weaker in relation to England and France. Therefore, logic dictated the time to strike was now. If Hitler's ambitions were moderate (I could hear myself talking here) he would have taken what Chamberlain offered him last October. But, he added, the nature of dictators is such that they can't stop. The standard of living goes steadily down and the only way the dictators can continue in power is by steadily returning home with new adventures and fresh victories.

Mr. Churchill continued that he had no doubt about the willingness of the French or British people to resist the demands of the dictators at this time even if it came to war. French leaders who believed in Munich
were now ashamed and wished to atone for their sins and show the people that they were patriotic Frenchmen. The others who had not believed in Munich felt that now was the time to redeem French honor. As for Chamberlain the facts of the case were steadily pushing him and his followers into following the Churchill thesis whether they liked it or not. In fact, he said, "they first tried to stone me off the platform and now they are trying to push me off my platform in order to get on." Nevertheless, Chamberlain is still the deciding influence and there is a streak of oriental pacifism in his nature that might lead him to surrender at the last moment, even against the will of many members of his own party.

Chamberlain could count upon the votes of the women and certain of his followers who would obey him blindly. He still has control of the party machinery which is exceedingly important.

The best he expected was a series of crises in which the Italians and Germans would hope to break the English and French morale by the steady pressure of mobilization and the constant threat of war. But there was more than a 50% chance of war.

At this point we began talking about the possible strategy that would be followed in the event of a war. Churchill said that he believed the main field of fighting would be in the Mediterranean. The Maginot line was sufficiently strong to keep the Germans out of France. In the initial stages the war would center around Italy. Although the Italians had become heroes in the Italian press he had a vivid memory of their past glory and he felt that the Italian navy might never leave its harbors in spite of the beautiful new guns and battleships that have been created.
The Germans in all probability would strike East attacking Roumania, but a large part of their forces would have to be diverted to Italy in order to prop up a faltering ally. The English and French naval supremacy was so great that Italy could be bottled up very completely in a very short time. This blockade in turn would put an added strain on Germany's slender economic reserve since Germany would have to feed Italy and supply her with necessary raw materials from her own none too plentiful reserves. In the meanwhile there would be much unpleasantness in the air. London would be bombed. The spectacle of 50,000 English women and children being killed might readily bring the United States into the conflict - especially in view of Mr. Roosevelt's present attitude. The probabilities are that Turkey, Russia and Roumania would all be on the allied side with Yugoslavia, Poland, and even Czechoslovakia eventually, joining in. He did not see how Germany in the long run could win in view of the great vulnerability of her none too reliable ally, namely, Italy. Of course there was always the chance of Germany attacking Holland and Switzerland which would complicate matters indeed and there was always the additional chance of unpleasant surprises in any war. The whole problem was further complicated by the fact that Hitler and Mussolini have become the slaves of their own policy of expansion and were unable to turn off the heat for fear of internal difficulties.

At the end he asked me to take a message to Reynaud to tell him that he and a great many other Englishmen were very uncomfortable about the presence of Mr. Bonnet in the Cabinet fearing that he was completely unreliable especially after his informal speech to newspaper men in which it was claimed that he said that Italy had "just grievances." One doesn't
know where the French stand or whether they could be trusted especially after the way they had sold out the Czechs. He added that if war had occurred last October the victory would have been a very easy one for the allies in spite of the fact that their air force was far from properly prepared. His opinion was that the loss of 40 Czech divisions and the strengthening of the Siegfried Line had not been compensated by the fact that London's internal defense position was somewhat better, that the air fleet was now reaching a point of real efficiency.

He ended our discussion by saying that the very best thing the United States could do was to keep on beating the drums and talking back to the dictators. The one thing that might make them hesitate in plunging the world into war was the fear that the United States would soon be in it in a big way. He added that if the next six months could be gotten through without a war he was sure there would be no war. In all events he was optimistic that western civilization and democracy would both survive.

He escorted us out to our car. I have never been more cordially received anywhere in Europe and as I left I retained the picture of him standing in his driveway, a vivid figure in his blue overalls, waving us good-bye.

Personally, I distrust the English thesis that Franco must play ball with them because they and the French are the only powers that can supply Spain with the necessary credits for re-construction. It all falls under the category of the same type of wishful thinking that has characterized the English Government for the past few years. The fact is that Franco's Spain does not need gold like Italy or Germany to buy
raw materials which must be purchased in the world markets for cash. Spain has a plethora of raw materials, iron ore, zinc, copper, etc. Spain needs machinery, railroad equipment, electrical equipment and technical aid. Both Italy and Germany can easily supply these requirements in exchange for Spanish raw materials which they so vitally need.

And, it must not be forgotten that Franco like the other two dictators has imperialistic ambitions. His dream of grabbing French Morocco is the first step of a building up of a new imperial Spain. He thinks the democracies are rotten and ripe for plucking. Therefore, logic doesn't dictate that he desert his Totalitarian allies merely for the sake of credits to buy things that he can get from his own allies, especially since he believes that in the long run his own imperialistic ambitions can be better satisfied by sticking to his present companions.

After hearing people talk over here one can only come to the conclusion that international morality has sunk to a new low of selfish cynicism and only in America does one find a nation believing in its own ideals and ready to fight for them.

William Stix Wasserman
Interview with Monsieur Paul Reynaud

Paris
February 13, 1939

I have just come from an interview with Paul Reynaud, now Minister of Finance, where I had gone to give him a message from Winston Churchill. My message was to the effect that the elements that Mr. Churchill represented in British public life were very distrustful of Mr. Bonnet. Furthermore, he felt it incumbent for Monsieur Reynaud to be exceedingly cautious in his dealings with Franco, that it was very unlikely the Germans and Italians would permit the French and English to deprive them of the gain they might expect from a Franco victory which had been made possible only by their assistance.

Reynaud said that he was very much aware of the situation in Spain - that France had in its possession most of the gold reserves of Spain and that in addition there were large bodies of Spanish Government troops which could be re-equipped and sent back to Spain if necessary. He saw no reason why France should not and must not demand from Franco very explicit understandings before affording him full recognition or returning the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain. Reynaud then added that France today must pay the price for being stupid, lazy and cowardly during the past years. Four years ago he said I went to Flandin who was then Minister and said to him:

"You have two choices, you must either have a foreign policy that coincides with your military policy or you must have a military policy that coincides with your foreign policy. Today we have a very aggressive
foreign policy, that is, we are trying to keep Germany surrounded through a system of alliances which will give France hegemony in Europe. At the same time we are building up only a defensive war machine. Our efforts are being put primarily into the Maginot Line and its defenses. However, if we are to continue an offensive foreign policy we must have an army ready to take an offensive position. That means an army equipped with an adequate bombing and fighting air force, squadrons of large tanks, etc. Personally I advise an army capable of taking the offensive. But, if we are not willing to do that then we should make a foreign policy in which we try to placate and cooperate with Germany while it is still in our power to come to some sort of an arrangement with her." ("Although," added Monsieur Reynaud, "I do not think the German spirit is such that it would have lived up to such an arrangement or would have been content with it long.")

Reynaud continued, "The fact is we adopted neither and the result is today we are in a difficult position. However, I can say that the morale of both the Government and the people are far stronger than it was at the time of Munich. So far we have not caught up to Germany. In fact in a military way Germany is still building more planes than France and England combined but we are beginning to catch up and it is my opinion that if there is to be a world war it will take place this year. The economic position of both Germany and Italy is becoming desperate. They cannot keep up the pace of armament much longer, therefore, if they are to use their arms, logic demands that they use them this year."

I then asked him whether he believed the French would make any concessions toward the Italians or whether they would submit to another
Munich in face of the increased Italian and German military strength.

He replied categorically, "No. 'No' is a very good word. It is so simple and so full of proper meaning."

I said, "What if Daladier falters and becomes weak and wobbly again?"

He said, "Don't you worry. We will make him strong."
(He might have added - "in spite of himself.")

William Stix Wasserman
4/14/39
Sec. Wallace:

"I have given most careful consideration to that which you read to me the other day and have reached the conclusion that it is unwise to send it. The two madmen respect force and force alone. They will try to disparage the note. There is danger that people in foreign lands and even some in the U.S. will look on your effort as being in the same category as delivering a sermon to a mad dog. The prestige of your name is so important in world affairs that it should not, in my opinion, be risked at this time. At the present time the most feasible way out is to use methods which would tend to drive a wedge between the two madmen."

***
"I am wondering if it would not be advisable for you to call Joe Kennedy suggesting that he get in touch with Dr. Al Black who is attending the Int'l Wheat Conference in London, and that the two of them consider the most feasible way of working out the trade of cotton and wheat stocks for rubber stocks.

"Joe Kennedy, with his market training, can be so useful in the matter of trading rubber for cotton that I am wondering if it would not be advisable for you to get in touch with Sec. Hull suggesting that he use Kennedy in this matter."
April 21, 1939

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I was much interested in the enclosed Gallup Poll with respect to government expenditures. When we take into account the desire of the Republicans and the people in the large cities to cut farm benefits, it is truly amazing that 62% of all the people in the country should be against a reduction in farm payments. There is going to be about a 30% increase in participation in the corn belt this year and I believe a real change in public sentiment is now under way.

It must be very gratifying to you to see in this Gallup Poll a strong support for an adequate army and navy. War may not come within the next few months but the underlying situation is such that we can not allow ourselves to slip for a moment with regard to this matter.

In speaking to you yesterday about Senator Bankhead, I didn't emphasize strongly enough the point which the Senator wanted me to emphasize. The Senator wanted you to know that in all crucial matters he was a real friend of the Administration and that he had to some extent reversed himself in introducing export subsidy legislation because he wanted to carry the ball for the administration. The next time you see Senator Bankhead or talk with him on the telephone, it would be a gratifying thing to let him know how much you appreciate his support. I feel that his support will probably make the difference between passage and failure of the necessary export subsidy legislation in the Senate.

I wish also to let you know a little more about General Wood's attitude which is a common one in certain parts of the Middle West. He thinks, first, that Hitler has economic justice on his side; second, he is a strong believer in barter of American farm products for German manufactured goods; third, he thinks the farmer is in an impossible situation as long as the Central European market for farm products is cut off. Previous to 1933, Germany took about 1,800,000 bales of cotton from us each year, and about 150,000,000 pounds of lard. During 1938 she imported less than one-quarter million bales of our cotton and less than one million pounds of our lard. During January and February of this year her rate of import has been even lower than in 1938, amounting to
about one-fifth of her pre-1933 quantity in the case of cotton and less than one per cent in the case of lard. World events and our foreign policy have combined (the trade agreements to the contrary notwithstanding) to make it necessary for us to make internal adjustments in agriculture which are almost impossible. While I do not agree with General Wood in his attitude concerning Germany, I do think his economic analysis is very much to the point.

If we have ordinary weather, you will find the cost of agricultural preparedness, with world conditions as they are today, to be very great. I am raising the question as to whether that part of our agricultural preparedness which grows out of the world situation and our foreign policy should be charged up to the farmer and consumer by means of a processing tax. However, I do not know of a fairer tax with conditions as they exist today.

In view of your comment on cotton prices at Cabinet meeting, it may interest you to know that the cotton price in Liverpool in the last few days has fallen 1/4 cent per pound at a time when the price at New Orleans did not change. The difference between Liverpool and New Orleans has been steadily declining and is now only about one-third of what is necessary to cover cost of shipping from New Orleans to Liverpool.

Respectfully yours,

H A Wallace
Secretary.

P.S. In the matter of governmental reorganization, I trust you do not send up to Congress controversial matters which can more harmoniously be handled by your advisory staff. It is all-important to present a united and harmonious front.
The Gallup Poll

Cut in Spending for Relief, Public Works, Operating Costs Favored by Public

By Dr. George Gallup
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

New York, April 20.—The present public attitude toward the issue of Federal spending—an issue which Congress is now wrestling with and which may be the dominant factor in the next political campaign—is shown in a national survey conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

For over three years Institute surveys have found that the public favored decreases in Government spending. Advocates of spending have wondered what specific items the public wanted cut. Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi has suggested a blanket reduction of 10 per cent in all expenditures. The current study shows that the voters would not approve such a reduction in all items, but would favor a 10 per cent cut in three important branches of spending.

First, a large majority favors reduction in the ordinary operating expenses of the Government—an item which totals more than a billion dollars. Second, a 10 per cent cut in relief expenditures is approved, and third, a 10 per cent cut in the spending for public works.

The Institute surveyed listed six large items of Government spending—national defense, farm benefits, relief, old-age pensions, public works and ordinary operating expenses—and asked voters throughout the country whether they favored a 10 per cent cut in each item.

The majority wanted no reduction in national defense, farm benefits or social security grants, but favored cuts in the other three, as follows:

- Do you think Federal spending should be reduced by 10 per cent on:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Army and Navy</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Benefits</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ordinary Operating</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old-Age Pensions</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
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</tbody>
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The spending question is one which has agitated statesmen and business leaders for many years. Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, recently declared that although he himself favored continued spending, he felt that public opinion was in favor of retrenchment and that the public's wishes should be carried out. Senator Harrison's view is that while complete balancing of the Federal budget is out of the question for the present, a 'start' or 'approach' should be made.

The Institute survey reveals for the first time where the public wants such a start to be made. It also shows that not all items in the government's spending program are approved at this time. The preference ranges toward spending extends into the ranks and files of both parties. Not all of these New Deal spending programs are approved by Republicans, and, on the other hand, not all of these is approved by Democrats. A majority of Republicans (77 per cent) want reduction in relief, whereas Democrats are about evenly divided. Democrats oppose reduction in farm benefits, but Republicans favor it.

There is also a sharp difference of opinion by parties on public works spending, with Republicans overwhelmingly (80 per cent) in favor of a cut and Democrats opposed to a cut.

But the rank of the two parties in approving two forms of spending referred to in the survey—national defense and old age pensions—in view of this uniform sentiment, it seems unlikely that any concerted drive will come from the public for reduction in those items.

The survey results likewise emphasize one fact which earlier Institute studies have many times revealed. The drive for reduction in Government spending comes chiefly from the upper and middle income voters, while spending in all forms—and especially for relief—is approved by the lower income voters. The only items among which there is no substantial difference of opinion among income groups are national defense and pensions.
The President,
The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

The Bankhead cotton export subsidy proposal is an amendment to the Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and the Farm Credit Administration. Its adoption by the Senate will require suspension of the rules.

The provisions of the proposal are summarized as follows:

(1) Authorization is given to make export subsidy payments in cotton or money at rates not higher than necessary to make cotton or the cotton content in manufactured articles exported fully competitive in the world markets. Payments could be made as soon as the bill became law.

(2) Such payments would be discontinued during any marketing year when exports of cotton from the United States reached 7,521,000 bales, the annual average for the ten-year period ending July 31, 1932. This limits expenditures and confines the program to an effort to regain our fair normal share of the world export market for cotton.

(3) The payments could not be made on cotton released from Government loan stocks prior to January 1, 1940, or thereafter from August 1 to December 31 in any marketing year. This prevents subsidizing the export of Government loan stocks in competition with the new crop each year. Payment could be made on cotton released from Government loan stocks during the last seven months, January 1 to July 31, of any marketing year. Under these and other provisions of the proposal loan stocks could be gradually released and exported and domestic prices protected.

(4) Provision is made for release, except from August 1 to December 31 of any marketing year, of cotton in Government loan stocks at the current loan rate plus accumulated carrying charges during any marketing year plus one-fourth cent per pound for miscellaneous charges. Supporters of the proposal expect its payment and
release rate provisions to give farmers a brisk market. This should result in less cotton being placed under Government loan than would otherwise be the case. The amount of cotton in Government loan stocks on August 1, 1940 will depend under any circumstances, of course, on the amount of cotton exported during the 1939-40 marketing year. Assuming a crop of 12,000,000 bales and domestic consumption of 6,500,000 bales, it will be necessary for exports to exceed 5,500,000 bales if Government loan stocks are reduced at the end of the 1939-40 marketing season.

Since the proposal would become a part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (of 1933), import quotas on cotton and articles manufactured from cotton could be imposed by you under Section 22 of such Act.

The Department is strongly in favor of the amendment as proposed.

Respectfully submitted,

[Signature]

Secretary.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

This Farm Credit situation in the Northwest has worried me for the last five or six years. Here are some specifications which I think you will want to have someone you trust investigate. If necessary, of course, you can get the assistance of some of Frank Murphy's men.

By W. J. Stewart
Date FEB 24, 1937

F. D. R.

Letter from Jim Farley enclosing copy of a letter from Joseph N. Moonan, State Chairman of Minnesota, complaining about Hoover hold-overs in the St. Paul Farm Credit Administration who are driving most of the influential farmers of the Northwest into the Republican Party.
Secretary Wallace phoned:

"I have received a letter from Oscar Johnson, who is popularly supposed to be the leader of the group against Export Subsidies for cotton.

"He writes:

"If the Congress makes available an adequate fund for subsidizing the export of cotton from the 1939 crop, I think that undoubtedly you will be able to increase exports above what they would otherwise be to the extent of a million or possibly a million and a half bales. I think that the result of such a movement from the 1939 crop would be to give a domestic price substantially above 52 percent of parity—probably at a level which would make possible the withdrawal of some cotton impounded under the 1938 loan, thus accomplishing at a cost of probably between forty-five and sixty million dollars the movement of the entire crop at a price level of between nine and a half and ten and a half cents. I am inclined to think that this cost would be justified by the result, provided the program be limited to the 1939 crop, but am definitely of the opinion that as a permanent program the Export Subsidy would be ruinous to the industry."

"On Saturday, when I was out of town, Oscar Johnson stopped in to see Mr. Evans, Administrator of Triple A, and said to him that the feeling against the Export Subsidy plan was much improved among the people in the trade. He also indicated that he would be happy to work with us on the technical details of the best method of handling the Export Subsidy.

"I think the President is sufficiently familiar with the activities that have been carried on to realize the significance of all this.

"One other point: I am working on a statement which I would put out but which I will first clear with the State Department. The plan is to put it out probably Wednesday afternoon."

K.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Supply</th>
<th>Prospective disappearance</th>
<th>Estimated normal disappearance</th>
<th>Prospective exports</th>
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*In most cases average disappearance in 1926-29 adjusted for an 11 percent increase in population.*

*Not available.*

Human consumption only; production less food, seed and normal waste.
August 28, 1939

Dr. Laughlin Currie
Administrative Assistant to the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Currie:

I am sending you hereewith a rough tabulation showing for the 1939-40 crop year estimates of possible domestic disappearance and normal disappearance, as well as some comments on prospective exports for several farm products. Please treat this tabulation as tentative; we expect to have during the course of the next week a fairly comprehensive report on current supplies and consumption, with a good deal of background material, and in some cases the figures in this tabulation may be altered.

You will notice that supplies are substantially above normal or prospective consumption in the case of lard and other edible fats and oils, wheat, corn, rice, canned fruit and fruit juices, canned vegetables, potatoes and beans.

In the case of cotton, domestic consumption and exports will probably not be in excess of half of the total supply, which will leave us with a carryover of over 12 million bales. This is twice the normal and about the size of this year's crop.

The situation with respect to food reserves could, I think, be materially altered in a year of emergency, as a result of the various devices that we now have and that were not in existence in 1917. These agencies can operate on the level of production, of distribution, and of consumption and exports. We now have, as we did not have in 1917, powers and mechanisms through which we could effectuate any policies that might be deemed desirable or necessary.

Here are the agencies and devices I have in mind:

1. AAA county committees that have already accumulated long experience in dealing directly with problems of both increasing and decreasing production. Effective county committees exist in practically all of the counties that amount to anything agriculturally.
Program Advisor
Louie II. Boyer

Secretary, Yours

Organizational for Exempted Purposes

In the past the year a Good Deal of attention has been devoted
attention to the fact that on the Agricultural front we have
mained. The point of these three items is merely to call your

In addition, there are the Greatly Excessive food and drink

In experience much more emphasis is to be placed on the

The surplus Commodities Corporation and its stamp plan could

Sufficiently promises

of the weight of the teachers read for

The Commodities Credit Corporation could be utilized

Quickly under the program

Commodity Credit Corporation and the Emergency

Marxism and Leninism, and for

en.wikipedia.org
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cost of Living in Cities and on Farms</th>
<th>Retail Food Prices</th>
<th>Wholesale Prices of Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Commodities</th>
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<td>Prices paid by farmers</td>
<td>Prices received by farmers</td>
<td>prices of all commodities</td>
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1/ March 2/ June 3/ July
## CASH FARM INCOME
(1910-1914 = 100)

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<th>Hogs</th>
<th>Dairy</th>
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<th>Vegetables</th>
<th>Fruits</th>
<th>Cotton and Seed</th>
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1/ 1915-1923 unpublished and confidential.
2/ 1915-1939 unpublished and confidential.
3/ Preliminary.

(1932-1939 includes benefit payments)
FARM AND NON-FARM INCOME PER CAPITA, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION,
FARM AND NON-FARM WAGE RATES, and FACTORY WAGE EARNINGS

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income Per Capita</th>
<th>Industrial Production</th>
<th>Wage Rates</th>
<th>Factory Earnings</th>
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\[1/\text{Aug}\]
\[2/\text{June 1914 = 100 per person employed}\]
COST OF LIVING. Estimated annual average indexes of cost of goods purchased by wage earners and lower-salaried workers in 32 large cities combined, 1915-1938.

(1913 = 100)

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All items</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Fuel and light</th>
<th>House furnishing goods</th>
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1/ Covers 51 cities since June 1920.

Indexes on 1923-25 base as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics converted to a 1913 base.
Chicago, Sept. 12... The following resolution was adopted today by the Board of Directors of the American Farm Bureau Federation, meeting here in quarterly session, at the Hotel Stevens:

"The Board of Directors of the American Farm Bureau Federation reaffirms the historic position of the Federation in support of all honorable methods of maintaining peaceful relations with the nations of the world.

"We pledge our support to President Roosevelt in his policy of using all just and rightful means to keep this nation out of the present European conflict.

"In view of the present situation abroad, we are convinced that some features of the present Neutrality Act are not conducive to the maintenance of true neutrality for the following reasons: It does not conform to the commonly accepted principles of international law; it foresees our traditional position with respect to the rights of neutral nations; while the Act forbids the sale of arms and munitions to belligerent nations, it permits unlimited sale and shipment of raw materials out of which arms and munitions can be manufactured, and it permits, if it does not encourage, the transfer of American capital, labor and raw materials to other nations, a development which might seriously handicap our own country in meeting emergencies that might later arise.

"WE THEREFORE URGE the Congress to repeal at its earliest opportunity the mandatory embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act and substitute therefor provisions which will permit any nation to purchase within the United States for cash or goods, take title thereto, and transport on its own account and responsibility such materials, commodities or goods as it may desire.

"Profits on such transactions, however, should be restricted by law to normal peacetime levels with all profiteering effectively prohibited. As farmers, we ask only for parity prices for our commodities, and we condemn any practice by middlemen of pyramiding commodity price advances into exorbitant prices of food and fiber"
to the consumer.

Farmers as a group are opposed to profiteering by industry, by agriculture or by labor; and will vigorously resist such methods with every means at their command.

We believe we should hold prices, wages and interest rates during war time to reasonable parity levels in order to prevent excessive inflation and the ruinous deflation that is the inevitable aftermath of speculative excesses. We invite industry and labor to cooperate with us in a concerted movement to forestall the economic anguish that will surely follow the present war unless effective steps are taken to prevent it.

***
November 13, 1939

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

You may remember that the question of putting Dr. George W. Carver's picture on a stamp came up. I don't know just what rules govern the selection of pictures for stamps. But I am inclined to think that there is just as much reason for putting Carver's picture on a stamp as Burbank's.

Dr. Carver is very highly respected by the white people of the South because of the unusually fine spirit he exemplifies on all questions of inter-racial relationships. I suspect just as much tangible good has come out of Carver's chemical research as has come out of Burbank's plant breeding research.

Respectfully yours

H. A. Wallace

Secretary
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

January 1, 1940.

Dear Franklin:

Many thanks for yours of December 29. I appreciate it greatly, and I am delighted that Clapp's name will have consideration. He is, I am entirely convinced, the right man.

Your assurance, in our talk of October a year ago that neither the Forest Service nor any of its functions would be transferred out of the Department of Agriculture, was deeply appreciated not only by me but also by certain members of the Service whom you authorized me to tell. In spite of it, however, I learned that you were being subjected to great pressure. So I thought it might help to secure, in support of your position, the opinions of the faculty members of American Forest Schools. They are about as unbiased and well posted a crowd as you could find.

Accordingly I drafted a letter to you and sent it to them to sign or not as they saw fit. Not all have answered yet, for these are the holidays, but the returns so far show not a single man in favor of turning the Service over to the Interior Department.
The President. 

January 1, 1940.

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As I am sure you know, the great agricultural organizations like the Farm bureau and the Orange are also vigorously for leaving the Forest Service where it is. So are the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Wool Growers Association, and a long list of other important national associations.

As soon as the returns are reasonably complete, I will add them up and send them on. meantime best wishes to you and yours and the U. S. A. for the New Year. May we have peace, and may you make it.

Faithfully yours,

[Signature]

Lorenl Fiush
March 7, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Will you speak to me about this?

F. D. R.
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

During our discussion on February 15, you referred to the grazing situation on the National Forests. I want to supplement briefly what I said to you then.

Grazing by domestic livestock was an established use of most of the western and some of the southern National Forests before they were established. When the Department of Agriculture took over the National Forests in 1905, it found widespread overgrazing. To a large degree the use of the range was dependent on who could get there first or who could defend his occupancy most stoutly.

Range administration was undertaken at once. The privilege was continued for those most entitled to it. Prompt steps were taken toward the elimination of overgrazing. Naturally, this could not be accomplished overnight, but it was not many years before there was marked improvement. This improvement was due both to reduced numbers of stock and the introduction of a long list of good range use practices developed or sponsored by the Forest Service.

Things were going along nicely, and range conditions were steadily improving when the World War came along. Then under the urge by the Administration to produce more livestock products, temporary overstocking of many ranges was permitted. This reversed the beneficial trend.

After the War, reductions began again. By 1939, there had been a reduction of 40 per cent of the number of stock using the National Forests in 1918.

Meanwhile, along came the prolonged droughts. The deterioration of the range due to drought in many cases offset the reductions which were being made, and it was not possible to keep fully abreast
of the needs for livestock reductions. As a result, we still have too many localized overgrazed areas. However, the program of reductions and other measures are being applied, and we expect to work our way steadily toward satisfactory stocking and good range conditions. Meanwhile, the greater part of the National Forest ranges is in good condition.

It is, of course, impossible to make reductions all at once or at too sharp a rate. The reason for this is that the use of the National Forest summer ranges is an indispensable part of one of the big means of livelihood in the National Forest regions. We have about 25,000 permittees on the National Forests. Their use is based on the ownership, or control, of about 4½ million acres of cultivated crop lands and 22 million acres of pasture lands, mostly adjacent to the National Forests. There is an investment of about $500,000,000 in livestock and ranches, which is related to National Forest use.

A significant feature of this use is the degree to which it furnishes a means of livelihood to small home owners; 85 per cent of the cattle and horse permits are granted to owners who are permitted to run less than 100 head each; 91 per cent of the sheep permits are for less than 2000 head each. Some of the reductions will fall on this class. These numbers are already so small that it is difficult, or impossible, to reduce them further without jeopardizing the integrity of the home maintenance enterprise. Nevertheless, overgrazing must be eliminated.

In addition to reductions in livestock numbers for the protection of the range itself, there have been substantial reductions to prevent damage to other resources or undue interference with the use of the other resources. Grazing use is simply one element in multiple use. The grazing often occurs on areas also bearing timber; the open areas are interspersed among the forests or in the upper reaches above timberline. So grazing must on occasion give way to recreation or wildlife, for example, or be excluded temporarily from areas restocking with young growth or permanently from some city watersheds.

I am sure you will be interested in glancing at the enclosed booklet, "Along the Beale Trail." This was issued by the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior. Some of the National Forest pictures are in the neighborhood covered by Mrs. Greenaway’s comment to you. While we have a good many spots on the National Forests that do not look as well as those pictured in the booklet, there is no question that in general the National Forest
ranges stand out as being in much better condition than most of those in private ownership and on the public domain. I can assure you that the Department is pursuing an aggressive policy in curing all the sore spots on the National Forest ranges.

I shall send you separate comments on the matter of accomplishing more coordination in policy with the Taylor Act administration, and the reduction of costs through cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosure.

Secretary.
The President,
The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

I have read Secretary Wallace's letter to you of March 2 with a great deal of interest. After carefully considering all of the points made by the Secretary I cannot escape from the idea that he has failed to grasp the broad importance of the matter under discussion. It seems to me that under these circumstances it would be entirely proper to present to you my concept of this problem and how it can best be solved in the public's interest and under a long-time land use plan.

The act authorizing the establishment of the forest reserves was for the primary and avowed purpose of protecting the Nation's forest resources. Forest reserves, and later national forests, were established pursuant to the Act of June 4, 1897 (30 Stat. 11, 34, 36) U.S.C. Title 16, Section 475. In that Act this significant section occurs:

"No public forest reservation shall be established except to improve and protect the forests within the reservation, or for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water flows, and to effect a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States; but it is not the purpose or intent of these provisions, or of the act providing for such reservations, to authorize the inclusion therein of lands more valuable for the minerals therein or for agricultural purposes than for forest purposes."

The original reservations and forests were largely of the type contemplated under the law of 1897. In recent years the forests have been extended to embrace large areas of land clearly outside the purview of the act. These extensions of forest areas into the open or sparsely timbered range lands of the West have aggregated many millions of acres. These extensions, ostensibly made for watershed protection purposes when timber values were impossible to
defend, in general constituted an invasion of areas of primary value for range purposes and the imposition of a timber or forest economy that has often been inimical to grazing or range use, and to the unbalancing of the local economy built and maintained by the livestock industry. Grazing use by the livestock industry of lands within forests has been permitted because denial of such use would have resulted in widespread disturbance of social and economic conditions in the western range areas. Such grazing use of the forests under sufferance is contrasted with legal recognition of grazing use on the Federal ranges under the Taylor Act. The security provided under the Taylor Act has such obvious advantages as to need no defense. Such security is essential to stabilization of the stock industry; the development of a sound economy in the range territory and rehabilitation of the ranges.

Of the thousands of forest grazing users, only a small percentage is entirely dependent upon forest range for a livelihood. The great majority use forest ranges for only limited seasons each year. During the other seasons the stock are on private, leased, or Federal range lands.

The ranges being administered under the Taylor Grazing Act provide a part or all of the off-forest grazing by an estimated 75 percent of the forest users, while only approximately 25 percent of the Federal range users are dependent in any degree upon the national forests.

Of the thousands of forest users, many receive permits for only a portion of the stock they own and wish to graze. The Forest Service restricts numbers of stock and grazing use in accordance with climatic conditions and requires owners to find other ranges for any additional numbers of stock or for all stock during seasons or parts of seasons when climatic conditions are unfavorable. Other lands, therefore, carry and have carried the burden of the full numbers of stock owned. In the case of the Grazing Service, the size of permits or licenses truly reflects the actual size of the operations of the permittees or licensees. The apparently large number of small licensees or permittees using the national forest ranges is not a true picture of the size of operations or the classification of users as small or large.

The condition of forest ranges where they are admitted to be in good condition is due largely to the forced use of public domain and other range outside the national forests by stock that have been excluded or those that are kept off until the Forest Service decides that the forest range is ready for use.
Because of this restricted range policy of the Forest Service; forest ranges have been protected at the expense of public and private holdings and with little regard for the economic effect on owners who, having the stock on hand, must necessarily graze them somewhere while waiting to get onto the forests. This long established policy of the Forest Service is in definite contrast with that being followed by the Grazing Service for meeting the broad social and economic problems in the range country. The Forest Service is interested primarily in timber and forest products and such related uses of forest lands that do not interfere with forest growth. Forest administration has been directed along these lines regardless of the effect on the livestock industry. They have permitted vast areas of open range land to grow up into a jungle of small reproduction, excluding grazing, and yet in many of these same areas there is little or no opportunity ever to develop commercial timber stands.

The cumulative effect of 35 years of this type of administration is noticeable in hundreds of mountain valleys and rural communities. Social and economic values have been sacrificed to the growing of timber of no commercial worth and of no greater watershed protection value than would have been furnished by a good stand of grass and browse, the use of which would have permitted continuance of a livestock economy, production of taxes, income, and a livelihood for many persons directly and a very large number indirectly.

The Forest Service has in its past administration failed to give due consideration to proper use of private as well as public lands in its long-time planning. It has substituted an economy based primarily on timber production for the one evolved by trial and error methods of the western people over a long period of years.

The Forest Service alone among Federal agencies has heretofore failed to indicate a desire to recognize the desirability or significance of correlated management of all Federal lands and land resources. This applies especially to grazing lands and the forage resources. This attitude on the part of the Forest Service is in strong contrast to that of other bureaus of the Government where cooperative agreements have been executed authorizing the Grazing Service of the Interior Department to administer lands or act as a grazing adviser. Such agreements are in effect with the Soil Conservation Service and the Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture, and with the Reclamation Service, the Biological Survey, the National Park Service, the Indian Service of the Department of the Interior, and even on areas under the control of the War and Navy Departments. Furthermore, the Grazing Service secured enactment of the Pierce Act which permits correlated use of privately owned, State, and county lands without affecting titles or tax rolls.
The Grazing Service of this Department, under the authority of the Taylor Grazing Act, is engaged in the administration of approximately 134,000,000 acres of grazing land in 10 western States. Interspersed with this area are upwards of 25,000,000 acres of national forest lands, including entire "forests" in a number of instances, which are non-timbered grazing lands. In close association with these areas are 40,000,000 to 45,000,000 acres more of national forest land, the primary resource value of which is grazing. The tree growth supported thereon of minor or insignificant value as a source of commercial timber or a basis for operations that would provide a livelihood for some of our citizens. This area within grazing districts and forests of more than 200,000,000 acres of public grazing land, together with nearly a like amount of privately owned farm, ranch, and range lands constitutes the backbone of the livestock industry and the general economy of these western States.

In my opinion the existing divided administration of the public grazing land is productive of waste and inefficiency, in a large measure is unsound and ineffective, and consequently is detrimental to the public interest. The proposal of Secretary Wallace to continue with only slight modification, this method of administration would provide but minor improvements at best, and would be unworkable in practice. The proposed situation would be comparable to two families attempting to use the same household facilities. Confusion and conflict would be inevitable.

This Department has given long and careful consideration to the question of properly conserving or providing for orderly use of the vast heritage embraced in our Federal lands and the resources thereon. I know how interested you are in trying to effect and put into action a long-time program of administration that will provide the greatest possible benefit, not only to the lands and the resources, but to the public that owns both and is entitled to an efficient and proper administration thereof.

I believe that a unified administration of the public grazing land is imperative to the accomplishment of your purpose. May I suggest, therefore, that the first step toward accomplishing this most desirable objective would be to determine the primary values of the lands in question and then to assign them to the respective agencies responsible for their proper administration. This would result in the transfer from the forests, to the grazing districts, under Section 13 of the Taylor Act, of administratively manageable areas approximating 25,000,000 acres of open non-commercial timber land of primary value for grazing purposes, and the transfer of any manageable units of lands supporting commercial timber stands from the grazing districts to the adjacent forests. For the remaining 40,000,000 or 45,000,000
acres of land of combined forest and grazing value, such areas could be administered under cooperative arrangements similar to those now in effect with other bureaus of this Government as heretofore mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Secretary of the Interior.
March 19, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

In my letter of March 2, dealing with the grazing situation on the National Forests, I promised to send you separate comments on the matter of accomplishing more coordination of the grazing work between the Forest Service and the Taylor Act administration.

After giving the question considerable thought, it appears that several items offer good possibilities of making available men, money and materials contribute more fully to good administration, and of simplified administration through unification of policy and procedure. A list of these items is attached.

As to ways and means for getting the coordinating project under way, I should like to suggest that Messrs. Burlew and Appleby undertake the preliminary departmental discussion. Subsequently, the items in the attached list, or others which might be agreed upon in the preliminary discussion, could be referred to the already established Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee for further study, development or action, as the circumstances warrant.

The results to date, secured by the Interdepartmental Committee, warrant the belief that some real and beneficial coordination can be worked out through honest effort and sincere approach by representatives of the two Departments. I can assure you of the whole-hearted cooperation of representatives of the Department of Agriculture in these conferences.

Sincerely yours,

(W. A. Wallace)
Secretary.

Enclosure.
March 14, 1940.

Suggestions for Coordinating Grazing Work

in the

Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture

1. Analyze headquarters set-up with view to joint use where possible.
   a. Office and office equipment.
   b. Clerical facilities.

2. Exchange of short-term personnel.
   a. Forest Service personnel to Grazing Service in winter.
   b. Grazing Service personnel to Forest Service in summer.

3. Exchange of administrative and management data.
   a. Ownership records.
   b. Commensurability data.
   c. Range survey data.

4. Joint consideration of grazing applications.

5. Provision for joint consideration of range research needs and coordination of range research to serve fully the needs of both Services.

6. Analyze CCC set-up with view to developing a combined Forest Service—Grazing Service work program based on best use of available camps, considering work to be done and seasonal advantages and disadvantages.

7. Explore grazing policies and harmonize differences where possible.
SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN DEVELOPMENTS
(Received February 16 to March 7, 1940)

UNITED KINGDOM: A Control of the Cotton Industry, Order No. 4, issued on February 15 and effective February 19, established priorities for the manufacture and delivery of cotton goods with government orders ranking first and export orders second. The Cotton Controller was authorized to issue so-called "preference directions" on behalf of the Minister of Supply which will oblige producers and distributors to accord the above-mentioned priorities notwithstanding any nonpreferential delivery obligations. It was hoped that the new measure would help exports which had been handicapped by late delivery dates.

Plans for a meeting of the International Sugar Council were discontinued for the time being. The Chairman of the Council early in February had expressed the opinion that a meeting might be advisable in order to give sugar exporters an opportunity to voice grievances, particularly against the action of the United Kingdom in reducing sugar purchases from non-Empire countries. However, preliminary consultations with several representatives on the Council indicated that a meeting at this time would not be advisable. It was felt that if a meeting was called, thus giving representatives an opportunity for raising issues, some one or two countries might be the cause of a disagreement and a possible disruption of the Council. It was believed advisable "to allow sleeping dogs to lie" in the interest of maintaining intact the existing skeleton organization which would be badly needed after the war to assist in preventing a collapse in sugar prices and a general disorganization of the sugar industry.

Selling prices for imported wheat, originally fixed by the Cereals Control Board on September 3 and increased on November 6, 1939, were again increased on February 16. The new prices for the indicated types of wheat were as follows: Manitoba No. 1 Hard, $1.20 a bushel; Argentine Rosafé, 98 cents; No. 1 Dark Hard, $1.11; No. 1 U. S. Dark Northern Spring, $1.14; Australian, $1.01; and Danubian, 93 cents a bushel.

The Board of Trade advised on February 27 that import licenses had been issued for approximately 10 million pounds (weight) of American tobacco since January 1, and that licenses for an additional 60 million pounds were expected to be issued this season. All of this tobacco was purchased before September 9.

The shipping situation, the feed shortage, and the severe winter (which delayed field work for nearly 2 months and endangered the plow-up program), have resulted in a campaign by a strong group in Parliament, in which Lloyd George is prominent and which is supported by agricultural leaders, to broaden and intensify the program to increase home agricultural production. While the Government appears set on adhering to the announced
program for 1939-40 it is making some concessions to secure objectives. The Prime Minister in speaking to the county war agricultural committees on February 28 made a statement of great potential significance when he re-

iterated the Government's intention to assure farmers reasonable returns and announced the determination of the present Government, if it is still in office, not to permit British agriculture to collapse after the war as it did after the last war.

An import of goods prohibition (No. 7 Order, 1940), effective March 2, added butter to the list of goods the importation of which is prohibited except under a Board of Trade license. The usual exemption was allowed for goods dispatched to the United Kingdom before the effective date. The Order was issued at the request of the Ministry of Food to enable proper control of the imported commodity. No open general license for the importation of butter from Eire or other Empire countries generally has been issued.

Discussions between Embassy officials and the Ministry of Food relative to a possible compromise arrangement that would provide a more reasonable allowance for imports of meats in cure were actively pursued, but with the Ministry continuing to show an attitude of unwillingness to go beyond the limits described in paragraph one, page 2, of the report for the Cabinet Meeting prepared February 15. The Ministry of Food informally communicated statistics supporting its claim that recent shipments of hams and bacon, particularly the latter, were unreasonably large. The Embassy replied with figures setting forth the following:

(1) That combined shipments of hams and bacon since September 1 have not been significantly out of line with the import quota figures (which the Ministry advanced in its argument);

(2) That the ham figures are even far below the quota with indicated imports from the United States since September 1 of only 6,125 tons against 10,816 tons under quota, and only 2,860 tons being imported since January 1 as compared with the Ministry's own quota figure of 4,050 tons; and

(3) That stocks in cure were not abnormal.

Word was transmitted by telephone to the Embassy on February 29 to the effect that an unfavorable decision would be forwarded by letter in a day or two. Undoubtedly an important factor in the anticipated unfavorable decision of the Food Ministry is the noticeable improvement in supplies of bacon and ham; but a compromise might have been possible had it not been for pressure from the Treasury.
The Food Ministry announced on March 1 that in view of the limited supply of cereals for feeding, the Government will restrict output of whisky and other potable spirits, and the purchases of cereals for brewing or distilling in the current year, to one-third of last year's figures. The output of beer will be restricted to last year's level.

The American Agricultural Attache was advised on March 5 by several colleagues in London representing continental exporting countries that the Food Ministry had given notice that quantities of bacon admitted under license from those countries would be sharply reduced almost immediately, and that butter imports would also be curtailed.

Licenses for Danish bacon will be cut to 50,000 hundredweight weekly, and imports from the other continental countries will apparently be restricted to about half the normal quota. It is also understood that the British will object to any resulting increase in the exports of bacon and butter from those countries to Germany. This suggests that some curtailment of feedstuffs movement to those countries may be impending.

**CANADA:** A quota restriction was imposed by the Canadian Cabinet Council limiting Canadian imports of fresh pork from the United States to 1,027,000 pounds monthly for the 9-month period February 25 to October 31, 1940. That monthly allowance is equivalent to the average monthly imports of fresh pork from the United States during the first 9 months of 1939. Imports for 12 months on the basis of the quota would amount to 12,221,000 pounds, compared with imports of 21,356,000 pounds in 1939 and with only 320,000 pounds in 1938. Canada's imports of fresh pork from the United States during the 10 years ending with 1937 averaged only 337,000 pounds annually. The quota is a temporary measure representing a part of the Canadian program for the wartime control of hogs and pork marketing.

**FRANCE:** In explaining to the American Embassy the position of the French Tobacco Monopoly with respect to purchases of American leaf, the Director General of the Monopoly stated that the average requirements of France for Tennessee and Kentucky tobacco of about 20,000,000 pounds a year had been greatly increased by the war. He made reference to the accumulation by the United States Government of stocks of around 20,000,000 pounds as a result of loans to cooperatives and for which an option on 10,000,000 pounds for export was held by an American exporting company. He expressed a willingness to buy now 20,000,000 pounds of American leaf in the open market provided the American authorities would sell to the Monopoly 8,000,000 pounds of the accumulated stocks above referred to at about $3.00 per hundred pounds, and provided further that the Monopoly would be permitted to purchase from the 10,000,000 pounds now held by the American exporting company in the event the option of the said company was not extended.

Seventeen decrees dated February 29, 1940, establish for the period of the war emergency a highly disciplined mobilization of the entire
economic life of France. The objective of the decrees is to balance production and consumption by stimulating the former and restricting the latter, and by producing in France each day sufficient goods to fill the needs of that day instead of drawing upon the economic reserves of the country. The various decrees, among other things provide for the following:

(1) Registration of all residents of France with a view to the subsequent issuance of ration cards;
(2) Regulation of the production of bread, particularly as to the raw materials that may be used;
(3) Limitations on the amount of bread that may be served at public eating places, and limitations on the sale of pastries;
(4) Limitation on the number of dishes that may be included in menus of restaurants and on the quantities and varieties of food they may serve;
(5) Amendment of the food laws to permit the mixture of up to 2 percent of bean flour in bread flour;
(6) Prohibition of consumption of alcoholic beverages in public places 3 days a week;
(7) Facilitation of spring sowings of wheat by authorizing farmers to purchase wheat from the "Stockers' Associations" at the price of native wheat or to exchange homegrown wheat for such wheat;
(8) An appropriation for the cultivation of land inside the evacuated or army zones;
(9) Reductions in the import duties on parts for tractors imported by farmers, farmers' syndicates, and cooperatives;
(10) Extension of prohibition against price increases above those in effect on September 1, 1939
(11) Facilitation of the exports of manufactured products by a refund of taxes collected in France on materials of national or foreign origin entering into the manufacture of products for export;
(12) Mandatory employment of a certain proportion of female labor in the various professions, government offices, and commercial enterprises;
(13) A stricter control over purchases from foreign countries; and
(14) Reduction of the gold content of the franc from 27.5 to 25.34 milligrams of gold 900/1000 fine.
GERMANY: General Goering in a broadcast to farmers pointed out that the food supply would play a decisive part in the war. Farm women and young people were urged to work in the fields. He stated that the Government would release as many men from the army as was consistent with public interest for the purpose of assisting in planting and harvesting and that it would temporarily restore requisitioned horses for the same purpose in addition to supplying tractors, fertilizers, advice to inexperienced farm women, and mechanics to repair broken-down equipment. He stated also that one million foreign farm workers, mostly Poles, would be brought to Germany this year, in addition to Polish prisoners already in Germany.

Every acre, said Goering, must be exploited to the utmost and the absolute maximum must be produced. Sugar beet production must be maintained. At least 200,000 hectares must be planted to oleaginous crops and a premium will be offered to farmers increasing their acreage. Each farm must produce from 10 to 15 percent more hoed crops, especially potatoes. More potatoes, it was emphasized, would feed more hogs, which in turn would mean increased output of bacon and lard. The premium for plowing up pasture land was increased to 240 marks per hectare.

Since the German dairy industry is of vital importance it was decided, effective March 11, to raise the price of unskimmed milk and butter so as to compensate farmers for raising more cattle and slaughtering less. Meanwhile, in return for the higher prices, farmers must reduce by two-thirds the consumption of milk on the farms, thus saving the equivalent of Germany's entire imports of butter. If this is not achieved the old prices will be restored, said Goering. He also stated that no change in the existing food rations was contemplated.
### Cotton: Exports from United States, by countries of destination, week ended February 29, 1940, with comparisons

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<td>162.1</td>
<td>123.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linters</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>160.0</td>
<td>400.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total excluding linters</td>
<td>70,879</td>
<td>97,694</td>
<td>115,028</td>
<td>162.3</td>
<td>117.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Cotton: Exports from United States, by countries of destination, August 1, 1939 - February 29, 1940, with comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1,360,215</td>
<td>369,785</td>
<td>1,555,303</td>
<td>114.3</td>
<td>420.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>673,978</td>
<td>352,437</td>
<td>654,602</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>185.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>708,940</td>
<td>354,391</td>
<td>30,418</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>405,814</td>
<td>230,004</td>
<td>439,696</td>
<td>108.3</td>
<td>191.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>369,735</td>
<td>647,231</td>
<td>693,717</td>
<td>187.6</td>
<td>107.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>53,124</td>
<td>55,963</td>
<td>340,825</td>
<td>641.6</td>
<td>609.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>950,246</td>
<td>646,545</td>
<td>1,226,437</td>
<td>129.1</td>
<td>189.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total including linters</td>
<td>4,521,152</td>
<td>2,656,356</td>
<td>4,970,998</td>
<td>109.3</td>
<td>186.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linters</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>137,000</td>
<td>188,000</td>
<td>104.4</td>
<td>137.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total excluding linters</td>
<td>4,341,152</td>
<td>2,519,356</td>
<td>4,782,998</td>
<td>109.5</td>
<td>188.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.
Compiled from reports of the New York Cotton Exchange.
The President

The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of March 7, transmitting Secretary Wallace's letter of March 4 concerning recreation in the national forests, which I am returning herewith.

Understated in Secretary Wallace's letter is the fact that the Forest Service is administering 73 primitive areas set aside by order of the Chief Forester as "preserving for all time to come, for the purpose of public education, inspiration and recreation, with such restrictions as have been found necessary . . .". These primitive areas total 1,268,705 acres. The Forest Service also has developed a number of major recreational areas, notably Mount Baker National Forest Park, Washington; Columbia River Gorge and Mount Hood, Oregon; the area recently created as the Kings Canyon National Park, California; and the White Mountains, New Hampshire.

Specifically, the major recreational development in Kings Canyon still remains in the national forest outside of the park boundaries in the Cedar Grove reclamation withdrawal. The Cedar Grove development consists of 7 miles of one-way, 10 foot, campground service roads, all of which are oiled. There are 2 public campgrounds totalling 45 acres and covering 197 individual sites. These are complete, with parking spurs, campfire stoves, tables, piped water, flush type toilets and septic tanks. A third campground unit of approximately 55 acres and covering about 160 individual camp sites is partially completed. Unless this recently constructed recreational development is transferred to the National Park Service, there will be two departments administering recreation for the same park.

The Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture has developed numerous important recreational projects, generally without consultation with State park authorities or with the National Park Service, and these recreational developments conflict in a number of cases with developments that the latter Service is carrying out in cooperation with the States.
Over emphasized in Secretary Wallace's letter is the incidental recreational use of minor campgrounds and picnic grounds, which range in size from 8 to 10 sets of fireplaces and tables to the occasionally large area of 50 to 75 sets. I am not concerned with this incidental recreational use of the national forests. I believe that such incidental use should be continued under the direct supervision of the Forest Service, but that the function of recreational land planning, to avoid duplication of effort and competition with other Federal and State recreational developments, should be transferred to the Department of the Interior so that a coordinated park, parkway and recreational program can be carried out, as directed by the Congress.

I believe, also, that most of the designated primitive and recreational areas, the primary purpose of which is for recreation and preservation, should be transferred to this Department. Such areas could continue to be open to hunting, prospecting and mining, and other non-destructive uses. If such transfer is consummated, the widespread, incidental recreational use of the forests, which Secretary Wallace logically holds to be a legitimate use, would still remain undisturbed under the administration of the Forest Service.

With reference to his conclusion that such transfer would result in duplication of personnel at various levels and greatly increased cost of administration, it is observed that protection and administration of large primitive areas is generally based on physical limitations of personnel to patrol and to protect. Furthermore, most of the primitive areas are at higher elevations and require less protection than the lowlands.

Until funds and personnel can be adjusted authority is contained in the National Park Service Organic Act of 1916 for the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with that Service to such extent as may be requested by the Secretary of the Interior in the supervision, management, and control of national monuments contiguous to national forests. Such cooperation could be followed also in connection with the primitive and recreational areas, if transferred to this Department.

Concerning construction and maintenance of trails, the cost is limited by physical conditions. There is no reason to believe that construction and maintenance will cost more under the supervision of the National Park Service than under the supervision of the Forest Service.
There are repeated implications in Secretary Wallace's letter that management of recreational lands by any agency other than the Forest Service would result in prohibitive cost of recreation for low income groups. This argument is directed at the reasonable special service fees and automobile fees which the National Park Service charges in accordance with your wishes and the requirements of the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress. There appears to be very little reason why the Department of Agriculture should be permitted to break down this revenue producing practice by providing a competing system of so-called free recreation.

The map, which Secretary Wallace attached, shows the multiple use plan of management for the Wenatchee National Forest, a typical national forest. I have no thought of recommending the transfer of any portion of it. It is an ordinary national forest with its well distributed incidental, recreational use. It does have one point of interest, however, and that is that only about 35 percent of it is useful for timber production, and the remaining two-thirds of it hardly can be classified as "forestry" land.

It is the opinion of many foresters that, if the Forest Service were liberated from the problems of recreational area administration, the energies of that great organization would be turned to the legitimate function of forestry.

Because of these considerations, I recommend that those national forest lands which, in reality, serve as parks, be transferred to the Department of the Interior, and that the recreational land planning of the Federal Government also be concentrated in this Department. This can be accomplished without disturbing the normal and desirable recreational use of timber producing lands and without detracting from the national sustained yield timber program. There is no reason to believe that such transfer would increase present administrative costs in any particular. To the contrary, present duplication and conflict point conclusively to savings to be attained by substituting coordination for conflict.

Sincerely yours,

Harold I. Riches
Secretary of the Interior.

Enclosure 1936629.
March 7, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Will you speak to me about this?

F. D. R.
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

As a follow-up of our talk about National Forest recreation on February 13, I thought you would like to have the following:

brief statement:

The recreational use of the National Forests began before there was any provision for handling it. The advent of the automobile brought sharply increased use, creating problems of fire protection and sanitation which had to be met.

The great area and distribution of the National Forests - 175 million acres not in 40 States and two Territories, inevitably makes them important locally, regionally, and nationally in varying degrees as recreational outlets. This is especially true in the West where the National Forests contain the bulk of the higher mountain territory, furnishing escape from the hot lowlands in the summer and the larger part of the winter sports opportunity in the winter.

Both because the people in large numbers use these areas for recreation on their own invitation and because such use is regarded by the Department as highly desirable, the recreational opportunity has been recognized as one of the important resources of the National Forests and has been given its appropriate place in the pattern of management and use.

Recreation use fits nicely into the multiple use plan of management. Much of it is so dispersed in character that it requires nothing but the opportunity to roam around over lands which are at the same time growing timber and forage, furnishing water and wildlife, and in other ways contributing various public benefits. The more concentrated form, such as camping and picnicking, requires only a small total area of actual use, though the use spots themselves are scattered throughout the National Forests. Campgrounds and picnic grounds are usually small, varying from 8 or 10 sets of fireplaces and tables to the occasional large area providing 50 to 75 sets.
It is necessary to give recreation the right of way only over limited areas such as camp and picnic grounds, lake shores, resort areas, and the like. In such situations, commercial use of the timber and other resources is denied because of the greater recreational or scenic value. Reservation is made of "natural areas" of virgin timber here and there for visitors to enjoy.

The wilderness and wild areas comprise the only large tracts primarily devoted to recreation. These are pieces of the "back country," usually low in economic value, which are reserved from the encroachment of roads and similar artificialities for the enjoyment of those who like the primitive. These areas are situated in the hinterland of the National Forests and the administrators of the adjoining National Forest land can give them the necessary protection and simple administration with the minimum of expense.

Recreation use has increased steadily and measurably. Estimates indicate that in 1924 there were about 4½ million visits to the National Forests by people who camped, picnicked, stayed at resorts, or otherwise made actual use of the recreational facilities. In 1938, this number had increased to 16½ million. In addition to this actual use of recreational facilities in 1938, there were over 18 million other visits by persons who took their recreation in traveling National Forest roads to enjoy the outdoor scenery. This total estimated figure of 32-3/4 million visits compares with a little over 16½ million for the National Parks, monuments, and historical areas for the same year.

In 1938, 75 per cent of those who actually used facilities were campers and picnickers; about 20 per cent stayed at resorts. Among the remaining 5 per cent are those who used summer homes in the Forests as owners or guests.

Of the foregoing, our best estimate is that about 8 per cent came primarily for hunting, 21 per cent for fishing, 9 per cent for winter sports, and the remaining 62 per cent principally just to get out into the woods.

National Forest recreational use is essentially a use by people of low or moderate income who in the main live near enough to be able to get to the National Forests cheaply and who must enjoy them at low expense when they get there. This is reflected in one way in the large numbers of campers and picnicers. Another striking bit of evidence is the result of a cross section taken in 1937 of the users of camp and picnic grounds as to their annual income classification. This shows as follows:
Income of Camp and Picnic Users - 1937

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $1000</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1000 to $2000</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2000 to $3000</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3000 to $5000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $5000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The facilities installed on the National Forests are mostly of a simple character designed primarily to meet the needs of the average citizen. Thus, there are nearly 4000 camp and picnic grounds; about 800 permitted resorts, mostly moderate priced; many places where winter sports may be enjoyed by those who can afford nothing more than a pair of skis and the cost of a short drive to the mountains. We are now installing so-called organization camps for low rental to charitable or civic groups who subsidize vacations for the underprivileged.

General public use is always given the right of way in planning and installing facilities. Exclusive use, such as summer homes, is allowed only where areas are not needed for general use. There are only about 13,000 summer homes in all of the National Forests, each one occupying a lot averaging less than an acre in size.

When a block of summer-home lots is laid out, publicity is given and permits are granted on a first-come first-served basis. Most summer homes are modest affairs costing not over $1000. More elaborate homes are the exception.

Timberline Lodge on Mount Hood, which you visited, is an exceptional development. It was built by the WPA and on a scale which would not have been undertaken except through the availability of relief labor. Its significance, however, lies not in the beauty of building and its furnishings nor in the few rooms used by the higher-paying guests, but rather in the fact that it is the rallying point in the use of Mount Hood by scores of thousands of people from nearby communities for winter sports which they must find near at hand cheaply or forego them.

The administration of National Forest recreation is just a part of the entire administrative job. The men who give it general supervision - the Regional Foresters and Supervisors - are the same men who supervise all of the other uses. The district rangers who supervise the heavy week-end business, and the lighter use through the week, are the same men who are handling the timber sale business, the fire protection, the supervision of grazing use, the issuing of permits for all sorts of miscellaneous uses, and all the other things that go along with the multiple use plan of management.
Furthermore, the actual use itself must always be fitted into the other uses in a way which can be done only by the general overseer. The enclosed map of the Wenatchee National Forest, showing the general multiple use pattern, gives an idea of the way recreation has to be fitted into that pattern.

These considerations seem to me to point conclusively to the fact that it would be virtually impossible to turn over the recreation job to another agency. It would cause conflicts in purpose and in handling. It would require much duplication of personnel at various levels and a greatly increased cost. Beyond this, and without drawing invidious comparisons, I am satisfied that it would cause much public discontent, for there is ample proof that the people who use the National Forests for recreation are very much wedded to the way in which it is now handled.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosure.

Secretary.
MULTIPLE USE ON A TYPICAL NATIONAL FOREST
March 14, 1940.

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

With regard to the Ward Shepard story, you will be interested in knowing that before the death of Silcox and after his death Shepard has had only a very indirect connection with the Forest Service. Some time before Silcox's death it had been worked out that Shepard would be hired on a consulting basis, and for a limited time, by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. He was so serving at the time of Silcox's death and continued so to serve for a month or so, to the expiration of the time for which he was originally appointed. Any differences he might have had were wholly with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and without any knowledge at all and only an indirect involvement on the part of the Forest Service itself.

The only way in which the Forest Service may have come even indirectly into the picture was in connection with a contemplated revision of a report prepared in the Forest Service for possible submission to the Joint Congressional Committee on Forestry, in which, among other duties, Shepard was to serve in an advisory capacity as a representative of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The complications growing out of Silcox's death on December 20, the preparation for oral presentations at the hearings of the Joint Committee beginning in mid-January and extending to mid-February, and the pressure of other work has made it impossible as yet for the Forest Service to go forward with such a revision.

Shepard's contention now is that after Silcox's death the Forest Service scuttled the Silcox program and then presented to the Joint Committee the so-called Clapp program which Shepard says Silcox had disapproved. The truth is that Silcox, Clapp and many others cooperated in preparing for the Joint Committee a single, broadly conceived program for a national forestry economy. All the records
prove this. The only revision undertaken was one to make the
whole document more simple, direct and persuasive. This revision
was not completed prior to the Congressional hearings. Hence, the
Forest Service testimony was wholly oral. During the hearings
Shepard exerted considerable pressure on the Joint Committee to be
heard. A member of the Committee asked Earle Clapp, who was in
charge of the Forest Service presentations, for advice. Clapp urged
that Shepard be heard; this was done and afforded Shepard a full
opportunity to present his views.

Shepard's ideas on forest policy are good, but not unique
and not the last word by any means. They are shared by many who
are not inclined to credit Shepard with their authorship. The same
ideas are more effectively presented when someone else presents them.
The simple fact is that Shepard is so exceedingly hard to work with
that there is a strong disinclination on the part of everybody I
know, in all of the bureaus working in this field, to work with him.
Shepard, somewhat naturally, confuses this reaction against him
personally with a reaction against his ideas. The latter are, after
all, not particularly controversial.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

H. A. Wallace

Secretary
March 19, 1940

Dear Dr. Alexander:

If you have been reading the Christian Century or keeping in touch with other religious journals you probably realize how serious a problem has developed in connection with the appointment of Mr. Myron Taylor as President Roosevelt's personal envoy to the Vatican.

For your very personal and confidential information I send you herewith copies of two letters which Dr. Buttrick, as President of the Federal Council of Churches, has written to Mr. Roosevelt on February 27 and March 19. It seems to us that Mr. Roosevelt does not realize how much danger there is that a highly unfortunate religious controversy will be precipitated unless there can be some public statement on his part making it clear that the President does not accept the Vatican's statements which interpret Mr. Taylor's appointment as meaning diplomatic relations in everything except name.

If this whole matter seems to you to be important I should be very glad to come to Washington to talk with you about it or to discuss it with you over the telephone, whichever you might prefer.

With warm regards,

Always cordially yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert
General Secretary

Dr. W. W. Alexander
Resettlement Administration
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.
March 22, 1940

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I write to acknowledge your letters of March 16 reaffirming the earlier statement of Assistant Secretary of State Messrs. that the appointment of Mr. Taylor does not constitute the inauguration of formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Because the official letter, as well as the obviously personal message, was marked "personal," I am not free to share with the millions represented by our Council the assurances which you have given me. May I therefore respectfully inquire, not merely as an individual but on behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, if there is any reason why this official letter of March 16 should not be made public.

There are exigencies which make this request more than pertinent: the apprehension in many Protestant circles has intensified rather than abated.

The situation is, in my judgment, so serious that it is highly probable that national conferences of the great denominations to be held this spring will make official protest against Mr. Taylor's appointment, unless misgivings are quickly removed. These gatherings will represent
the numerically largest Protestant groups, such as the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian. Their widely publicized protests would both injure Mr. Taylor’s efforts for peace and arouse serious religious controversy throughout the nation.

It seems to me, therefore, desirable for almost every good reason that your letter should be published.

Thanking you for your courtesy, and awaiting your kind reply, I remain

Respectfully yours,

George A. Buttrick,
President
COPY

February 27, 1940

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

A dispatch from Rome on February 13, 1940, reports that the Vatican, after a careful study of the status of Mr. Myron C. Taylor, has decided that he will be "just as much an ambassador to the Holy See as the representatives of other nations" and that he "could remain accredited to the Holy See even after Mr. Roosevelt ceased to be President."

This interpretation of your action plainly contradicts the interpretation which you have given and which was confirmed in the letter sent to me by the Assistant Secretary of State on January 23 in answer to my inquiry of January 16.

The misgivings among Protestants to which I then called your attention have not been allayed; they are deepening into grave apprehension. If you should care to see me personally, I could give many evidences of a growing disillusionment which augurs ill for inter-faith comity, for the success of Mr. Taylor's work for peace and for the health of our nation.

Therefore, because you have asked me to assist in "parallel efforts" for peace and in behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, I do hereby respectfully request that you publicly state that the interpretation reported from the Vatican is contrary to your understanding of the appointment and is not accepted by you.

Faithfully yours,

George A. Buttrick, President
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

GAB AB
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 27, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
J. H. R.

Talk with Steve about
the last part of this memo-
randum. I think it has all
been done.

F. D. R.

This has been done

File - send to Puck

for "confidential"
Mr. Rowe,

The White House.

Dear Mr. Rowe:

Secretary Wallace has asked me to forward the attached, about which he has just spoken to you on the telephone. You will note that the proposed letter to Mr. Hayden is unsigned. Will you please return it together with your suggestions of action.

Sincerely,

Leon O. Walcott,
Assistant to the Secretary.
Memorandum For The President:

March 26, 1940

Secretary Wallace

Instead of trying to bother you by phone, Wallace asked that I take up two matters with you:

1. Farley. — The New York Young Democratic Club has asked Wallace to be Vice-Chairman of the Honorary Dinner Committee for the testimonial dinner on April eighteenth for the Postmaster General. Wallace does not want to put himself "on the spot" by going ahead and accepting; but also he does not want to put you "on the spot" by asking you whether he should accept.

Shall I tell him:

(a) Not to ask you?
(b) Not to accept?

2. Myron Taylor. — Wallace says that the Protestant Churches are becoming more and more disturbed about the status of Myron Taylor at the Vatican. He is afraid that a national religious controversy will start unless the matter is cleared up, and that Taylor's usefulness at the Vatican will be injured by the controversy.

They are particularly worried about a newspaper dispatch from the Vatican saying that Taylor will be "just as much an ambassador to the Holy See as the representatives of other nations". (And that he) "could remain accredited to the Holy See even after Mr. Roosevelt ceased to be President".

Wallace suggests that the solution might be to have Taylor clarify the matter either by a statement or by a personal letter to a friend in this country which could be made public.

James Rowe, Jr.
Mr. J. Francis Hayden
1440 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hayden:

It gives me great pleasure to accept your invitation to serve as Vice Chairman of the Honorary Dinner Committee for the testimonial dinner which your Club is tendering to the Postmaster General on April 18, 1940. I shall be happy to attend the dinner.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary.
The Honorable Henry A. Wallace,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

We cordially invite you to be a Vice Chairman of the Honorary Dinner Committee for the Testimonial Dinner which our Club is tendering to your colleague the Postmaster General on April 18, 1940, at Hotel Astor, New York, in celebration of the Club's twenty-fifth anniversary.

We would be greatly honored by your acceptance, and deeply privileged to have you attend the dinner.

Respectfully yours,

J. Francis Hayden
Chairman
Mr. Rowe,

The White House.

This should be attached to file sent you by Mr. Wolcott, Asst to Secretary Wallace, a few minutes ago.

Mrs. Martin
The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a memorandum giving some of the viewpoints of John Lewis as relayed to me. I kept these in mind when I had a three-hour conference with Lewis Thursday night. He did not bring any of these matters up, however, in any detailed way until I mentioned that you were still considering the Madden matter and that you would like to see him next Tuesday. He then stated in a very vigorous way that Madden should be reappointed. It was also obvious that Lewis will not ask for an appointment next Tuesday but will be very much pleased if General Watson would call him up and ask him to come over.

Lewis feels quite strongly on the subject of the Defense Commission, referring to Hillman as "poor Hillman", and referring to Stettinius and Knudsen as "creatures of Dupont." He can't understand, with Dupont fighting the New Deal, why we have put ourselves into the hands of the enemy through the Defense Commission. He grants that Stettinius and Knudsen are fine fellows but is confident that the operations of the Defense Commission will reveal undue favoritism to Standard Oil and Dupont and certain other large corporations.

At the present time it is obvious that Lewis sees very little choice between the two parties. He says that the Republicans have been offering him almost anything if he would support them but he has turned down all their offers. He prides himself that he has always helped you when you asked him to do so. But he feels that there has been very little in the way of reciprocation.

He has a tremendous interest in Latin America, in hemispheric unity and especially in Mexico. Nothing would delight him more than to be consulted continually on Latin American policy. He has a tremendous distrust of Sumner Welles and some distrust of Berle. He thinks Welles represents Standard Oil interests in the State Department. He claims to have worked through Hopkins on a telephone call from Mexico City to Rochester, Minnesota, to get you to step into a certain situation to prevent the disintegration of the Cardenas government. He claims that you acted promptly and pre-
vented what otherwise would have been disastrous action on the part of the State Department. He is very strong for a solid economic front of the Americas visavis a German-controlled Europe.

He thinks the Department of Labor has never been adequately equipped with powers to represent labor in the national councils. He says Madame Secretary is a very nice lady but not in a position to represent labor. The one thing he wants above everything else is assurance that labor will be properly represented in the next administration. He claims that neither he nor the CIO would ever ask for anything out of line with the interests of the whole people. He earnestly believes that Latin America is our new frontier and claims to have very intimate relationships with the organized labor movements in various countries in Latin America.

It seems to me there is a chance that you and John L might come to an understanding on the larger issues of policy and that he would be very much pleased to be consulted on such issues.

It might be worthwhile to consider setting up a Sub-Committee in the Cabinet composed of the Secretaries of Commerce, Labor and Agriculture to deal with certain problems. This would greatly please Lewis, I think, provided the Secretary of Labor were somebody like Phil Murray.

Respectfully yours

[Signature]

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, John Lewis telephoned me with regard to the story in the Merry-go-Round which appeared this morning and which I am enclosing. He informed me that none of his people had leaked with regard to this conference. He indicated the Merry-go-Round statement was false. Obviously he suspects that some one connected with the White House has leaked something of this sort to the Merry-go-Round.

Last night John L spoke to me about the "stall-fed" columnists who had been endeavoring to portray him in a wrong light. The statement this morning, he apparently felt, was an illustration of the activity of the "stall-fed" columnists. What he will do about it, I don't know but I would say that the situation as far as John L is personally concerned is a very delicate one.
MEMORANDUM TO MR. HENRY A. WALLACE

Dear Henry:

As background for the visit with John L. Lewis I'd like to report a number of things.

First of all I would like to emphasize that it seems clear that Lewis is more interested in advancing a general acquaintance with you than he is in prosecuting any particular matter. But I'd like to say that I think it is perfectly in order usually for you to express to him a personal opinion about those particular things that he wants to prosecute, even though on those particular things the actual decision will rest with the President. You can always qualify your own expressions by indicating that you don't know all of the elements that must enter into the determination and timing that the President will make.

Second, Phil Murray in his talk with me emphasized the fact that he feels the administration owes it to him--Phil Murray, to Van Bittner, and to Sidney Hillman, to do what it can to satisfy John L. They feel that they have stuck out their necks pretty far for the administration, and that their own group relationship is such that appreciation of what they have done and friendship for them dictates a very real effort to give John L. Lewis special consideration.

Third, Phil Murray insists, and I believe with warrant, that the difference between having general and widespread support of the ticket on the part of labor, and particularly on the part of CIO labor, and having a militant fighting support through the CIO organization is very real and very important. He says that there are dozens and dozens of individual unions anxious to adopt resolutions supporting the ticket but holding back because of Lewis. He says that there are thousands of individual union officials and leaders who would be freed to work much more zealously to get out the vote if Lewis had taken a public position that way.
Now about what John L. Lewis is asking: it boils down really to four things. I shall discuss these a paragraph at a time.

1. In a conference with the President John L. reported a great deal of critical talk about the way in which defense contracts are being awarded. I think both McCamy and I could support much of what Lewis said in this connection on a basis of reports that come to us. Anyhow, what he said was that there is widespread belief that contracts are being awarded on a basis of pull rather than on a basis of equity, and at considerable cost to the government. He indicated to the President that sooner or later it would be necessary for the President to reorganize the defense set-up. John L. himself thinks there will be special need to set up special boards for various important industries; in this connection he says there is pretty widespread complaint from various industries—coal for example—that they have no particular place to go here in Washington in connection with defense matters. John L. says that if a repetition of NRA is to be avoided boards that are set up should have governmental chairmen, and representatives of labor along with a representative of the particular industry in each case. He argues that the labor representative will help importantly throw the slant of these boards into the direction of public interest. But he isn’t arguing any specific type of defense organization; he’s only arguing that there will be and should be some type of reorganization, and he is asking that when such reorganization comes he be consulted by the President on representation of labor. He doesn’t want a repetition of the Hillman designation, when Hillman was named without first clearing with him. In this he is acting very naturally just like one of our bureau chiefs. He is not asking for anything exclusive, and is not suggesting that William Green should not be given the same consideration. He simply insists that when labor is up for consideration he be consulted, and that he be consulted fairly often by the President.

2. He is insistent on the Madden reappointment. I think you might profitably ask him questions that would fully inform you about his view of what the elements in that picture are.

3. He wishes Presidential support for enactment of his Mine Inspection bill. Incidentally there is a petition now in circulation among House members that would result in bringing that bill up before the close of the present session, and members who have signed number roughly about 100. A little administration support undoubtedly would get that bill called up and passed.
4. He renews his request that the government take a flat position that it will not buy from concerns that violate the labor acts. I have always felt that as a matter of simple governmental consistency what he asks is plain common sense. However there are questions about how it can be done. My impression is that the Navy, perhaps the Army, and maybe the whole defense commission have already taken this position administratively. My impression—not backed with much study—is that a great deal can be done administratively without legislation, but that in order to do a sweeping job it would be necessary to have legislation.

I think what it boils down to is that if John L. got these things, he could couple these victories with some boasting about his part in getting you nominated, and would use that as the pole to climb down.

Phil Murray told me that when you speak in Pittsburgh and Detroit he will see to it that there are enormous crowds, way up in the thousands.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Appleyard
September 23, 1940

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I am hoping that between now and the election, in the administration of the draft law, there will be no need for taking action to investigate the resources of married men. This kind of action could be magnified out of all proportion to cause an extreme reaction among hundreds of thousands of young married men.

Respectfully yours

H A Wallace

Dictated by Mr. Wallace but signed in his absence
October 19, 1940

Mr. James H. Rowe
Executive Assistant to the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rowe:

Enclosed herewith is a statement on the political line-up as revealed by the Gallup poll on October 18. I have included in this statement the tabulations of the Gallup polls since August 4 for all the states except the 15 Southern states.

These same figures are shown in chart form as well. From the chart you may get at a glance the four different trends that I discuss in the report, namely the rising trend in the East, the declining trend in two states (North Dakota and Nebraska), the rising and stable trend in the Far West, and the rising but irregular trend in the Midwest.

Sincerely yours,

Louis H. Bean

Enclosures
The Political Line-Up as of October 18, 1940.

The Gallup release on October 18 covering the Gallup poll taken during the first two weeks of October concludes:

"From these facts it can be seen that the present election campaign continues to be a close race."

This conclusion is an exceedingly conservative one if the Gallup figures are taken at face value, and if the trends in the various states since August 4 are taken into account.

There are 29 states with Democratic percentages of 55 or over, having a total of electoral votes of 285 (266 required by the winning candidate).

There are 8 states (including Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Minnesota) with percentages of 51 to 54, having a total of electoral votes of 129.

There are 11 states with percentages from 42 to 49, having a total of electoral votes of 117.

It is claimed for the Gallup technique that in practice there is a margin of error of three percentage points either way. But even if we assume an error of four points and assume further that the Gallup findings are too high by four points in each state, the Democrats would have a minimum of 285 electoral votes; and that would mean giving the Republicans such important states as New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and Missouri.

This assumption of a 4-point error all in one direction and of an overstatement of the strength is extremely conservative.

There is no objective test available as yet to indicate the magnitude of the possible error in the Gallup poll showing the nation as a whole to be 55 percent Democratic. There are some technicians who suggest that while
the Gallup method has been improved substantially since 1936 (when his figures in practically all states understated rather than overstated the Democratic percentages), it still underweights the importance of low income voters and is thus again likely to err in understating the Democratic strength in many states.

While there is no objective test of the accuracy of the national average of 55 percent, it is possible to judge whether the findings in the various states are reasonable in the light of past experience. Our studies (see Ballot Behavior, p. 43) show that when the country is 55 percent Democratic, all but 9 states would normally be Democratic with a total of 423 electoral votes. The Gallup poll showing all but 11 states in the Democratic column with a total of 414 electoral votes checks closely with the election experience of the past two decades.

A state-by-state analysis of the Gallup percentages reveals some striking regional departures from "normal" when the nation as a whole is 55 percent Democratic. There are 21 states in which the Democratic percentages shown by the Gallup poll differ from the percentages obtained by our statistical analysis by more than two percentage points. These states are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States in which the Gallup poll of October 18</th>
<th>departs by more than 2 percentage points from the statistical formula (when the U. S. is 55 percent Democratic)</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Conn</td>
<td>+ 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. I.</td>
<td>+ 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>+ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. H.</td>
<td>+ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Md</td>
<td>+ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>+ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Va</td>
<td>+ 5</td>
</tr>
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<td>N. J.</td>
<td>+ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>+ 4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ala</td>
<td>+ 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>- 3</td>
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<td>Kans</td>
<td>- 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>- 4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>- 4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Wis</td>
<td>- 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenn</td>
<td>- 5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ind</td>
<td>- 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. D.</td>
<td>- 9</td>
</tr>
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</table>
It is chiefly the Eastern states that are more Democratic than would be normal when the country is 55 percent Democratic, and it is chiefly the Midwestern and North Central states that are less Democratic than normal. This line-up is something like that which occurred in the other wartime election, namely that of 1916. In that election too, the East and the Far West were relatively more Democratic in relation to normal than was the Middle West.

In judging the probable course of public opinion and the outcome of the election, it is necessary to observe the different trends in the several states revealed so far. Excluding the 15 Southern states (that are now shown to be 60 percent or more Democratic and may reasonably be assumed to remain in the Democratic column), we find four distinct tendencies. In the East the Democratic trend has been markedly upward; in the Far West it has been upward and more recently stable; in the Middle West it has also been generally upward but irregular; and in only two cases, Nebraska and North Dakota, the trend has been downward. The possible meaning of these different trends may be pointed out more clearly by presenting the data for each of these states in each of these four groups.

In 9 Northeastern states where Gallup found public sentiment on August 4 to be less than 50 percent Democratic, there has been a marked rise in all states. In 7 of these the October 18 report shows Democratic percentages of 52 to 58 percent, and even Maine and Vermont have risen respectively from 35 percent Democratic to 47, and from 41 to 46. It has been observed by some commentators that the trend shown for Maine, if continued, could put that state finally in the Democratic column. Exclusive of Maine and Vermont, the average rise for the other 7 states (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) has been from 47 percent Democratic to 55.
Three other states--Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia--also show this general upswing. Here the trend has gone from 52-53 percent to 61-64 percent.

In these 12 states the greatest interest must of course center on New York and Pennsylvania. New York, in contrast with the general upward drift, rose to 52 percent and has remained there during the last three polls, while Pennsylvania has shown a continuous upward trend to 55 percent. This would suggest less doubt about Pennsylvania than about New York.

Table 1. States showing upward trend in Democratic percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aug. 4</th>
<th>Aug. 25</th>
<th>Sept. 20</th>
<th>Oct. 5</th>
<th>Oct. 18</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>Mass</td>
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<td>56</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. I.</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>N. Y.</td>
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<td>52</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
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In 9 Far Western states there are 4 that in the August 4 poll were less than 50 percent Democratic (Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Oregon), but in the October 18 report they were found to be more than 50 percent. Two of these states, Colorado and Wyoming, had risen to 54-55 percent in the poll of October 5 and showed losses to a range of 51-52 percent since then. If this rate of decline were to be projected, Colorado and Wyoming could be less than 50 percent Democratic in the election. But in all the other 5 Far Western states (Washington, Montana, Utah, Nevada, and California), the Democratic
percentages as of October 18 range between 57 and 63, with no evidence of marked shifts. On the average, sentiment in these 9 Far Western states rose from 52 percent Democratic in the August 4 report to 56 on September 20, 58 on October 5, and 57 on October 18.

Table 2. States showing upward and relatively stable trend in Democratic percentages.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Oct 18</th>
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<td>Nev</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57</td>
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</table>

There are 10 Midwestern states (South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Missouri) where sentiment in the August 4 report was generally less than 50 percent Democratic. In 6 of these, percentages of more than 50 were reported on September 20, but in the October 18 report there were only three with percentages over 50. On the average, these 10 states were 46 percent Democratic in the August 4 report, 51 percent in the September 20 report, 52 percent in the October 5 report, and 49 percent in the latest one.

Each of these 10 states showed losses in Democratic percentages between the October 5 and October 18 report.

Three of them, Ohio (52 percent), Minnesota (54 percent), and Missouri (53 percent) were still more than 50 percent Democratic, but if the recent moderate rate of decline were to continue in these states, two of them (Ohio and Missouri) could lose practically all of their Democratic margin.
The 2 states that have shown an irregular downward trend, Nebraska and North Dakota, average 44 and 49 percent Democratic respectively in the Aug. 4 report, and 42 and 43 percent in the Oct. 18 report.

Table 3. States showing irregular upward and irregular downward trends in Democratic percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Aug 25</th>
<th>Sept 20</th>
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<th>Oct 18</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this review of the different regional trends, and assuming their continuation at the rates shown by the last two polls, it would appear that no major changes in the political line-up are in prospect. Were Colorado and Wyoming to drop below 50 percent and Maine to exceed it (on the basis of trend projection) the total of Democratic electoral votes would still be about 410.
State Trends in the Gallup Poll Score Augt 1940
(Perc Proct Democratie)
Mr. James H. Rowe
Administrative Assistant to the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rowe:

Enclosed herewith is a statement on the political line-up as of October 27. The President may be interested in noting the continued upward swing in the Far West which tends to offset the recent decline shown in the Northeast. In the Middle West some states continued to show Republican gains, while in other Midwestern states the downward trend of the first part of October was apparently checked in the third week.

The real battleground, from this record of the shift in public opinion during the course of the campaign, now appears to be in New York and in the Midwestern states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri.

Sincerely yours,

Louis H. Bean

Enclosure
The Political Line-Up as of October 27, 1940.

In the political line-up during the first part of October as shown by the Gallup poll published October 18, the outstanding features were the marked upward Democratic trend in the Northeast and in the Far West, and losses in the Middle West. The situation in the third week of October as revealed by the Gallup poll published on October 27 shows a moderate loss in the Northeast, continued gains in the Far West, and some gain in the Middle West.

The latest Gallup poll now shows 26 states with Democratic percentages of 56 and over, having a total of electoral votes of 238 (266 required by the winning candidate). It shows 10 states with percentages of 51-54, having a total of electoral votes of 172; and 12 states with percentages below 50, having a total of electoral votes of 121. In this line-up the national Democratic percentage is 54.5.

According to our statistical analysis, a national average of 54.5 percent Democratic would normally show 9 states in the Republican column having a total of 108 electoral votes, leaving 423 Democratic electoral votes. Gallup's total of Democratic electoral votes of 410 differs only by about 3 percent from what one would normally expect with the nation at 54.5 percent Democratic.

The state by state line-up, according to the Gallup poll of October 27 and according to what one would normally expect with the nation at 54.5 percent Democratic, is shown in Table 1.

If we allow a margin of error of plus or minus 2 points, we find that a number of states are more Democratic than one would normally expect, and a few are less Democratic. These states are shown in Table 2. Here it appears that 8 states, chiefly in the Middle
and North West, are between 4 and 9 points less Democratic than one would normally expect, but a larger number of states appear to be more Democratic than normally. In this group there are 21 states, but only 14 with percentages ranging between 4 and 9 in excess of what would be normal. In this group are most of the Northeastern states, with a few from the Southeast, and 3 Far Western states, namely Montana, Washington and California. This line-up continues to suggest the 1916 situation when the East and the West went relatively more Democratic than the Middle West.

In the line-up shown by the Gallup poll published October 18, we differentiated between the Northeastern states showing an upward trend, the Far Western states showing an upward but stable trend, and the Midwestern states showing an irregular trend. The state by state record in each of these groups has been brought to date in Table 3, as well as in the attached chart. The Northeastern states that on the average showed a rising trend from 47 percent Democratic in the August 4 report to 55 percent in the October 18 report, now average 53. The Far Western states that showed an average of 52 percent in the August 4 report and 57 percent in the October 18 report, now show an average of 58. The Midwestern states which showed an average of 46 percent in the August 4 report, 52 percent in the October 5 report, and 49 in the October 18 report, now show 48 percent.

The important features in these state by state records appear to be the continued upward swing in the Far West, some gains in the Middle West which tend to offset the continued losses in six Midwestern states, and the narrowing of the Democratic margin in New York State. As between the two most important states in the East,
namely New York and Pennsylvania, New York appears to be the more
doubtful. In the Midwestern states the situation revealed in the
latest Gallup poll seems to be somewhat more favorable to the Democrats
than that revealed in the previous poll.
Table 1. Democratic Percentage of Two-Party Vote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>According to Bean formula if U.S. is 54.5 percent</th>
<th>Gallup survey published October 27</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Mex</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Y.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>46</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
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<td>62</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ore</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. I.</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
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<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Va</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wash</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Va</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisc</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyo</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 2.
States in which the Gallup poll of October 27 departs by more than 2 percentage points from the statistical formula (when the U. S. is 54.6 percent Democratic).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Deviation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>+9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. J.</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conn</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. H.</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Va</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Va</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wash</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calif</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. D.</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kans</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisc</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. D.</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Mex</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.

A. States showing upward trend in Democratic percentages.  
(to first half of October)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aug 4</th>
<th>Aug 26</th>
<th>Sept 20</th>
<th>Oct 5</th>
<th>Oct 18</th>
<th>Oct 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. H.</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>52</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>61</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>W. Va</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. States showing upward and relatively stable trend in Democratic percentages (to first half of October).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aug 4</th>
<th>Aug 26</th>
<th>Sept 20</th>
<th>Oct 5</th>
<th>Oct 18</th>
<th>Oct 27</th>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Mont</td>
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<td>Calif</td>
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<td>Average</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 (continued)

C. States showing irregular upward and irregular downward trends in Democratic percentages (to first half of October).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Aug 4</th>
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<th>Sept 20</th>
<th>Oct 5</th>
<th>Oct 16</th>
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<td>Ind</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>Ohio</td>
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<td>Mo</td>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>48</td>
</tr>
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<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. D.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
STATE TRENDS IN THE GALLUP POLL SINCE AUG. 4, 1940
(PER CENT DEMOCRATIC)

AUG.  SEPT.  OCT.  NOV.

AUG.  SEPT.  OCT.  NOV.

1. New Hampshire
2. Massachusetts
3. Vermont
4. Maine
5. Rhode Island
6. Connecticut
7. New York
8. New Jersey
9. Pennsylvania

10. Nevada
11. Montana
12. Utah
13. Washington
14. Oregon

15. Wisconsin
16. Minnesota
17. Kansas
18. South Dakota
19. Iowa
20. California
21. Missouri
22. Ohio
23. Michigan

24. Illinois
25. Indiana

26. North Dakota
27. South Dakota
28. Nebraska

29. Colorado
30. Wyoming
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 6, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Here is some more in relation to unwarranted action by the Forest Service in regard to a proposed Executive Order which was still under study.

If it is true that this Order was allowed to come out through the Regional Office of the Forest Service at Albuquerque, I should like to have a report as to why the head of that office should not be dismissed.

I begin to wonder whether the Forest Service really understands that it is, under the Constitution, a part of the Executive Branch of the Government.

F. D. R.
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Please read confidentially and return. The point of this whole thing is that it was a matter under study by the Interior Department and was sent to the Department of Agriculture for their comment. In other words, it was solely an interdepartment matter.

It seems likely that the Forest Service thereupon proceeded to throw what was a tentative proposal into the field of Arizona and national politics.

That is not the way the national government should be administered. Please investigate this and let me know who did it.

F. D. R.

Note from the Secretary of the Interior, 2/20/41 to the President, with enclosed memorandum for the Secretary from Newton B. Drury, Director, National Park Service, 2/19/41, stating that draft of proclamation to set up the Sycamore Canyon National Monument left Interior Dept. through inadvertence, that it went to the Bureau of Budget and was referred as a matter of routine to the Dept. of Agriculture.
and that the first intimation the Dept. of Interior had of the status of the matter came in the form of protests from the three members of the Arizona congressional delegation. The Dept. of Agriculture rendered no report upon the proposed proclamation before the Secretary of Interior had it recalled, but the Senate of Arizona passed a Memorial opposing the project, and telegrams of opposition were sent to the Arizona congressional delegation from the Governor of the State, the executive secretary of the Arizona Farm Bureau, etc., in copies of documents. Mr. Drury states he is given to understand that the Sycamore Canyon incident is a typical example of the manner in which the Forest Service seeks to define the limits within which the President may act, by arousing public sentiment against the possibility of his action in a given case.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

I have been consulted by Mr. Drury, who has again asked the Department if it would be feasible to write a letter to the Governor of Arizona and other prominent officials, concerning the situation. It is to be regretted that the President has not seen fit to write to this Senator, but we have no objection to his being written to, and, if written, I should be glad if the letter could be in the form of a letter to the President.

[Signature]

D. R.
FOR SECRETARY WICKARD THINK YOUR PROPOSED PROGRAM GENERALLY GOOD
WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS IT WITH YOU BEFORE GIVING APPROVAL STOP
PLEASE STUDY THE POSSIBILITY OF A CEILING AS WELL AS A FLOOR
ON PRICES STOP WILL YOU HAVE TALK LEON HENDERSON ABOUT EFFECT
ON PRICES STOP APPROVE CALLING YOUR ADVISORY COUNCIL LATTER
PART NEXT WEEK SIGNED ROOSEVELT
March 25, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:

I have gone over this entire situation with Claude and have read this letter carefully. I believe the plan he outlines is designed to get the maximum of results with the minimum of effort and friction.

The President,
The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

During the past few days, I have conducted an intensive study of United States, British and unoccupied Europe's supplies and needs of agricultural products. Dr. Parran and Mr. Loyd Steere, agricultural attaché recently returned from London, have been of great aid in this study.

We believe we have a sufficient supply of all agricultural supplies except canned pork, bacon, dried eggs, canned poultry, cheese, dried milk and evaporated milk. Large quantities of these products will be needed in the British Isles and in Europe for several years, irrespective of the duration of the War, because foundation herds and flocks are being rapidly depleted, and many of our own people have not had sufficient supply of these products.

I think the government should acquire large stocks of these non-perishable products as rapidly as possible to insure,
first, a plentiful supply when needed and, second, in order
that the government may be able to control prices of these
products as it now controls prices of feed grains through its
ownership of large supplies of corn. In other words, we should
now start converting our ever-normal granary supplies into ever-
normal food supplies.

I am therefore submitting the following two-year program
for your consideration:

1. Inform farmers immediately that the government
will make all the corn it can control available to
feeders at 69 cents a bushel Chicago basis.
2. Use AAA Committees, Extension Service, and other
agencies to encourage farmers to:

   (a) Increase pork production by, first,
       feeding hogs to heavier weights and,
       second, increase farrowing of pigs.

   (b) Increase dairy production by asking
       farmers to milk more cows and by feed-
       ing their cows more grain.

3. Make an announcement that if Lend-Lease and Commodity
   Credit Corporation funds permit, the government will make
   purchases in the open market to support a level of prices
(Chicago basis) until June 30, 1943, which would be approximately as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Supported Price</th>
<th>Present Price</th>
<th>1936-1940 5 yr. avg. price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hogs cwt.</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy Products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basis of butterfat lb.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens lb.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs doz.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking into account funds now available under existing programs and funds to be made available under the Lend-Lease bill, this program probably can be financed by increasing the lending authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation by 200 to 300 million dollars.

4. Continue the 61-cent corn loan rate.

I should know in a day or two if you want me to make this program effective this year because (a) corn planting will start in the Corn Belt in ten days, (b) peak poultry and dairy production will be reached in a few weeks, (c) only a few weeks remain to plan for increased farrowing of pigs this year. In addition, I want to call a meeting of the Agricultural Advisory Council March 31 to announce this program and to ask the support of all the large organisations of producers, processors and distributors of agricultural products.

Respectfully,

[Signature]
Claude R. Wickard
Secretary.
P. S. -

I have conferred with Miss Harriet Elliott and representatives from her office concerning the proposed plan and I am just in receipt of a note from her stating:

"For these reasons we are ready to support the proposed plan as an immediate step for dealing with the food supply situation, provided that it is not regarded as a final solution which would be accepted as a substitute for continuing efforts along more constructive lines."

You will also note that Vice President Wallace and Dr. Parran have indicated their approval on the first page of this letter.

[Signature]

Secretary
April 7, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Referring to your letter of March 14th, it is, of course, perfectly obvious, though not subject to legal proof, that the Regional Forester at Albuquerque was responsible for the lead in regard to the discussion of a possible Sycamore Canyon National Monument.

You suggest that he should not be dismissed but should be officially reprimanded. That in itself is all right and properly establishes the fault.

However, this whole situation still needs improvement in the Forest Service.

You can tell the Acting Director that the Forest Service as a whole is going to be held responsible in the future for any acts, up or down the line, which run contrary to the policy
of the United States Government. Other Departments and Bureaus of the Government seem to realize this and want the Forest Service to stop being an exception. Let that word be passed down by Mr. Clapp to every employee of the Forest Service, no matter how humble.

F. D. R.
April 3, 1941.

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your note of March 17, with regard to Secretary Wickard's explanation of the Sycamore Canyon incident.

In his letter to you, Secretary Wickard denies that the Forest Service was responsible for the report that seemed to be generally disseminated in the State of Arizona, that this Department had in mind recommending to you the establishment of the Sycamore Canyon National Monument in that State. I do not know how he can assert this so positively in view of the record of the Forest Service in such matters. Since the Forest Service customarily opposes automatically any creation of national parks or monuments out of forest lands, it stands to reason that it would be more likely than another "discreetly" to "leak" information that would stir up opposition to any such proposal. Certainly Interior would have no object in doing so.

Secretary Wickard does say that the regional forester "by telephone authorized the supervisor to allow the inquirers to see the documents." Since the admission here is on all fours with the original charge, nothing is to be gained by laboring it.

I am not impressed with the evident eagerness on the part of Mr. Lee Weaver to clear the Forest Service of suspicion of having given out this information originally. It goes without saying that if the leak came from the Forest Service, as I believe that it did, although I cannot prove it, those for whose benefit the leak was made would do their utmost
to protect the Forest Service. The most convincing protection would have consisted in disclosing the source of the leak, if that were not in fact the Forest Service.

After completely exonerating all of his own people, Mr. Wickard says in conclusion: "I do not believe that the regional forester at Albuquerque should be dismissed. Rather, I believe that he should be officially reprimanded."

Naturally, the query comes to my mind: "Why should the regional forester be reprimanded if he has done no wrong?"

As requested, the file is returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Secretary of the Interior.

The President,
The White House.

Enclosure 1777591.
March 14, 1941.

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

Here is the sequence of actions, step by step, as I understand them, taken in connection with the Sycamore Canyon National Monument proposal.

1. On December 10, 1940, the Department of the Interior submitted to the Budget Bureau a proposal addressed to the President recommending establishment of the Sycamore Canyon National Monument in Arizona with a form of proclamation for the President's signature.

2. The Budget Bureau referred the matter to this Department January 10, 1941, requesting an expression of our views and recommendations. The proposal started through the procedure the Department of Agriculture normally employs to obtain from its field representatives the facts it requires to form a judgment. Under that procedure, the field offices are furnished with copies of all documents relating to the subject upon which they are to report.

3. The Forest Service called upon the Regional Forester at Albuquerque for a report. The Regional Forester in turn instructed certain of his staff and supervisors to submit a report to him. In issuing his instructions he directed that the proposal be handled as a confidential matter.

4. While an investigator from the Regional office was preparing a report for the Regional Forester, a stockman of Prescott, Arizona, Mr. A. L. Naylor, came to the local office and said he had learned of the proposal and asked if it were true that there were such a plan. He was told that there was and that an examination was under way, but was given no further
information. Mr. Favour refuses to divulge the source of his knowledge, stating only that he got it outside the Forest Service.

5. Public knowledge of the project immediately aroused opposition which was expressed to the Arizona Congressional delegation. My understanding is that the matter was taken up with the Department of the Interior by the Congressmen, who were advised that no such proposal was under consideration. This information was conveyed by the Congressmen to the interested persons in Arizona. The local people then made inquiry of the Forest Service as to where the truth lay. They asked to see the evidence in the case. Since a representative of the Forest Service already had admitted that there was such a proposal, the Regional Forester, by telephone, authorized the Supervisor to allow the inquirers to see the documents.

6. Shortly thereafter, the Budget Bureau informed the Forest Service that the proposal had been withdrawn and requested the return of the papers. This was done.

7. Upon receipt of your first inquiry on this matter, everyone in the Regional Forester's office and the Supervisor's office who could have had any knowledge of the pending proposal was specifically questioned by his superior as to whether he had divulged information which might have reached Mr. Favour even indirectly. Each employee specifically denies having done so. Other stockmen besides Mr. Favour picked up the rumor. Each of them states specifically that his information came from outside the Forest Service, though declining to name the source.

Forest Service employees granted no interviews nor gave statements to the press. Mr. Leo Weaver, Secretary of the Flagstaff Chamber of Commerce, who released the story to the press, states:

"As much as I regret, I must refuse to divulge the source of my information on the Sycamore Canyon National Monument transfer of lands from our National Forest. This would be violating a confidence. I am frank in stating, however, that the information did not come through or from your office."

The facts listed above have been obtained from the Forest Service itself in response to your first letter on this Sycamore Canyon matter. In your second letter on this issue you express
the feeling that if the proposed order was given publicity by the Regional office of the Forest Service at Albuquerque, then you should like to have a report as to why the head of that office should not be dismissed.

The facts supplied by the Forest Service indicate that the Regional Forester used bad judgment in authorizing a subordinate officer to disclose the proposed order when the subordinate officer was so requested by a private citizen, but the facts we have obtained convince me that no one in the Forest Service made a deliberate move to incite opposition and no one in the Forest Service was involved in the original leak. Showing the proposed order to a private citizen in itself justifies an official reprimand. However, even here you should know that under an agreement between the Forest Service and the National Park Service, dated March 27, 1939, (copies attached) joint local public hearings are to be held when local feeling may be involved before recommendation for transfer is submitted to the President; in other words, under the right circumstances, which did not prevail in this case, of course, public discussion of such matters is the normal procedure for this Department and for the Department of the Interior.

In view of all of the facts, I do not believe that the Regional Forester at Albuquerque should be dismissed. Rather, I believe that he should be officially reprimanded. I would like to know what you think about this.

Respectfully yours,

Claude R. Wickard
Secretary.
Memorandum for the Regional Directors and Superintendents:

In order to harmonize the policies of the Forest and National Park Services and present a coordinated program to the public and to Congress, a joint committee with members representing both Services, as well as the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture, is now holding sessions in Washington. Many questions of land use and transfer are being discussed and resolved. The members of the committee are: for the Department of Agriculture, Ernest H. Wiecking of the Secretary’s Office and C. W. Granger of the Forest Service; for the Department of the Interior, Joel D. Wolfsohn of the General Land Office and Colonel John R. White of the National Park Service. This committee is working hard in friendly endeavor to solve long standing differences.

The President, Congress and all interested groups are increasingly and properly impatient with the discord between the two Departments and Services. For the sake of conservation, for the sake of the Government and for the sake of individuals concerned, this discord should cease. The men of the two Services are, by and large, men of the same type, working under similar conditions and often in similar territory, even though under varying departmental and different land use policies.

A long range program of National Park Extensions which involve National Forests is being considered item by item. The field will be brought into the consideration of each proposal at the proper time. Additional interdepartmental consideration in the field will be arranged where necessary. In cases where there is now, or likely to be, any pronounced local feeling, arrangements will be made for joint local hearings where all local views may be presented.

Pending final action on land transfers and other matters, field officers must refrain from activities designed to build up either public support for or opposition to the various projects involved. The Secretary of the Interior is intensely interested in establishing proper relations between the two Services. I expect every field officer to obey loyally the spirit of these instructions.

/s/ Arno B. Cammerer

Director.
Address Reply to
The Forester
and Refer to

C
COOPERATION
Interior Department

Regional Foresters,
ALL REGIONS.

Dear Sir:

Not long ago, I had a long discussion with Secretary Ickes on the generally unsatisfactory relations between Interior and Agriculture in respect to National Park and National Forest extensions. The President, Congress, and all interested groups are increasingly and properly impatient with the frequent "battles" between the two Departments over such matters. I know you all agree that the interests of both Departments and the cause of natural resource conservation can be greatly furthered by mutual understanding. We ought to find a way to resolve differences on what is best for the land and the public, and have our joint achievements advertised instead of our differences.

As one important step, it was agreed that each Department would appoint a committee of two to work with each other in considering all proposals for National Park extensions or new parks which involve the National Forests, all National Forest extensions which involve lands under Interior jurisdiction, and similar matters.

These committees have been appointed by the respective Secretaries. Interior is represented by Joel D. Wolfschn of the General Land Office, and Colonel John R. White of the National Park Service. Agriculture is represented by Ernest H. Wiecking of the Secretary's office and C. M. Granger of the Forest Service.

Interior has furnished us with the presently conceived long-range program of National Park extensions which involve the National Forests. This will be considered proposal by proposal. The field will be brought into consideration of each proposal at the proper time. Additional joint interdepartmental field consideration will be arranged where necessary, and in cases where there is now, or likely to be, any pronounced local feeling, arrangements will be made for joint local hearings where all local views may be presented.

March 27, 1939.
It is indispensable to the proper functioning of this arrangement that there be no premature action on either side - that both Departments refrain absolutely from activities designed to build up either public support for such proposals or opposition thereto. It is my belief that we have now set in motion a process which should not only eliminate these interdepartmental public airings of differences, but which also will result in effective joint promotion of the public interest. The Secretary of Agriculture is very much interested in this. I want every member of the Forest Service to adhere faithfully to this plan. Interior is sending out similar word to its people.

Very truly yours,

/s/ F. A. Silcox

F. A. Silcox,
Chief, Forest Service.
My dear Mr. President:

Hell has been popping recently in Arizona as the result of an Executive Order that I sent you which, if signed, would have set up a national monument in the Sycamore Canyon area. A number of proposed Executive orders have been prepared ready to submit to you, but I had given orders that none of these was to go out until further word from me. I have not been able to find out how the Sycamore Canyon order escaped, but it did. When word of it leaked out in Arizona, protests began to pour in, not only to the White House but to this Department and to the two Senators and the Representative from that State. When I learned that the order, through an inadvertence, had gotten out of my office, I ordered it recalled.

While I do not know how this order got out of here, I do know that it was fed through the regional forestry office at Albuquerque to the citizens of Arizona. I quote from a newspaper clipping from an Arizona paper:

"Yesterday afternoon Mr. Weaver (Secretary of the Flagstaff Chamber of Commerce) got permission from the regional office of the Forest Service at Albuquerque to read the proclamation Ickes had sent to President Roosevelt and a copy of the letter that accompanied the proclamation, asking that the area be taken away from Coconino, Kaibab and Prescott forests and be declared Sycamore National Monument, under the direction of Ickes."

In other words, here was a confidential matter that was on its way to you which was disclosed by the Forest Service to persons not connected
with the Government, with the object of raising such a storm of protest that your judgment might be influenced adversely even if you were inclined to accede to the request.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Secretary of the Interior.

The President,
The White House.
My dear Mr. President:

I think that the enclosed will interest you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold I. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior.

The President,
The White House.

Enc.
MEMORANDUM for the Secretary.

You will recall that the draft of a proclamation to set up the Sycamore Canyon National Monument left this Department through inadvertence, that it went to the Bureau of the Budget and was referred as a matter of routine to the Department of Agriculture, and that the first intimation this Department had of the status of the matter came in the form of protests from the three members of the Arizona congressional delegation. The Department of Agriculture rendered no report upon the proposed proclamation before you had it recalled, but the Senate of Arizona passed a Memorial opposing the project, and telegrams of opposition were sent to the Arizona congressional delegation from the Governor of the State, the executive secretary of the Arizona Farm Bureau Federation, the secretary of the Flagstaff Chamber of Commerce, the secretary of the Arizona Cattle Growers Association, and the vice president of the Coconino Cattle Company.

Copies of these documents are attached.

I am given to understand that the Sycamore Canyon incident is a typical example of the manner in which the Forest Service seeks to define the limits within which the President may act, by arousing public sentiment against the possibility of his action in a given case.

Enclosure 2531003

Clayton B. Dyar
Director.
State of Arizona
Senate
Fifteenth Legislature
Regular Session

SENATE MEMORIAL NO. 5

A MEMORIAL

Relating to the proposed Sycamore Canyon national park. To the President and the Secretary of the Interior of the United States of America:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

It has come to the attention of the people of Arizona that there is a movement on foot to create a national park or national monument of some ninety-six thousand acres of land in Sycamore Canyon, a tributary of the Verde River, in Arizona.

The territory in question is very rough and well nigh inaccessible. If made a national park or national monument it would be difficult to reach and expensive to administer. The slight scenic value of the region does not justify the expense.

Sycamore Canyon is already under the jurisdiction of the United States Forest Service, and therefore not taxable; but under the present administration the area grazes large numbers of livestock, which are taxed. Furthermore, under the Forest Service, Arizona receives a share of the revenue from grazing fees, which would be lost were the area transferred to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. The persons directly involved, and others having knowledge of the premises, are well satisfied with the administration of Sycamore Canyon by the Forest Service.
One-third of the proposed park is already a game reserve, and fully two-thirds has been set aside as a wildlife area, so that the section is adequately protected from the point of view of conservation.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, urgently requests:

1. That the President and the Secretary of the Interior of the United States take cognizance of the opposition of the people of this state, and refuse to permit the area known as Sycamore Canyon, in Arizona, to be placed under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, either as a national park or a national monument.

2. That further encroachments by the federal government, or any agency thereof, upon property within Arizona be stopped immediately and forever, inasmuch as federal departments and agencies already control sixty-three per cent of the state area.

Adopted February 4, 1941.
Phoenix, Arizona, Jan. 30, 1941.

Senator Carl Hayden,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Information comes to me today Executive Order is being prepared withdrawing 96,000 acres in Coconino and Kaibab National Forests for national park. All of Arizona Livestock Association and Arizona State Farm Bureau are opposed to any more lands being withdrawn in this state for national monuments or parks. Majority of Arizonians oppose this proposal. Urge your active opposition to this action.

SIDNEY P. OSBORN
GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA
Phoenix, Arizona, Jan. 30, 1941.

Carl Hayden,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

Information comes to us that Executive Order being prepared withdrawing 96,000 acres from Coconino and Kaibab National Forests and transferring same to Department of Interior for national park purposes, thereby ruining many ranchers and without accomplishing any useful purposes whatsoever. This and all other agricultural organizations this state unalterably opposed to such action. Federal and state governments already own 74.2 percent non-taxable area of state.

ARIZONA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

EARL MAHARG, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Flagstaff, Arizona, Jan. 29, 1941.

Senator Carl Hayden,

Washington, D. C.

All Coconino protesting Ickes taking over 97,000 acres of forest, one-third Yavapai; two-thirds Coconino for national park. We have ranches grazing permits and hunting area in it which will all be eliminated. Why does he not pick on some country in Wyoming for a change, we wonder. Will you file vigorous objection with Department for Flagstaff and for me as state secretary, Arizona Game Protective Association. Thank you. Regards.

LEO. WEAVER
Phoenix, Arizona, Jan. 30, 1941.

Hon. Carl Hayden,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Understand there is movement to create national monument of Sycamore Canyon and adjacent land in Coconino County. This would severely injure several legitimate livestock ranchers and is directly opposed to action of Arizona Cattle Growers Association as per resolutions and letters your file. Will you please stop such creation and wire us your action. Thanks and regards.

ARIZONA CATTLE GROWERS ASSOCIATION

Mrs. J. M. Keith
Phoenix, Arizona, Jan. 30, 1941.

Senator Carl Hayden,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Received information today that Executive Order is proposed to be issued withdrawing from Coconino and Kaibab Forests, 96,000 acres in what is known as Sycamore Basin country for national park. This action would ruin several outfits running cattle on this portion of forest. You understand Arizona’s position now with 75 percent of State lands federally owned or controlled. State tax burden now unbearable. Arizona Cattle Growers, Yavapai Cattle Growers, Flagstaff Game Association, Arizona State Farm Bureau and all other organizations that I am familiar with are vigorously opposing federal acquisition of any more lands in this state. I most urgently request your immediate and energetic opposition to this step. Please advise me as to status. Letter with details will follow.

Cecil H. Miller
Vice President
Coconino Cattle Company

Coconino Kaibab 75 Yavapai.
Respectfully forwarded to the President

E.M.W.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5-16-41
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of Agriculture was very anxious that you see this and perhaps give him a message before he left Saturday night to go to Hutchison, Kansas, to make a speech on the Agriculture situation.

E.M.W.
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1941.

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

You are aware of the overwhelming vote in both Houses of Congress on the 85 percent parity loan for five basic agricultural commodities. I know there are difficult economic problems involved in the application of this legislation but I believe, because of certain problems of public relationship, and because it is almost certain that the bill will be passed over your veto, you should sign the measure. In so doing you might point out the need for certain corrective legislation which should be passed by Congress, so that we can avoid another Federal Farm Board fiasco.

If you approve the bill, it is my belief that there will be no difficulty in persuading Congress to keep the parity payment provisions in the pending Agricultural Appropriation Bill within budgetary limits.

I have discussed the question of veto with Director Harold Smith, and he says he is inclined to abide by my judgment in the matter.

I am making a speech at Hutchinson, Kansas, next Monday. My speech will be broadcast over a national radio hookup. I will stress two things: first, the need for wheat marketing quotas, which are to be voted upon May 31; and second, the need for realization on the part of farmers of what English survival means to the future of the United States.

In my opinion it would help tremendously from many standpoints if I were able to say during my talk that you had indicated to me that you were going to approve the 85 percent parity loan. I say this not only from the standpoint of obtaining a favorable vote in the May 31 referendum, but also of increasing the good will of farmers toward you and toward our national defense efforts.
My speech must be completed before I leave for the West on Saturday afternoon. Much of its text depends upon whether I am able to make the statement that you have indicated you will approve the legislation authorizing 85 percent loans. I hope, therefore, that in the next few hours you will tell me whether I may make this statement.

Respectfully yours,

Claude R. Wickard

Secretary.
### COMPARISON OF PARITY PRICES AND LOAN RATES PLUS PAYMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Parity Price (April 15, 1941)</th>
<th>Loan Rate (85% of Parity Price)</th>
<th>1941 Conservation Payment Rate</th>
<th>1941 Parity Payment Rate</th>
<th>Total of Columns (3), (4), and (5)</th>
<th>Total of Columns (3), (4), and (5) as % of Parity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corn (Bu)</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>101.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton(Lb)</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>102.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wheat (Bu)</td>
<td>114.0</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>114.9</td>
<td>100.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Based on the Budget recommendation to Congress of $500 million for the Agricultural Conservation Program

2. Based on the Budget recommendation to Congress of $212 million for parity payments

May 16, 1941
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET

May 31, 1941.

Please prepare reply to the Secretary of Agriculture. I have somewhat unsuccessfully, and for many years, tried to draw a line of demarcation so that in general terms the Department of the Interior will have jurisdiction over all land owned by the Government, and the Department of Agriculture will have jurisdiction over assistance of all kinds to privately owned land.

You might check and see if the statement in section #1 of this letter, about the Interior taking jurisdiction over private lands, is correct or not.

There are, of course, certain possible exceptions to the above general rule. For example, a portion, though a relatively small portion, of our national forests is furnishing actual lumber production. Lumber production on publicly owned land is necessarily tied in with the commercial private lumber production of the country. In other words, privately owned land, and I am not certain in my own mind whether there is not some validity in the thought that timber cutting by private contractors on Government-owned land should not remain in the hands of the Department of Agriculture, and that in the same way Forestry on all privately owned timber land should not remain in Agriculture. So also it seems best that the scientific bureaus, now in the Department of Agriculture, relating to insect pests, tree experimentation, etc., should remain in Agriculture.

We must remember, of course, that an overwhelmingly large proportion of our so-called national forests are not producing lumber and probably will not for generations to come.

F. D. R.

Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, 5/29/41 to the President, a copy of which has been retained for our files, in re Sycamore Canyon matter.
Dear Mr. President,

May 29, 1941.

The White House,

[Signature]

The President
The Department of Agriculture

The Department of Agriculture is responsible for administering and enforcing laws and regulations related to agriculture, food, and natural resources. This involves managing federal land, water, and wildlife resources, providing research and extension services to farmers and ranchers, protecting the environment, and promoting rural economic development.

The Secretary of Agriculture, as the head of the Department, is responsible for operating the agency, developing policies, and overseeing the implementation of programs related to agriculture. The department is divided into several bureaus and agencies, each with specific responsibilities.

The Office of the Secretary is the administrative arm of the department, providing support to the Secretary in managing the overall operations of the agency.

The Office of the Secretary is composed of several divisions, including the Office of the Secretary, the Office of the General Counsel, the Office of the Chief Financial Officer, the Office of the Chief Information Officer, and the Office of the Chief Human Capital Officer.

Each division is responsible for specific areas of the department's operations.

For example, the Office of the Secretary is responsible for managing the department's budget, planning, and policy development. The Office of the General Counsel provides legal advice and support to the department. The Office of the Chief Financial Officer is responsible for managing the department's financial operations. The Office of the Chief Information Officer is responsible for managing the department's information technology systems. And the Office of the Chief Human Capital Officer is responsible for managing the department's human resources.
1907. Nearly last year the Department of the Interior questioned
By a series of executive communications issued between 1899 and
more of land in Kansas that were from national-forest estates.
The Department of Agriculture is administering 65,000

This Department

action with representatives of Interior have Greatly compelled
raise a possible legal doubt in the public interest and in which
here is a case in which Interior appears willing to re-

I

II

Secretary

eto. By the Interior Department in the campaign to absorb the forest
passed a resolution clarifying the question of expenditures money
on January 13, 1941, the Idaho Forest Reserve Commission

Inspector

or to support a transfer of Executive function from Agriculture to
the Forest Service, without prejudice on national forests.

I
d not have written statement, but I have been told re-

Inspector Department

the Expenditures of the Interior Department for administrative purposes,
but I have been told that the Forest Reserve Commission is the

on April 13, 1940, at a meeting of the Agriculture at Honolulu,

I

1

II
the decision was made to cease operations in the case. The Justice Department, through its Assistant Attorney General, recommended to the Justice Department that the case be dropped.

In December 1940, the Justice Department recommended a copy of its recommendation letter to the Attorney General, to be taken into account in the case.

The Justice Department has made it clear that it has no jurisdiction in the case. It is not a case that the Justice Department has jurisdiction over.

The Justice Department has also recommended to the Attorney General that the case be dropped.

In September 1940, when the decision was made to cease operations in the case, the Justice Department had already dropped the case.

The Justice Department's legal authority to administer the lands as

4.
As I have already indicated to you, morale in the Forest Service is exceedingly low, as a result of these Interior tactics, as a result of being under wraps, unable to speak and work in self defense, trying hard to be good soldiers while feeling misunderstood and helpless. Further, the Forest Service suffers from the uncertainty and weakness in situation involved in not having a definitely designated head. It is now 17 months since Sileox died. I would appreciate an opportunity to talk with you, with a view toward ending this uncertainty and arranging a basis for going ahead.

For months I have wished to propose to you an executive action which I believe would go far toward settling this whole situation involving constant friction between two Departments. Knowing how busy you are, I have not pressed the matter. Now, however, that you are being involved and obviously troubled anyway, I wish to place my suggestion before you. I would be pleased to discuss the proposal with you, or if you would prefer, I can send it to you in writing.

Respectfully yours,

Claude R. Wickard

Secretary.
Mr. President -

Do the words "not" in the last line of the 3rd paragraph incorrect?
September 16, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. PAUL APPLEBY:

I would go ahead with this as planned, but I would modify the words "adopts as its own". I would use the words "approve the recommendations".

F.D.R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 9, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT

I think the most satisfactory way for me to get a reply to Appleby is to just turn his letter over to you.

MAC
MHH
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR
MISS TULLY

Dear Grace:

Will you ask the President to look at this at your first opportunity? Thanks.

MAC
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 31, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

I checked with Jimmy Byrnes, as you directed, and he tells me that Hill is a Texan; that he has been in the Department of Agriculture for several years, and that he thinks he would be all right as Under Secretary, particularly as Wickard recommends him. Hill is a very close friend of Marvin Jones and he will, therefore, be a liaison between Wickard and Jones.

If you decide to appoint Hill, Jimmy thinks Murray Lincoln of Ohio should go into Grover Hill's place as Assistant Secretary. Lincoln is a member of the Farm Bureau Federation, and he is a very close friend of Jim Patton. He is also close to the Farmers' Union, which is Patton's crowd. He reminds you that you appointed Lincoln as a delegate to the Food Conference.

G. G. T.
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  

January 31, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Secretary Wickard called to suggest the name of Grover Hill to succeed Mr. Appleby. He said he and Marvin Jones are agreed on this appointment and think it should be made fairly soon -- otherwise you will have a lot of candidates.

GGT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 1, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of Agriculture called to say that it was all right with him to appoint Mr. Murray Lincoln as Asst. Secy. of Agriculture. He says he has always been an admirer of Mr. Lincoln and of his ideas.

However, he looked him up in Who's Who and he is a Republican. He was just wondering if you would have any trouble on the Hill because of this fact. Of course, you will not have any trouble with the Senators from Ohio because they are both Republicans.

He also suggested that he might be put on as a member of the International Commodity Agreements Board. He says at the moment they have wheat under discussion and it would be helpful to him because in the long run he cannot escape the responsibility.

GGT
Dear Grace:

As to my suggestion of Murray Lincoln for appointment as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Jim Patton says that he would be a fine appointment. As to Wickard's statement that he is a Republican, Patton says that he would not be surprised if we should find him listed in WHO'S WHO as a Republican; that Lincoln came from New England but has lived in Ohio for some years. He says that Lincoln has consistent supported the President's agricultural policy and has been very active with him in the fight for subsidies and against the policies of O'Neal and Goss. He says he has not seen him for two months but when he last saw him he was still supporting the President. He believes his appointment will be good for many reasons.

J. F. B.
February 10, 1944

Dear Miss Tully:

When I was talking with you about the Murray Lincoln matter the other day I remarked that there had been instances in which we had been accused of failing to heed party wishes in our appointments. I was referring, of course, to some of our recent appointments in the Omaha Land Bank which have received considerable comment. Since this matter has undoubtedly come to the President's attention he may be interested in the attached letter which indicates that at the least there is something less than complete unanimity of opinion on this subject among Nebraska Democrats.

Sincerely yours,

Claude R. Wickard
Secretary

Miss Grace G. Tully
Personal Secretary to the President
The White House
February 3, 1944

Hon. Claude Wickard,
Secretary of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Re: Appointment of Frank L. Robinson,
Kearney, Nebraska,
Farm Credit Administration

Dear Sir:

The undersigned is Vice-Chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee. There has been much publicity in the papers recently with reference to the objection to the appointment of Frank Robinson of Kearney, Nebraska, which objection has been registered by the Hon. James Quigley, National Committeeman. I write this letter merely to advise that the matter of objection to the appointment of Frank Robinson has never been submitted to the undersigned as a member of the Central Committee, nor do I believe that the objection is warranted by any direct action as far as the Central Committee is concerned. As a matter of fact, all Democrats known to this undersigned in this community and throughout the district are heartily in favor of the appointment, and believe that a very satisfactory man has been appointed, and further that the objections raised to his appointment are not the objections of the Central Committee.

Yours very truly,

/s/
John P. Jensen

John F. Jensen

JPJ:eg