CAPITALISM ON ITS WAY OUT
UNLESS IT CHANGES ITS WAYS

MUST ABOLISH EXISTING "EVILS AND ABUSES" OR CALL IN WRECKING CREW, SAYS CONGRESSMAN FISH

Another year or two of the depression will find the "existing economic system" on its way out.

"Capitalism abolishes some of its well-known evils and abuses," it will be necessary to call out the wrecking crew to pick up the pieces.

That is not a warning by a soap box orator, but by Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., conservative New York Republican—a wealthy social reformer whose ancestors were distinguished in political, business and financial fields during the past three generations.

However, Fish does not bask exclusively in the reflected glory of his aristocratic lineage. He is serving his seventh term in the House. Before he became a lawmaker he graduated with highest honors from Harvard, where he captained the football squad. During the World War Fish was at the head of a company of negro soldiers in France and won the croix de guerre.

Because of his background, a speech made by Fish in the House last week was of more than usual significance.

Upbraiding Congress for its "failure even to discuss giving aid and comfort to the jobless who are destitute and in distress," he declared:

"Lincoln was right when he said that labor is prior to capital. The pope of Rome recently called for a program of industrial and social justice and a better distribution of wealth.

"We have talked about relieving everybody else, but have had not a word for our undernourished American citizens. When are the Democratic leaders in the House going to act?"

"The gentleman is making a good speech," interposed Congressman William J. Huthings, Democrat of Oklahoma. "Why doesn't he deliver it at the White House?"

"Because Congress is able and competent to enact relief legislation without advice or dictation from the President," Fish responded.

Unemployment, he said, results from unequal distribution of wealth. He proposed to correct this condition by limiting the dividends of corporations to 8 or 10 per cent and compelling them to create reserves for health, life, unemployment and retirement insurance for workers before additional payments could be made to stockholders.

A shorter workday and week was declared essential if jobs are to be supplied to everybody who wants one.

"It is a tragedy," Fish continued, "that in this country of ours—the richest in the world—men who have worked faithfully 20 or 30 years for private corporations, to build up the prosperity and wealth of the country, have been fired out on a week's notice, without any retirement pay whatever.

"In times of prosperity wages went up, but cost of living and taxes went up, too. Then when we have a depression 6,000,000 men are thrown out of jobs, with many more millions on part-time, while others have received reductions of from 10 to 50 per cent in their wages.

"Warning that capitalism "facies a real test of its benefits and virtues," Fish gave this advice to "those who wish to uphold it":

"Unless we can afford to hide our heads any longer in the sands of depression and not try before it is too late to restore confidence in it by putting our house in order.

"If this depression continues for another year or two, a complete change in our economic system will be imposed.

"I am opposed to Communism, Socialism and Fascism, but I am convinced that the American people are entitled to greater rewards and security and a bigger share in the fruits of their labor in days of prosperity.

"At present too much goes to the stockholders—often to increase already swollen fortunes—and too little to workers."

The New Yorker said there was every reason in the world why the people should distrust our leaders.

"The country's savings have been 'literally swallowed up in foreign bonds and bad investments on the advice of bankers,'" Fish asserted, "and this brought poverty, hardship and misery to millions."

Contending that "the seeds of revolution sprang up as a result of the accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of a few," Fish queried:

"Should not human effort be given preference over dividends—human rights over property rights?"

"I am trying to provide security for human beings which they are not getting. If we don't give less under the existing system, the people will change the system. Make no mistake about that."—Reprinted from "Labor", Feb. 9, 1932.
My dear Franklin:

Your published support of the Wheeler-Howard bill will embarrass many on the Indian Affairs Committee who have studied the bill all Winter. Some believe a preliminary experiment on one tribe or group could well be made before so drastic a change in policy is undertaken.

If our service on this Committee is to be useful and we are guided by our thoughtful judgment already partially expressed - we will incur the Department's displeasure and will now be accused of disloyalty to party, leader and program. This is becoming a usual condition and is, I am confident, building resentment while undermining the integrity and usefulness of committee conference.

Sincerely,

Isabella Greenway

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

May 1, 1934.

Dear Isabella:—

If you will read my letter to Senator Wheeler and Congressman Howard you will see that I approve the broad principles of the Wheeler-Howard bill. The principles are all right and the question of how far they shall be extended by the Congress by detailed legislation at this session is a matter for Congress to determine. It is, of course, entirely possible to extend these principles in part in the beginning.

This is not for use but merely for your own information.

As ever yours,

Hon. Isabella Greenway,
3147 P Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.
April 30, 1934.

My dear Franklin:

Knowing the tales that are reported to the White House about my activities, by Speaker Rainey, Mr. Burns, Secretary Ickes, Mr. Woodrum and others, I write to tell you that like the report of Mark Twain's death, they are greatly exaggerated, and that there are two sides to these tales.

It is inevitable that you and Eleanor will frequently be embarrassed with doubts about my loyalty, and convictions as to my bad judgment. This I have accepted and I am going to try to stop worrying over the distasteful intrigue and political pressure that could well undermine our cherished family relations.

The long pull will tell the tale and while I have too few opportunities to discuss these things with you and do not believe your time should be asked - I am going to weather hurt, mistrust and criticism, and assume that eight years from now we will come out on the other side of this experience - happy and united.

Sincerely,

Isakell

The President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.
Dearest Isabella:—

I do not know who has been filling you full of silly tales up on the Hill but none of the four gentlemen you mention - Speaker Rainey, Mr. Byrns, Secretary Iokes or Mr. Woodrum - have ever, in any way, talked to me about your activities.

Honestly I think the greatest reform that could be accomplished in the House of Representatives at the present time (strictly between ourselves because the Executive must not speak of such things) would be a thirty day embargo on cloak room gossip - this embargo to apply to all members of all parties, old-timers and new-comers alike!

Don't you agree with me?

As ever yours,
February 5, 1935

Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me a list of the membership of your organization together with a list of directors and officers and also a copy of your constitution and by-laws?

I would also like to know the date of your moving to Washington.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,
Dear Mr. President:

In keeping with our conference today, I enclose letters of my Assistant Secretary, Mr. Cox and General Wm Mitchell, which I believe fully covers the matter we discussed today concerning your son, Elliott.

I have received much valuable information from General Mitchell, regarding my investigations of the Air Trust and have absolute confidence in the information he gives me on this subject. I trust that we will be able to enact legislation at this Session of Congress which will permit us to require the keenest kind of competition in the purchase of all aeronautical equipment and I will continue my efforts to that end.

I believe that some such system of procurement as suggested by you, that is now being used by the British will be a great improvement over the system we now have.

I enclose copy of my minority report, which on the last page contains my recommendations regarding needed changes to straighten out our aviation situation.
I feel that the next war will be won or lost by us, depending upon our ability to properly defend ourselves in the air.

I would appreciate your returning the enclosed letters for my files.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

I am

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Hon. W. D. McFarlane
House Office Building

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

This will explain the circumstances of my call to the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce and talk with Mr. Roosevelt a few days ago.

It has been my practice to take information from and give information to General William Mitchell during your absence from this office, concerning military and naval aviation.

On February 5th General Mitchell asked me to request that you write the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce for certain information. I did this and a copy of that letter is attached. The original was called to your attention with the rest of the mail as information requested by General Mitchell when you were signing the mail that evening, and was probably mailed out with the rest of the mail.

Several days later the information was received. General Mitchell came in during your absence from the office and I showed it to him. He said that he understood that Mr. Roosevelt was Vice President and requested me to call the organization and find out if the list was correct and if Mr. Roosevelt was not Vice President his title.

I made the call and some young lady answered the phone. After advising her of my identity I asked if the list we had received was the latest and correct. She said that it was and I told her that we understood that Mr. Roosevelt was Vice-President and requested his title. After some little wait she advised me that the title was, I believe, Technical Adviser for Transportation, and that Mr. Roosevelt would like to speak to me.

Since I had no idea that Mr. Roosevelt was in the office I had not requested to speak to him. He requested to purpose of the call and I told him that I did not know other than that we were under the impression that he was Vice President of that body. He stated that his appointment as Vice-President had not been confirmed and that he had taken his present position. Also, that in case there was any information that he could give Mr. McFarlane concerning his activities he would be glad to talk to you. I explained that we were under the impression that he was Vice President and I was calling to clear that impression, and thanked him for the information he had given me.
I then told General Mitchell of the conversation with both the young lady and Mr. Roosevelt and gave him the information that I had received.

I trust that this will be a sufficiently full explanation of the call and wish to assure you that it was made in the best of faith from every angle, both in regards to yourself and in regards to the President and Mr. Elliott Roosevelt.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

P. W. Cox
February 15, 1935
Washington, D.C.

Hon. W. D. McFarlane
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

I have just read the letter of your assistant secretary, P. W. Cox, addressed to yourself, and wish to advise you that the facts set out in that are correct.

I requested Cox to call for this information in connection with my investigation of the aviation industry, on account of the friendly relations that I have always had with yourself and your office.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Wm. Mitchell

P.S. I was present during the conversation Mr. Cox did not call Elliott Roosevelt to the phone. Mr. Cox was talking with a woman secretary when Elliott Roosevelt called the phone.

Wm. Mitchell
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We had a conference last night with Vice-President Garner and Mr. Rayburn. They were of the opinion that we ought not to have a roll call on the motion to substitute the House bill for the Senate bill today.

I do not agree with them. In the first place, it is impossible to avoid a roll call, and if we should relent in our fight, the Republicans would call the roll and find the friends of the Administration unprepared. They would therefore beat us by an overwhelming majority, which would go out as a stupendous victory for the power trust, and an overwhelming defeat for the Administration.

The men who have fought with us on this proposition are unanimous in favor of continuing the fight and forcing the issue on a record vote. I agree with them thoroughly, and we are this morning redoubling our efforts to vote down the motion to substitute the House bill and then pass the Senate bill.
I am sending you a copy of a letter which I have placed in the hands of our friends this morning, and for which I assume full responsibility. I prepared this letter after consultation with our friends who have faithfully stood by us in this battle.

If the Administration leaders will get in touch with key men in the House and urge them to line up with us on this roll call, we can win.

We cannot afford to hesitate now.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Rankin.

P.S. I wish you could contact Joe Byrnes and Pat Boan personally.
My dear Colleague:

We are going to have two record votes today. They will be among the most important you will ever be called upon to cast.

The first roll-call will come on adopting the House bill as a substitute for the Senate bill. That vote will show where every member stands—whether he is with the administration or with the Power Trust.

Our vote will be No. The Power Trust vote will be AYE.

If we win on that roll-call and defeat the motion to substitute the House bill for the Senate (Administration) bill, then the next vote will be on the passage of the Senate bill.

On that proposition, our vote will be AYE. The Power Trust vote will be No.

If we win on that vote then the bill will go directly to the White House and become the law.

Be sure to be on hand, for these are probably the most important roll-calls you will ever face.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Rankin.
Los Angeles, California,
August 24, 1935.

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

Dear Mr. President:

I thought you might be interested in reading a copy of a letter William J. Bray, my secretary, received from Frank Condon, former Democratic Congressman in the district which elected a Republican in Rhode Island. I had Bray write Condon and get the facts. His letter confirms information we received from other sources.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Mr. William J. Bray,
Office of the Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

In response to your request and in strict confidence because of my position on the court I give you below my opinion of the recent election. Your letter found me at home on vacation so I am able to answer promptly.

This election was a rebuke to Governor Green and his administration of the State government. It was not a rebuke to Roosevelt or a repudiation of the New Deal. You know me well enough to know that if I honestly thought differently I would not hesitate to say so even thought I know it would be unpleasant news for you to hear. In this instance I can honestly say that national issues were completely overshadowed by a bitter factional fight within the party due largely to intensely unpopular tactics of the State administration. In addition to this our candidate carried two personal handicaps. He had some years ago taken a somewhat prominent part in a racial campaign against the Bishop of Providence, and recently he alienated his former friend, Mayor Felix A. Toupin of Woonsocket, probably the most popular Franco-American Democrat in the State. On the other hand the Republican candidate was personally liked, was Department Commander a year ago of the American Legion and as District Court Judge had been lenient to strikers brought before him in the rioting last fall which took place in his district.

The campaign was exceedingly brief. The Republicans held their convention first and started to campaign at once. The Democrats didn't make a single move until a scant seven days before the election. No campaign was made at all in Pawtucket, the largest city in the district. One meeting was held in Central Falls and one in Woonsocket. These cities are the strongest centers of Democratic strength. Before election day I said to one or two friends in the party that Risk was going to make a strong race and might win if we didn't get out a big vote on our side. They didn't think so and couldn't understand my viewpoint in the face of the large majority I received last November. On account of my position on the court I could not be of any assistance and apparently my views were not given much if any consideration.
The figures confirm, I think, my view of the result but if they left any doubt in my mind it would be dispelled by the number of Democrats who have spoken to me since the election and who have said they voted for Rusk as a protest against the state administration. Some of these are quite indignant that the Congressman-elect attributes his victory to his opposition to the New Deal. These people say that they are still for Roosevelt.

The overturn of votes was tremendous but on a conservative estimate not more than 25% of this overturn can be charged to the cotton processing taxes and the veto of the bonus. Our candidate refused to commit himself on the latter issue. He tried to dodge it. This was worse than to have come out flatfootedly against it. My position on that issue was never unpopular in this district, and I am therefore inclined to think that our candidate lost more votes on this than he did on the processing taxes.

The thing that cut deepest was factional fighting. Singularly enough all the leaders of the so-called anti-Green faction live in this district. The situation was ready made for defection on a wholesale scale. Green personally selected the candidate at a convention filled with delegates who held jobs at his pleasure, and which ran rough shod over the opposition supporting Mayor Toupin. Prince left the convention without the customary unanimous vote of support which no candidate in a contested convention of our party in this state has failed to receive within my memory. Nothing was done after the convention to heal this breach. The party went into the campaign, therefore, well knowing that disaffection for the candidate and those behind him was deepseated in Woonsocket, Lincoln, Cumberland, Central Falls, and Pawtucket. In other words the whole Blackstone Valley and the Democratic heart of the district.

The voters of those places switched their votes as follows on election day: Woonsocket (80% French) from a Democratic majority of over 5,000 to 1800 in spite of the fact that our candidate was a Franco-American running against one of that race; Lincoln from Democratic by 700 to Republican by 1000; Cumberland from Democratic by 1600 to Republican by 700; Central Falls from Democratic by almost 5000 to Republican by 800; and Pawtucket from Democratic by almost 7000 to Republican by 4500, the largest proportionate overturn anywhere in the district and the city most completely ignored by Gov. Green who opposed granting it permission to float a bond issue for a municipal electric light and power plant. In my opinion these figures are eloquent. They speak louder and more forcibly than mere words. They foretell a crushing defeat for the party in this state unless these wounds made by party dissension can be healed. Their significance nationally it seems to me is light.

Strangely the Pawtucket Times, a Republican newspaper with the largest circulation of any paper in the district, entertains a view of this election different from the press of the country as appears from an editorial clipping which I am enclosing herewith for your reading. I was not surprised to see the Republican press and Republican leaders seize upon this election as a warning to Roosevelt and a blow to the New Deal, but the comment of Senator Gerry and the editorial attitude of his paper, the Providence News-Tribune, was a shock to me. Either the Senator is lamentably ingormat of present
political conditions in the party in Rhode Island or else he does not like to admit that they are as bad as everyone here knows them to be. Certainly his statement that the election was in part due to opposition to the President's tax bill and the utility bill may be dismissed without further consideration. In my opinion they played no part in the contest.

Well, Bill, you asked for this long letter so you can't blame it on me. If I were not on vacation it would have been much briefer I can assure you. Your letter caught me at a time when I had a few spare moments and this is the result. When the wise political observers look more deeply into this election they will surely revise the misinterpretation put on it last Wednesday by the press of the country.

Some day I may surprise you and walk in on you just to say hello. I hope you are feeling well and that Mrs. Bray is also.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

(Frank)

F. B. Condon
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

CHAIRMAN DOUGHTON

Dear Bob:

If the world were to know that I was writing to you about hearings on tariff bills they would say I was once more cracking the whip of a Dictator over the House of Representatives.

I know that neither you nor Jere Cooper will have that feeling if I send you this delightful memorandum from Cordell. It speaks for itself and I think he is wholly right. Incidentally, I love his characterization of "small pop gum tariff bills! Of course, the less discussion of tariff changes in purely partisan circles the better.

F. D. R.

P. S. Bob, will you read this and show it to Jere and destroy it?
I'll think it is really

remorse to do this — you
know he will not destroy it —

you know how

Congressmen talk!

Can't you telephone or
have some one him —

[Handwritten name]
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I thought the best way of handling the "popgun tariff bills" was as per enclosed. I think it will work.

F. D. R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL
May 5, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR
CHAIRMAN DOUGHTON

Dear Bob:

If the world were to know that I was writing to you about hearings on tariff bills they would say I was once more cracking the whip of a Dictator over the House of Representatives.

I know that neither you or Jere Cooper will have that feeling if I send you this delightful memorandum from Cordell. It speaks for itself and I think he is wholly right. Incidentally, I love his characterization of "small popgun tariff bills! Of course, the less discussion of tariff changes in purely partisan circles the better.

F. D. R.

P. S. Bob, will you read this and show it to Jere and destroy it?
MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT.

I am informed that several congressmen have introduced popgun tariff bills for home political consumption and that they for some time have been pending before a sub-committee of the Committee on Ways and Means; that naturally, now that the revenue tax measure is out of the Committee and through the House, these congressmen are bringing rather loud demands to bear on Chairman Doughton and sub-committee Chairman Jere Cooper to grant hearings on their respective bills without delay.

Since they all understand that there can be no tariff legislation at this session and that tariff hearings on one small popgun bill commenced now could easily lead to many hearings upon many bills within thirty days, thereby giving the opposition a chance to broadcast propaganda to the country, critical of the reciprocity trade agreement program, there is really no excuse for this to be permitted by the Ways and Means Committee.

My
My suggestion is that you send for Chairman R. L. Doughton as early as may be at all convenient to you, and earnestly insist to him that he go back and repeat your special desire that no tariff hearings be held.

This is so important that I shall appreciate your letting me know when and whether you have received and acted upon this memorandum.

[Signature]

Cordially yours,
PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
State Department,
Washington, D. C.
HONORABLE ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
In the House of Representatives, U. S.,

June 4, 1936.

Resolved, That Honorable William B. Bankhead, a Representative from the State of Alabama, be, and he is hereby, elected Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That the President and the Senate be notified by the Clerk of the election of Honorable William B. Bankhead as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

[Signature]

Clerk.
EXECUTIVE ORDER

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH W. BYRNS

As a mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable Joseph W. Byrns, late Speaker and Member of the House of Representatives of the United States, it is hereby ordered that the flags on the White House and public buildings in the District of Columbia and the State of Tennessee be placed at half mast today and on the day of the funeral service at Nashville, Tennessee, Saturday, June 6, 1936.

[Signature]

The White House
June 4, 1936.
Buchanan — To 1940: "hence a House Resolution to extend time of the June 16 Panjuminit and by 16th
The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Thursday, January 21, 1937, at 12 o'clock noon.

The Senate met at 11:45 o'clock a.m. on the expiration of the recess.

Inauguration of the President and Vice President of the United States

The President pro tem. The clerk will read the order adopted by the Senate yesterday.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Ordered, by unanimous consent, That when the Senate concludes its business today it take a recess until 11:45 o'clock a.m. tomorrow; that upon convening at that hour the Senate proceed to the east front of the Capitol for the purpose of attending the inaugural ceremonies of the President and Vice President of the United States; and that upon the conclusion of the ceremonies the Senate stand adjourned until Friday noon.

The President pro tem. The Chair will state that there is nothing for the Senate to do except to carry out the order which has just been read. The Chair is informed that the House of Representatives will first proceed to the inaugural platform, and the Senate will then follow. It is understood, therefore, that the Senate will form in the center aisle, as usual, at 11:50 a.m., and will then proceed through the corridors to the platform.

The Chair may suggest to the Senate that the seats occupied by the Senate and the House of Representatives have no cover over them, and it is advisable for Senators to take with them their overcoats and hats.

At 11 o'clock and 50 minutes a.m., the Senate, headed by the President pro tem. (Key Pittman, a Senator from the State of Nevada) and the Secretary (Edwin A. Halsey) proceeded to the inaugural platform at the east front of the Capitol and took the space assigned them on the left of the place reserved for the President-elect.

The Senate met at 11:45 o'clock a.m. on the expiration of the recess.

The House of Representatives, headed by the Speaker (William B. Bankhead), and the Clerk (South Trumble) had preceded the Senate to the platform and taken the space assigned them on the right of the place reserved for the President-elect.

The Governors of the States were escorted to the places assigned them on the right of the inaugural platform.

The Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard, and their aides, were escorted to the places assigned them on the right of the inaugural platform.

The Diplomatic Corps were escorted to the places assigned them on the left of the inaugural platform.

The members of the President's Cabinet were escorted to the places assigned them on the left of the inaugural platform.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, headed by the Marshal (Frank Key Green) and the Clerk (Charles Elmore Cropley), were escorted to the inaugural platform and took the places assigned them, the Chief Justice being seated immediately to the right and the Associate Justices being seated on the left of the place reserved for the President-elect.

The Vice President-elect of the United States (John N. Garner), was escorted to the inaugural platform by the Joint Committee on Arrangements, consisting of Senator Matthew M. Neely, chairman, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Senator Frederick Hale, Representative John J. O'Connor, Representative Robert L. Dommerson, and Representative Reuben H. Sears, the Joint Committee being headed by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate (Chester W. Jurney) and the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives (Kenneth Romney).

The Vice President-elect was seated immediately to the left of the place reserved for the President-elect.

The President-elect of the United States (Franklin Delano Roosevelt) was escorted to the inaugural platform by the Joint Committee on Arrangements.

The Chaplain of the Senate, the Rev. ZEBarney T. Phillips, D.D., of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God and heavenly Father, Ruler and Guardian of the World; sanctify to the Nation the meaning of this hour that Thy people with one heart and mind may acknowledge their frailty to Thee.

Be with the President and the Vice President, as under Thee they renew their solemn pledges of devotion to their country's weal in the high and holy offices to which again they have been called; let the blessings of Thy boundless goodness be upon them, upon the Congress, upon the Judiciary, and upon all who bear rule in our land.

In particular we beseech Thee for our President that, casting all his care upon Thee, he may see underneath Thine everlasting arms. Touch Thou his lips that he may speak, in words of unshorn truth and never wearying kindness, Thy message for the healing of the nations, and hasten the day when men shall rise above all lesser things to those glorious heights where love shall weave a holy bond of peace enduring till earth's shadows vanish in the Light of Light. Amen.
J oseph T. Robinson, a Senator from the State of Arkansas, administered to the Vice President-elect the oath of office prescribed by law, as follows:

Do you solemnly swear that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic; that you will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that you will take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that you will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which you are about to enter: So help you God?

The Vice President-elect, I do.

The Chief Justice of the United States (Charles Evans Hughes) administered to the President-elect the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution as follows:

You, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, do solemnly swear that you will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will, to the best of your ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States: So help you God?

The President-elect, I do.

Thereupon the President of the United States delivered the following inaugural address:

My fellow countrymen:

When 4 years ago we met to inaugurate a President, the Republic, single-minded in anxiety, stood in spirit here. We dedicated ourselves to the fulfillment of a vision—to speed the time when there would be for all the people that security and peace essential to the pursuit of happiness. We of the Republic pledged ourselves to drive from the temple of our ancient faith those who had profaned it; to end by action, time and unaided, the stagnation and despair of that day. And we said those first things first.

Our covenant with ourselves did not step there. Instructive was the speech of a deeper need—the need to find through government the instrument of our united purpose to solve for the individual the ever-rising problems of a complex civilization. Repeatedly, in all the efforts at solution without the aid of government had been unable to create those moral controls over the sciences which are necessary to make science a useful servant instead of a ruthless master of mankind. To this we know that we must find practical controls over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men.

We of the Republic sensed the truth that democratic government has innate capacity to protect its people against disasters once considered inevitable, to solve problems once considered unsolvable. We would not admit that we could not find a way to master epidemics just as, after centuries of fearful suffering, we had found a way to master epidemics of disease. We refused to leave the problem of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster.

In this the Americans were discovering a new truth; we were writing a new chapter in our book of self-government.

This year marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitutional Convention which made us a nation. At that Convention our forefathers found their way out of the chaos which followed the Revolutionary War; they created a strong government with powers of united action sufficient then to solve problems utterly beyond individual or local solution. A century and a half ago they established the Federal Government in order to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to the American people.

Thus we invoke those same powers of government to achieve the same objectives.

Four years of new experience have not belied our historic instincts. There has been no failure to the extent that government within communities, government within the separate states, and government of the United States can do the things the times require, without yielding its democracy. Our tasks in the last four years did not force democracy to take a holiday. Nearly all of us recognize that as intrinsically of human relationships increase, so power to govern them also must increase—power to stop evil, power to do good. The essential democracy of our nation and the safety of our people depend not upon the absence of power but upon having it with those whom the people can choose to continue at stated intervals through an honest and free system of elections. The Constitution of 1787 did not make our democracy immune to change.

In fact, in these last four years, we have made the exercise of all power, more democratic; for we have begun to bring private and public powers into their proper subordination to the public's government. The pledge we made of order and unification above and beyond the processes of a democracy—has beenostered. They have been challenged and beaten. Our progress out of the depression is obvious. But that is not all that you and I mean by the new order of things. Our pledge was not merely to do a patchwork job with second-hand materials. By using the new materials of social justice we have begun to erect a solid foundation and a more enduring structure for the better use of future generations. In that purpose we have been helped by achievements of mind and spirit. Old truths have been relearned; untruths have been unlearned. We have always known that hatred of self-interest was bad morals; we know now that it is bad economics. Out of the collapse of a prosperity whose builders boasted their practicality has come the conviction that in the long run economic morality pays. We are beginning to line up the mind that divides the practical from the ideal; and in so doing we are fashioning an instrument of imagination in our hands and an instrument of a morally better world.

This new understanding undermines the old admiration of worldly success as such. We are beginning to tolerate the failure of the abuse of power by those who betray for profit the elementary decades of life.

In this process evil things formerly accepted will not be so easily condoned. Hard-heartedness will not so easily excuse hard-heartedness. We are moving towards an era of good feeling. But we realize that there can be no era of good feeling save among men of good will.

For these reasons I am justified in believing that the content changes we have witnessed have been the change in the moral climate of America.

Among men of goody will science and democracy together offer an ever-richer life and ever-larger satisfaction to the individual. With this change in our moral climate and our rediscovered ability to improve our economic order, we have set our feet upon the road of ending progress.

Shall we pause now and turn back upon the road that lies ahead? Shall we call it the promised land? Or, shall we continue on our way? For it is a road that is dying, or one that is coming to birth.

Many voices are heard as we face a great decision. Confront us, "Harry a while." Opportunity says, "This is a good spot." Timidity asks, "How difficult is the road ahead?" True, we have come far from the days of stagnation and despair. Vitality has been preserved. Courage and confidence have been restored. Mental and moral horizons have been extended. But our present gains were won under the pressure of more than ordinary circumstances. Advance became imperative under the threat of fear and the prospect of new and better solutions on the side of progress. To hold to order today, however, is more difficult. Dulled conscience, irresponsibility and ruthless self-interest already reappear. Such symptoms of prosperity may soon become portents of disaster! Progress already tests the persistence of our progressive purpose.

Let us ask again: Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March 1933? Have we found our happy valley?

I see a great nation, upon a great continent, blessed with a great wealth of natural resources. Its hundred and thirty
millon people are at peace among themselves; they are making their country a good neighbor among the nations. I see a United States which can demonstrate that, under democratic methods of government, national wealth can be translated into a spreading volume of human comforts hitherto unknown, and the lowest standard of living can be raised far above the level of mere subsistence.

But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens—a substantial part of its whole population—who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labelled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productivity to many other millions.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.

It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope—because the nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our nation, we will not listen to Comfort, Opportunity, and Timidity. We will carry on.

Overwhelmingly, we of the Republic are men and women of good will: men and women who have more than warm hearts of dedication; men and women who have cool heads and willing hands of practical purpose as well. They will insist that every agency of popular government use effective instruments to carry out their will.

Government is competent when all who compose it work as trustees for the whole people. It can make constant progress when it keeps abreast of all the facts. It can obtain justified support and legitimate criticism when the people receive true information of all that government does.

If I know aught of the will of our people, they will demand that these conditions of effective government shall be created and maintained. They will demand a nation uncorrupted by cancers of injustice and, therefore, strong among the nations in its example of the will to peace.

Today we reconstitute our country to long cherished ideals in a suddenly changed civilization. In every land there are always at work forces that drive men apart and forces that draw men together. In our personal ambitions we are individualists. But in our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up, or else we all go down, as one people.

To maintain a democracy of effort requires a vast amount of patience in dealing with differing methods, a vast amount of humility. But out of the confusion of many voices rises an understanding of dominant public need. Then political leadership can voice common ideals, and aid in their realization.

In taking again the oath of office as President of the United States, I assume the solemn obligation of leading the American people forward along the road over which they have chosen to advance.

While this duty rests upon me I shall do my utmost to speak their purpose and to do their will, seeking Divine guidance to help us each and every one to give light to them that sit in darkness and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor John A. Ryan, D. D., of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., pronounced the following benediction:

Almighty God, Ruler of nations, we beseech Thee to bless the people of the United States. Keep them at peace among themselves and in concord with all other peoples. Cause justice and charity to flourish among them that they may all be enabled to live as persons created in Thine own Image and likeness.

Do Thou bless abundantly our Chief Magistrate. Inspire his leadership. Grant him, O God of infinite wisdom and power, the light and the strength to carry through the great work that he has so well begun, and to pursue unflinchingly his magnificent vision of social peace and social justice.

Through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The President and Vice President of the United States, escorted by the Joint Committee on Arrangements, retired from the platform, followed by the Senate and House of Representatives, the Chief Justice of the United States, and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the other distinguished guests who had been invited to witness the ceremonies.

ADJOURNMENT TO FRIDAY

After the conclusion of the inaugural ceremonies (at 12 o'clock and 56 minutes, p. m.) the Senate, without returning to its Chamber, under the order entered on January 19 instant stood in adjournment until Friday, January 22, 1937, at 12 o'clock meridian.
MEMO FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Sam Rayburn just telephoned to say that he believes it would be wise if you could see Representative Sumners for a few minutes alone either before or after luncheon, as he has a story he wants to tell you personally not in the presence of others. The story relates to what he thinks was his bad treatment at the hands of the A.G. on the Crime Bills and is feeling that the attachment of the proposed bill in your message was more of the same kind of treatment from the A.G. Will you tell Mac whatever you decide?

It appears there is also a great deal of feeling over Maverick having put in his bill, and with Maverick making his radio debate Thursday night - Tommy Corcoran suggests you ask either Ashurst or Sumners, leaving the choice to them, to make an address Wednesday evening - the spot and build-up to be supplied through Steve and Charlie Michelson. Tommy also feels this will kill off any opportunity of the opponents to point out that the administrative voice on this particular matter are the red heads and left wingers.

J.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1937.

Dear Bob:—

It has been suggested that it might be a good move to have the Guffey Coal Bill reported out of committee. If this meets with your approval, will you do the necessary?

I hope to see you very soon.

As ever yours,

Honorable Robert L. Doughton,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
February 10, 1937.

Dear Hatton:—

I hope you will make no move in regard to the second Bill relating to the Attorney General intervening in suits in the lower courts -- especially because you and I did not have a chance to talk about this Bill this morning. Frankly, I do not know at all what the Bill provides.

Very sincerely yours,
April 15, 1937

Dear Allen:

Reluctantly I must admit it, but those sausages from your District beat any I ever ate from my District. I violated every known rule by having some of them for breakfast this morning and, incidentally, why do we hear so much about Vermont maple sugar. What is the matter with the Berkshire variety?

I wish you would drop in some day to talk to me about the Tacoma State Park, otherwise known as the Tri-State Park.

You're a Terrible Republican Congressman – but a grand friend and neighbor.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Allen T. Treadway,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. President:

I hope you will enjoy these samples of the products of The Berkshires.

Sincerely,
Your Neighbor,

Allen Treadway

The President
The White House
August 20th, 1937

Dear Franklin:

The W.P.A. project, under Lieu. Lodge at least, will be finished within the next few weeks and I am all excited about any possibility of getting you to come for its dedication. Of course it would be for any free time you suggest — in fact they need me willing to do it all over again, from the beginning of the project.

I am very proud of this particular project and of course there could be nothing that would lose its success like the stamp of approval you secured world wide — please come. We are glad to have you and we hope to be rid of you as soon as possible.

I am on my way to the great state of Oregon on the 5:30 plane tomorrow. Lyle's father is pretty excited about this, too, so don't keep me waiting.

All my love,

Mar.
August 20th, 1932

Dear Franklin:

Another subject to another letter. While I have your ear, I want to put in an immediate word of approval in behalf of Judge Vincent of New Jersey for the place in the U. S. Court of Appeals which I understand will be vacant in November.

I think Mr. Vincent has worked so long and hard for the Party and has been, I think, an effective leader that he is greatly entitled to some recognition and reward. I feel that he should be given what he has earned both in ability and in character. I beg you [ sic ] to recognize this.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Walter [Hyman]
My dear Mr. President:

Received your very encouraging letter regarding projects in my District.

I cannot express in words my sincere thanks for your consideration of the allotment made to the Hawley High School and the Clarks Green Disposal Plant.

I fully realize the decision regarding the Scott Township County Home project. If at a later date projects of this kind are considered, I am sure you will give this one proper consideration.

Again thanking you, and wishing you the best of health, and hoping you are enjoying your much needed rest, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Patrick J. Boland

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Hyde Park, New York.
REPORT OF THE JOINT SUBCOMMITTEE ON WOOL AND WOOLEN GOODS,
WITH REFERENCE TO THE INCLUSION OF RAW WOOL
IN TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS

SUMMARY

1. The present duty on raw wool is higher than that levied on this
product in any former United States Tariff Act, and the compensatory duties
on manufactures of wool are correspondingly higher. In addition, the
ad valorem rates designed to give domestic manufacturers protection
against lower foreign conversion costs are higher than ever before.

2. Under the high duties of the Tariff Acts of 1922 and 1930, wool
production in the United States has increased to a point in excess of any
prior output and imports of wool and manufactures of wool have declined
greatly; but the price differential between domestic and foreign wool has
fallen considerably short of the full amount of the duty, even allowing
for a "preparation for market" differential of 6 cents in favor of the
foreign wool.

3. If the duty had been 25 cents per scoured pound from 1922 until
1937, the price of domestic wool probably would have been only 3 cents
lower on the average (scoured basis) or about 1 1/2 cents per pound lower
(grease basis).2/ The evidence thus indicates that, during much of the
15-year period, 25 cents was practically the maximum effective rate on wool.
The only periods when the effective rate was higher, were those when the
domestic consumption was increasing, domestic prices rising, and the addi-
tional tariff protection was least needed.

2/ For explanation of this estimate, see page 5.
4. In view of the fact that the duties on raw wool under the Tariff Acts of 1922 and 1930 have raised the price of domestic wool only 20.5 cents per pound of clean content above the price of corresponding grades of foreign wools, the compensatory duties of 40 to 50 cents per pound on woolen and worsted cloth and wearing apparel have furnished a considerable amount of concealed protection to the domestic manufacturers. In addition, by a change in value brackets of Schedule II, in 1930, the cheaper goods were made to bear heavier compensatory (specific) rates, while the protective (ad valorem) rates were raised on the more expensive goods. It was inevitable that imports of manufactures of wool should be drastically curtailed, as they have been.

5. The high duties on wool and manufactures of wool have imposed a heavy burden on consumers; a burden out of all proportion to the farm income from wool and one which has not conferred a corresponding benefit to sheep raisers.

6. The situation which exists cannot be corrected without reducing the duty on raw wool, which is at the base of the whole structure of the duties in Schedule II. When this is done, the correct compensatory rate should be established after a careful review of the facts and the entire wool schedule should be reappraised.

7. Under a duty of 25 cents per scoured pound on wools finer than 44s the domestic wool growing industry should be able to supply almost as great a proportion of domestic requirements as under a 34 cent rate. A 20 cent rate probably would be necessary to check the substitution of other
fibers for wool or to lighten the burden on consumers, though the latter may be partially accomplished by revision of the compensatory duty and reduction of the ad valorem protective rates on manufactures of wool.

8. The maintenance of the price of wool at a relatively much higher level than that of other textile fibers has stimulated the substitution of other fibers for it. This process of substitution has become of such magnitude as to emphasize the fact that the duties on raw wool and wool manufactures have passed the point where they bring substantial gain to the wool growing and wool manufacturing industries, their chief effect being to impose heavy burdens upon the general public without corresponding gain to these industries. If this tendency toward substitution could be checked, it would be a real gain for the wool growers.

9. The increase in the number of sheep in the United States has stimulated lamb production so that the sheep owners receive a relatively lower price for their lambs and mutton than formerly. This is another evidence of over-expansion of the sheep industry.

10. Australia is the chief supplier of wools finer than 44s and any concession on such wools should be made to that Dominion. An adjustment on the coarser wools may be made at the same time, unless it is desired to save the concession for Argentina and Uruguay.
1. Height of the present duty on raw wool

The duty of 34 cents per scoured pound on raw wool under the Tariff Act of 1930 is higher than any previous United States tariff rate on wool. The duty of 11 cents per pound on wool in the grease under the Tariff Acts of 1890, 1897, and 1909 was equivalent to about 18 cents per scoured pound. Under the Tariff Act of 1913 wool was on the free list, and under the Tariff Act of 1922 the duty was 31 cents per scoured pound.

The higher rates of duty on wool, under the Tariff Acts of 1922 and 1930, were based on incomplete and inconclusive comparisons between domestic and foreign costs, and many persons friendly to the wool growing industry felt that lower rates would be adequate. The adoption of these rates resulted in the imposition of correspondingly high compensatory duties on manufactures of wool. The correct ratio of the duty on all-wool fabrics which is compensatory for the duty on raw wool is usually assumed to be about 1 1/2 : 1, to allow for shrinkage in the process of manufacture. In addition, ad valorem rates are levied to protect the domestic manufactures against lower foreign conversion costs, and these ad valorem rates also were raised in 1922 and again in 1930.

2. Effect of the high duty on domestic wool prices, production, and imports

The average ad valorem equivalent of the duty of 34 cents per pound of clean content on improved wool and hair, under the Tariff Act of 1930, has been 87 percent as compared with 50 percent under the Tariff Act of 1922. However, the spread in prices between domestic and foreign wools under the
Acts of 1922 and 1930 has fallen far short of the duty. The average differential between domestic wool in Boston and comparable grades of colonial wool in London was 20.5 cents, per pound of clean content, from 1924 to 1935 (see "Wool Prices" U.S. Tariff Commission Report 120, Second Series, 1937). Even allowing for an average "preparation for market" differential of 6 cents, due to the superior condition of the foreign wools, the difference between Boston and London prices has been about 6 cents less than the duty.

This creates a strong presumption that the duty has been increased beyond the point of maximum effectiveness. If the duty had been 31 cents per clean pound, instead of 34 cents, since 1930, the domestic price probably would have been as high as it actually has been. If the duty had been 25 cents per scoured pound since 1922, the average price of domestic wool probably would have been only about 3 cents lower than it actually has been, on the clean basis, or about 1 1/2 cents per pound lower, on the grease basis.1/

Because domestic production of wool and mohair is nearly equal to total domestic requirements, the tariff rates are least effective in times of depression when domestic demand is reduced. Conversely, the tariff rates are most effective in periods of prosperity when domestic consumption is highest and when domestic prices would be satisfactory with a moderate tariff, as, for example, during the latter part of 1936 and early part of 1937, when the duty was fully effective.

1/ These figures are obtained by revising the average differentials shown in the Tariff Commission's report on Wool Prices on the assumption that the differential between domestic and foreign wools would never have been greater than the amount of the duty less the "preparation for market" differential. The calculation is conservative, as it does not allow for the fact that when United States imports of wool are substantial, the London market is supported, lessening the spread between Boston and London prices.
Furthermore, it is characteristic of the wool trade, as of many agricultural markets, that the organized activity of processors in the wool market, in contrast to the individualistic sales practices of wool growers, results in a lower price to growers than would be normal if there were better balance between buyer and seller organizations. This has been brought out by the Senate Wool Market Investigation.

The resistance of the wool manufacturing industry to fair trade practices which would stimulate consumption of virgin wool, such as those urged by the National Wool Growers Association, is another factor lessening the benefit of the tariff to wool growers whom it was originally intended to benefit.

From 1897 to 1913, with a duty of 11 cents per pound, in the grease, equivalent to 18 cents per clean pound, wool production in the United States averaged about 300,000,000 pounds (in the grease) a year. In 1922, the wool production of the United States was 265,000,000 pounds. After the passage of the Tariff Act of 1922, production expanded until it amounted to 414,000,000 pounds (in the grease) in 1930. The average yearly output under the Tariff Act of 1922 was 323,150,000 pounds (in the grease) and under the Tariff Act of 1930 it has been about 430,000,000 pounds (in the grease).

Imports of raw wool decreased after the passage of the Tariff Act of 1930 so that they constituted only about 10 percent of United States wool consumption in the years 1930 to 1935. In 1936, imports constituted about 20 percent of domestic consumption; in 1937, about 25 percent. Under the Tariff Acts of 1897 and 1909, when wool consumption in the United States was less than at present (although greater per capita) we raised in this country about three-fourths of the clothing and combing (apparel) wool which we consumed.
3. Effect of the high duties on imports of wool manufactures

Compensatory duties on wool manufactures have been levied at a rate that would offset a fully effective wool duty, despite the fact that the price of domestic wool has been raised much less than the amount of the duty. The amount of wool necessary for a pound of all-wool cloth has been raised in price by the duty only about 31 cents, while woolen and worsted cloth and wearing apparel have carried specific compensatory duties of 40 cents to 50 cents per pound. By a re-arrangement of value brackets in 1930, the cheaper goods were made to carry proportionately heavier compensatory duties than under the Tariff Act of 1922. In addition, the ad valorem duties of 40 to 50 percent, under the Tariff Act of 1922, on most wool manufactures, designed to protect the manufacturer against lower-cost foreign production, were raised to 55 and 60 percent on the higher value brackets in 1930. Thus, the manufacturers got more protection at both ends of the scale - higher specific duties on the cheaper goods; higher ad valorem duties on the more expensive goods. But whether the ad valorem rates are excessive or not, the domestic manufacturers receive some "concealed protection" from the compensatory duty, and this has not been of any value to the wool growers.

There could be only one result of the foregoing tariff structure. Imports of wool manufactures have been drastically curtailed. With a few exceptions, such as blankets, the only imports under the Tariff Act of 1930 have been articles for consumption by those to whom price is a secondary
consideration. The imports of woolen and worsted cloth under the Tariff Act of 1930 have averaged less than $5,000,000 worth a year, which is less than the annual imports under any tariff act since 1890. The average imports of such fabrics under the Tariff Act of 1897 was about $12,000,000 a year; under the Tariff Act of 1909, about $10,000,000 a year; under the Tariff Act of 1913, about $14,000,000; and under the Tariff Act of 1922, about $20,000,000 a year. Imports of most of the other kinds of wool manufactures have fallen off in about the same proportion. On many of these imports, which as pointed out, are mostly of the higher grades, the ad valorem equivalent has varied from 70 to 100 percent.

4. Burden imposed on consumers by the high duties

It will be seen that the following situation exists. The wool duty, while not fully effective as to the price differential, has greatly reduced imports of wool, and the combination of higher intentional (ad valorem) protection and concealed protection under the guise of "compensatory" rates, has sharply cut down imports of wool manufactures. A heavy burden has thus been imposed on the general public, through the higher cost of clothing and other necessities of life. This burden has been variously estimated at $100,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year, according to various calculations as to the amount of "pyramiding" of the duty.\footnote{Estimate of $175,000,000 a year in the "Tariff on Wool" by Mark A. Smith, published by Macmillan, 1926 (Institute of Economic Series); estimate of $200,000,000 in brief of the Clothing Manufacturers Research Board, hearings before the Committee on Finance, Tariff Act of 1929, Vol. 3, pp. 154-157.} It is not all expressed in
monetary terms, but takes place partly through cheapening of fabrics by substitution of cheaper fibers in combination with wool.

The Tariff Commission report on Wool Prices shows that domestic wool has been raised in price by the duty, in recent years, 20.5 cents per clean pound above the price of similar foreign wool. Since 1930, the United States clip has been about 430,000,000 pounds of wool in the grease, or, at 60 percent shrinkage, 172,000,000 pounds of clean wool. If the duty has been doubled by the time it reaches consumers, this means that the duty cost them $70,520,000 on domestic wool. About 100,000,000 pounds, "in condition purchased", of apparel wool were imported, in 1936, on which a duty of 34 cents a clean pound was collected. As the major portion was in the grease, a total of about $20,000,000 in duties was collected. This also, presumably, was doubled by the time it reached the consumer, but the $20,000,000 which went into the United States Treasury may be said to offset one-half the increased cost. The total pyramided cost of the wool duty to United States consumers was therefore $90,520,000. If the manufacturer attempts to keep down the cost by making inferior fabrics and rayon mixtures, it still constitutes a burden on consumers, by deprivation, so that in either event, the general public pays heavily for the wool duty, and $100,000,000 a year is a minimum estimate of the cost.

A recent report of the Federal Trade Commission shows that the wool manufacturing industry in the United States has not been very profitable for most of the time in late years, which is probably partly due to the fact that the demand for wool fabrics has been circumscribed.
5. Necessity for revision of entire wool schedule at one time

The maintenance of the present high duty on raw wool brings little additional gain to the wool growers over the considerably lower rate which would normally be an effective rate. It clearly operates as a burden to the wool manufacturing industry by discouraging consumption of wool products, and it imposes a heavy burden on the consuming public. This situation cannot be corrected without reducing the duty on raw wool which is at the base of the whole structure. The question as to the correct compensatory duty is highly controversial. Waiving for the moment any question as to the compensatory ratio of 1-1/2 : 1, it is clear that there could be no over-compensation to the domestic manufacturer if he actually used only imported wool in his cloth. Nor would there be any over-compensation in those instances when the duty was fully effective with respect to the domestic wool consumed in his cloth. However, as stated, this situation is rare and usually, during the past 15 years, the duties have given excess compensation. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the 1-1/2 : 1 ratio is, on the whole, over-generous to the manufacturer, though this matter should probably be further examined. The only way to avoid a hopeless controversy over the correct amount of the compensatory duty is to reduce the duty on the raw wool and at the same time, to review carefully the whole question of compensatory duties and to reduce them in accordance with the findings.
Practically the entire wool schedule, except raw wool, has already been put on the published list for consideration in the pending negotiations with the United Kingdom. The addition of raw wool to the list would give the opportunity for a reappraisal of Schedule 11 as a whole.

6. Probable effect on domestic wool production of a lower duty on raw wool

With a duty of 11 cents per pound on wool in the grease, which was equivalent to 18 cents per pound of clean content, under the Tariff Acts of 1897 and 1909, the domestic wool clip of about 300,000,000 pounds (grease basis) a year supplied usually about three-fourths of the domestic consumption of wool used in making woolen and worsted fabrics. The period of free wool from 1913 to 1921 (when the "Emergency" Tariff Act was passed) does not afford an adequate basis for judgment because the war intervened. However, the United States wool output decreased by about 15 percent from 1913 to 1917. With a rate of 31 cents per pound of clean content, under the Tariff Act of 1922, the domestic output increased until it was 414,000,000 pounds (grease basis) in the year 1930. Since the rate was increased to 34 cents per pound of clean content under the Tariff Act of 1930, the output has averaged about 430,000,000 pounds (grease basis) a year. Imports decreased greatly, and the domestic production supplied, from 1930 to 1935 inclusive, 90 percent of domestic consumption. However, the amount of foreign wool being used in 1937 accounted for 25 percent of the total as against 20 percent in 1936 and 8 percent in 1935.

It appears that the rate of 34 cents a pound may, under certain conditions, become almost prohibitive. A rate equivalent to 18 cents per pound
of clean content enabled domestic growers to supply 75 percent of the market from 1897 to 1913; rates of 31 and 34 cents, under the Tariff Acts of 1922 and 1930, respectively, enabled them to supply 70 to 75 percent in prosperous times and 80 to 90 percent in depression years. It has been shown above (page 5) that a rate of 25 cents per pound of clean content might be nearly as effective as the present 34 cent rate. If this is true, a 25 cent per clean pound rate should enable domestic growers to supply almost as large a proportion of domestic consumption as the 34 cent rate. A rate lower than 25 cents per secured pound — say 20 cents — probably would be necessary to check the substitution of other fibers for wool, or to lighten materially the burden on consumers. Something may be done toward the latter end, however, by revising the compensatory duty and scaling down the ad valorem rates on manufactures of wool.

7. Substitution of other fibers for wool

As a result of the maintenance of the price of wool at a relatively much higher level than that of other textile fibers, there has been a continual increase in substitution of other fibers for it. This substitution has taken the form partly of the use of wearing apparel and other articles made of cotton, silk, or rayon instead of articles made of wool. Substitution of this kind has been caused partly by considerations other than price, such as the desire for lighter-weight clothing. In addition, there has been increased substitution of other fibers for wool in part-wool fabrics. The rayon used by the woolen and worsted manufacturers of the United States increased from 15,513,000 pounds in 1929 to 42,100,000 pounds
in 1935, and to 68,000,000 pounds in 1937. The proportion of rayon increased from about 4 percent of the clean weight of wool used to about 14 percent in 1935, and about 27 percent in 1937. The incentive to make this substitution is shown by the fact that the index number of the price of rayon had declined to 26 in 1936 (using 1923-25 average as a base) while the index number of the price of wool, using the same base, was 87 in 1936. The corresponding index number of cotton in 1936 was 48, and of silk, 26. The worsted industry is now using considerable rayon, whereas, prior to 1936, this tendency was principally confined to the woolen branch. The only way this tendency toward substitution can be checked is to bring the price of wool more nearly in line with other fibers.

3. Relatively lower price received by sheep raisers for lamb and mutton

Another adverse effect on the wool growers of the growth in number of sheep in the United States has been the relatively lower prices received for lamb and mutton. This danger of over-expansion of the flocks has been recognized for many years by the more far-sighted persons connected with the sheep industry.

1/ The figure for 1935 is from the U.S. Census of Manufactures; figures for 1929 and 1937 are Department of Commerce estimates (not made for publication).

2/ Writing in the National Wool Grower for March 1925, Dr. S. W. McClure, former Secretary of the National Wool Growers Association, said, "I note that at the National Conference in San Francisco, it was stated that there was room in the United States for about 15,000,000 more sheep. I feel that this is bad advice for it would result in decreasing the price of lambs by around 50 percent."
In the last 20 to 25 years lambs have increased considerably in importance to the sheep industry. It seems probable that the relatively large returns from lambs were of even greater importance than high wool prices in causing the increase in sheep numbers from 1922 to 1931. In view of the greater dependence of the sheep industry upon lambs in recent years than formerly, it would seem that a very high wool duty is not now as important as maintaining the industry on a profitable basis as it was in earlier years. This is not true of Texas, where the greater part of the returns come from wool, but it is true of all the rest of the "range" area and even more strikingly true of the "farm" states.

The sheep industry has been stimulated to the point where lamb prices are not as favorable, relative to cattle prices, as they were formerly. Cattle prices, especially range cattle prices, remained comparatively low until 1927, while the wartime cattle increase was undergoing a protracted liquidation, and sheep tended to displace cattle in many parts of the western range area. As the number of cattle declined, the number of sheep increased from the low point reached in 1922, and prices of aged lambs at Chicago averaged much higher than prices of native beef steers until the production of Federally-inspected lamb substantially exceeded 500,000,000 pounds per year. With the arrival of a beef "shortage" in 1927, prices of beef cattle rose sharply, whereas prices of lambs rose comparatively little. In 1922-27 prices of lambs averaged $14.11 per 100 pounds as compared with $10.35 for beef cattle, whereas in 1928-30 these respective prices averaged $12.75
$12.83 per 100 pounds. In other words, lambs sold for lower, relative to beef cattle, in 1928-30 than in 1922-27.

The result was the same under the Tariff Act of 1930. There was a record wool and lamb production in 1931, a substantially like result in 1932, and the inevitable results followed with respect to wool and lamb prices in the period of lower consumer demand for meats and wool clothing. In 1935 and 1936, and the first part of 1937, wool prices were high, but the price of lambs was much lower, relative to the price of beef cattle, than in 1922-27. It would seem that not only is a very high wool duty less necessary than formerly to maintain sheep raising on a profitable basis, but that there is a danger to the industry from over stimulation of lamb production.

9. Australia the chief supplier of wools finer than 44s

Australia is the chief supplier of wools finer than 44s, although not of all the sub-classifications of such wools. However, it would not seem feasible to reclassify the "clothing wools" (the woolen type, as distinguished from the "combing", worsted type) of which the United Kingdom is the principal supplier, as these are mostly colonial wools and a substantial part is of Australian origin. The same is also true of some of the subclasses of washed, sorted or scoured wools, imports of which are relatively small. Nor would it be practicable, for administrative reasons, to introduce a new classification for 44s-56s "combing wools", of which Uruguay is the principal supplier. Australia is of such outstanding importance as supplier of wools finer than 44s considered as a whole, that it would be better to reserve the whole concession for her.
Argentina and Uruguay are so predominantly the suppliers of wools not finer than 40s (paragraph 1101 of the Tariff Act of 1930) and of 40/44s wools (paragraph 1102(a) of the Tariff Act of 1930) that the concession on such wools should be reserved for them. If it is not desired to save these items for bargaining with Argentina and Uruguay, there would be a distinct advantage in considering them together with the wools finer than 44s. The problem of competition of such wools with the domestic wools is decidedly different from, and less important than, the problem of competition of wools finer than 44s (paragraph 1102(b) of the Tariff Act of 1930) with domestic wools, and the addition of these items (paragraph 1101 and 1102(a)) to the list would not appreciably increase the problem, but might simplify it.

The Union of South Africa is the principal source of imports of mohair; Peru of imports of hair of the alpaca and other like animals; and British India of imports of cashmere. All of the foregoing are dutiable at 3½ cents per pound of clean content under paragraph 1102(b) of the Tariff Act of 1930.

JOINT SUBCOMMITTEE ON WOOL AND WOOLEN GOODS

MARK A. SMITH
Chairman
Dear President Roosevelt:

Your very kind letter of February 25th has been received.

My vocabulary is entirely inadequate to express my deep and sincere appreciation of your superlatively gracious words concerning my services.

Any measure of success with which my public career has been attended, and especially that part pertaining to my duties as Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, has been due more to your wise and matchless leadership than any other cause. Moreover, your uniform kindness and courtesy to me at all times, as well as your splendid cooperation with our Committee, has made 'my yoke easy and my burden light'.

Deferring to your expressed wish and to the insistent interest expressed by a large number of the people of my district, as well as in other sections of North Carolina, I have announced my candidacy for re-election.

Thanking you from the bottom of my heart for your generous expression of confidence, I am with sincere personal regards

Faithfully and cordially yours,

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.
Dear Franklin:

Who am I to give you advice but why can’t we have a show down on this thing and fight it out “if it takes all summer.” They would scream about getting back to campaign in primary elections but if they had been real Democrats they wouldn’t have had to. I have a primary too on the 20th of May. But a fight has been made where none was called for and why not fight it out?

Let’s find out where these people stand. We know, but why not make them come out and let their constituents know. Make them vote on Wages and Hours right now and that will be a real show down. If we get licked we can take it and wouldn’t be any worse off than we are now to go home and say “Well I did my best” etc. Sounds kind of sissy to me. If we shut up shop with an early adjournment won’t it be very much of a give up proposition?

I’m mad. These birds talk about having been put on the spot so why not really put them on one and give them a chance to show their colors so their constituents will know which party they belong to and whether they are for you or not. I would a lot rather fight and get licked than quit and let a lot of ________get away with this.

Affectionately,

Nan.
Dear Mr. President:

The vote of Friday last on the Reorganization Bill settles the question that you and those who have supported the bill in Congress must go to the country. If it should be decided that I am the one who can best make the fight in Maryland in connection with the Senate, I am willing to do so and to exert all my energy for success. This is not a bid for favorable consideration. If the decision should be otherwise, I shall not feel aggrieved.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.
The Speaker’s Rooms
House of Representatives U.S.
Washington, D.C.

April 20, 1938.

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

My dear Mr. President:

Your letter of April 9, with reference to two members of the Select Committee to investigate the TVA, was laid upon my desk during last week-end vacation and this is my very first opportunity to acknowledge your letter. I desire to say to you in utmost candor that I was not apprised of the views held by Mr. Jenkins or Mr. Wolverton, the Republican members of the Committee, prior to their appointment.

It has been the invariable custom here in the House for many years when Select Committees are to be named by the Speaker to allow the Minority Leader to suggest the names of those members who serve on such Select Committee. This may be a bad rule and a bad precedent, but, nevertheless, all Speakers have been bound by it for a number of years and in naming the two gentlemen referred to in your letter I accepted that precedent. In fact, Mr. President, I think that it would have been practically impossible to have found any Republican in the House to place upon this Committee who would not be in some measure partisan and critical in his findings of the facts involved in the investigation. My hope and belief is that the majority members of the Joint Committee, as well as possibly some of the minority members, may after full investigation of the facts find that the TVA has been conducted in an orderly, effective and lawful manner and will so report to Congress.

There is no man in Congress or out of it who is more deeply and sincerely interested in the success of the TVA program than myself. I have been fighting for this development for twenty years and thanks to your superb leadership, we have at last accomplished at least a major part of our objectives.

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]
Wrestling
(not for votes)
against Thomas Marshall

Endnews I send to
my Way the Means
especially with T. Wilson
4/22/38

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Bob Doughton phoned:

We have reached a tentative agreement on the Corporation Tax--
Undistributed Profits Tax--which is nearly what the House Bill called for.
We had to concede a little on that.
On the Capital Gains they won't let us have that unless we agree with them on it.

About to break up.
Bob wants to know if you will leave it to them or give some instructions?
Dear Mr. President:

Your letter of April 16th was forwarded to me while on a few days vacation, the first I have had in some years — since I became a "statesman"!

The formality of the salutation, "My dear Mr. Chairman", seems quite a departure from those other days when I was greeted similarly to "Dear Sam".

However, while my statement may have seemed to you to be "the only discordant note among the members of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives", that may be, because all the comments, written and oral, were never brought to your attention.

The views which I expressed, copy of which I enclose for the reason that you may not have seen the complete statement, were not dissimilar to the attitude of many Democratic Members of the House as expressed to me. In fact, I may say that most of the substantial, worth while, day in and day out Democrats in the House, not the "yes men", concurred in my views that, while we must continue relief, public works and the other projects detailed in your message, that program in itself does not go far enough to meet the desperate situation in which we find ourselves.

That my statement was not really "discordant" will further appear from a letter I wrote to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, copy of which I enclose.

What I have now to say, I ask you to please accept in the absolutely friendly spirit of cooperation which I honestly intend.

I appreciate we are "in for it" and must go ahead with "pump priming", but to some of us, that is only a hypodermic administered to a badly smashed up patient who will continue to require further medication and maybe even amputation.

I would not be frank with you, if I did not reiterate the views expressed in my statement, that there are many more things to be done, such as stimulating production, which I believe is more important than increasing the consuming power, modifying some of the harsher restrictions of S.E.C.; defi-
Page 2

nitely defining the attitude of the government toward alleged monopolies; giving the Utilities a chance to spend money and put men to work; easing up on over burdensome taxes, working out the problems of the railroads; calling a halt to government competition with private business and getting out of the relief business as speedily as possible for the benefit of the morale of our people. And other things.

Please pardon the presumption of mere me entertaining these views and daring to frankly express them to you. But that is just the way I feel.

Please fix firmly in your mind that you can always count on me to cooperate with you to the fullest extent, without requiring me to relinquish the considerate views I honestly entertain.

The selfish interest some of the Members of Congress entertain in acquiring projects for their districts and States does not influence me. To my mind that gain is very temporary – to themselves, which is unimportant. My party concerns me.

Please believe me when I say that I try at all times to keep in sight the broader national picture, of a permanent nature, which includes my personal interest in and affection for you and my concern for my party and the country.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.
Mr. William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

Some of the press this morning misinterpreted my comments upon the President's spending program. I nowise intended the impression to get out that I opposed the President's program. The purpose of my comment was to state that it did not go quite far enough to suit me, such as in the nature of reassurance to business, which has at least six times as much capital as the government available to spend to put people to work.

As to the program to spend a billion and one-half on public works, I am most heartily in favor of that for the reason that I understand it will be done by contract and that skilled mechanics will be employed at the prevailing rate of wages rather than W.P.A. workers. I have fought for this for a long time because our building trades mechanics have got a very bad break during this depression.

I trust you will make my position clear to your associates.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) John O'Connor

JO'C:NS
April 14, 1938

COMMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN O'CONNOR (DEMOCRAT)
OF NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN OF THE RULES COMMITTEE, ON THE
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF APRIL 13, 1938.

*********

"Priming the pump" won't do any good, if there's no water in the well.

We should first see that there's water in there, by -

Restoring confidence to our people in many ways, including the following:

Enacting into law, at once, the Tax Bill, substantially as it passed the Senate, thus eliminating the objectionable "Corporate Undistributed Profits" tax, and modifying the "Capital Gains" tax;

Reassuring business, in no uncertain terms, that there will be no further government restrictions or snooping on their legitimate transactions;

That the government will not further compete with private business and will get out of its present competition as speedily as possible;

That /there will be no further suggestion of Executive encroachment on the functions of the legislative branch; and vice versa;
And many others.

Let's proclaim a national holiday to be known as —

"Stop Calling Names" Day.

***********
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR
CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN

Many thanks for your letter. It is interesting.

F. D. R.
May 14, 1938.

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

My dear President:

I am enclosing for your perusal a confidential report which points to the Fascist movements in the United States.

This report deals with only one phase of its activities.

I thought you might be interested in it.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN
There is now for the first time a complete united Nazi pro-fascist, anti-Jewish, anti-Democratic front in the U. S. with the combined membership of more than 2 million members. This front is part of the world wide organization to destroy democracy known as the 'Anti-Comintern' with headquarters in Berlin, Germany. The head of the organization for the U.S.S. officially picked last October in Berlin is GEORGE DEATHERENGE, of Charleston, West Virginia. For the last year he has been making his headquarters at GLENDALE, California. He has offices in New York, Chicago, Kansas City and San Francisco. He goes by plane frequently across the country. He has 4 private planes for his use.

Anti-Comintern's official Ambassador is an English Fascist named Col. Beamish, now visiting the actor Molaglen's brother near Los Angeles, California.

American Fascism's official representative to Berlin is MARTIN VON DEHN (510 Park Avenue) of N. Y. He is now in New York. He and his two sons changed their names from Dehn to von Dehn at Hitler's request last summer. Vol. 5-7041.

The Finance Committee of the organization consists of:

L. GORDON HAMERSLEY, multi-millionaire
1030 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.
office: 48 Wall Street, NY.C. Han. 2-2383

E. Pennington Pearson
3 West 57th Street, NYC Pl. 3-8162

A man named Weir from Pennsylvania, a man referred to as S.R. supposed to represent steel companies, a man named Reynolds supposed to be a Wall Street broker and several others I do not know their names yet.
PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT:

JOHN B. SNOW - 18 East 48th Street, NYC. He is the
Chairman. No money is given for propaganda of literature without his
approval. Others on the committee are:

Col. Sanctuary of N. Y.
George Andrews Moriarity, Bristol Rhode Island
John B. Trevor, Jr. 11 East 91st Street, NYC.
Michael Ahearn of Ahearn, James True Associates,
Washington, D. C.
Howland Spencer, Palm Beach, Florida calls himself
squire of Krum Elbow.

Money for this department is supposed to be handled by
Reynolds Fish and Company, Wall Street brokers, covered up as ordinary
brokerage account.

The following organizations are combined in this front:

Pelley's Silver Shirts
Ku Klux Klan
Militant Christian Patriots
Gray Shirts
Sons of Washington
Knights of White Camelia
Kuhn's German Bund
National Council of Christian soldiers sailors & marines
White Russian veterans
Ingram Hughes Nationalist Party of Los Angeles
Order of Paul Revers
and many other local small groups throughout South and West.

Section Commanders are:
Far West Pelley
Middle West Harry Jung, Chicago
South Dr. Evans, Atlanta Georgia
East George Morianti, Bristol, R.I.

Foreign groups section:
German Fritz Kuhn
Japs Harry Magi (Yagi?)
Italian G. di Revel or Revalli
White Russians Obelinsky
Polish A. Debrowski

Intelligence Section headquarters Philadelphia
Col. Smith
Capt. Spencer
Anti-Trade Union Section:
Chairman a man named Moharg, now in N.Y.

These sections do two things:

1. Organize citizen vigilantes, committees to fight strikes
2. Place agents provoking in strikers ranks to commit acts of violence, so strikers lose public sympathy. Bethlehem, Pa., last summer an example.

This organization or front is known as National American Federation of Patriotic Orders. Its staff or headquarters Committee as N.Az. 1. (National Americanization Institute.

Country divided in eight (8) military sections or zones.
Each commanded by former officers who have had active war service.

They even have a Committee to penetrate fraternal orders; even Masons are not free from them. Exclusive Holland Lodge limited to Union Club (Park Avenue snobs) as members, is used to spread anti-Jewish propaganda from.
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.  

June 1, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your suggestion this morning, I conferred with Secretary Wallace and Senator Herring at 2:15 this afternoon. It is plain to me, as I am sure it also is now to Senator Herring, that he interpreted much too liberally the Secretary's reference to your comment on the possible harmonizing effect for November of a pre-primary, Wearin-Gillette joint statement asseverating their mutual loyalty to the winner of the primary contest.

Since this morning, however, the issue that last evening revolved rather violently about the specifically-worded statement that was supposed to have your O. K., has become moot, even in Senator Herring's mind, for he indicated that he had failed to receive favorable or even receptive response from either Gillette or Wearin, to both of whom he says he read the statement over the telephone last night. Therefore, there can be no truthful claim made by Wearin's opposition that he rejected the olive branch of loyalty to the Party winner--and it is, of course, my distinct impression from my talk with you this morning that that has been your own chief concern.

Without assuming the right or authority to speak for Otha--which obviously I do not have--I did relay to the Secretary and the Senator Otha's offer, made by him from Des Moines this morning in a telephone talk with his local manager, that he would sign a companion statement with Gillette, promising his loyal support to any nominee who in turn would promise his 100% support to the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Imagine my surprise when both my fellow-conference took it for granted that Gillette would not join in such a statement.
Hon. F. D. Roosevelt  2  June 1, 1938

It was on this note that our conference broke up, all three of us being reconciled to the impossibility of locating the right kind of oil to pour on the troubled political waters.

As for myself, I don't greatly share the concern of some that the Iowa waters are so troubled. I believe we are going through a healthy ferment that will boil off some scum. Wearin's nomination, I am convinced, will mean his election in November. Vice versa, I will leave no stone unturned for the success of the entire Democratic ticket in November, and knowing Otha's record as I do, I am sure he will do likewise. But from the point of view of a successful culmination of the New Deal, it seems to me far more important that Roosevelt sentiment preponderate in the Democratic Party councils in Iowa, than that we merely retain in office Congressmen or Senators or Governors in Iowa who contribute nothing but lip-service to the ideals of the New Deal. That is a chance that I for one am willing to take.

Sincerely yours,

Edward C. Eicher, M. C.

ECE: cp
PERSONAL

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
August 29, 1938.

Dear Scott:-

Mac has shown me your letter of August twenty-fifth, and I hope much to have a chance to talk with you about the problem of getting enough water for the waterway between Chicago and the Mississippi. I am for an adequate waterway, of course, and I think the thing can be worked out without bumping into diverting more water from Lake Michigan than would be fair to Canada.

I still think, and some of the engineering reports concur, that if we store a lot more water along the watershed, there will be enough for navigation.

It becomes largely a question of engineering, and, as you know, there has been no complete and final check-up made on this angle for a long time. Therefore, I am wondering if you cannot take the position that you are, as I am, one thousand per cent in favor of adequate navigation and that the first thing to do is to see if sufficient water cannot be obtained by storage and if this fails that you would seek the necessary additional amount from the Lake.

This is only a suggestion and I am sure we can work it out.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Scott W. Lucas,
Havana,
Illinois.
Colonel Marvin H. McIntyre,
Secretary to the President,
The Summer White House,
Poughkeepsie, New York.

My dear Colonel McIntyre:

As the senatorial campaign develops it is possible that the Parsons Bill, introduced during the last Congress, may become an issue on which the undersigned may be compelled to take a position.

The Bill has for its purpose the regulation and promotion of commerce among the several States and with foreign nations and the improvement of the navigable waters in the Mississippi Valley under the direction of the Secretary of War, permitting the annual average of five thousand cubic feet of water per second to be diverted from Lake Michigan and flow into the Lakes-to-the Gulf Waterway heretofore authorized by Congress.

I am familiar with the position of the President of the United States with respect to the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty.

If the time comes when I am forced to go on record publicly for the Parsons Bill I shall present my reasons in such a way that they will in no way appear antagonistic to the objectives of the New Deal. However, I fear a hostile press in this State will distort any facts that are presented from that viewpoint. I merely wanted the President to know of my position in advance, and if he thinks this matter is of sufficient importance for any comment I should like to have you advise me in confidence at your earliest convenience.
It is advisable to state that I have discussed this matter with the Governor of Illinois, and we have agreed that this course should be pursued.

With every good wish, I am

Yours most sincerely,

[Signature]

[Address]

[Date]
The President,
The White House,

Dear Mr. President:

I would not have asked to see you on yesterday had not some disturbing rumors reached me.

The understanding was so definite when I waived the appointment to the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals that I had not sought further discussion. I was to have the first opening on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, or the United States Court of Claims. I still have the memorandum that was made at the time.

The first vacancy is on the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and it is the place I most desire.

I have always wanted to do judicial work, feeling that whatever talent I have is in that field, and feeling, also, that the chance of retaining the progress of the past few years depends as much upon the personnel of the courts as upon legislative enactment. I should like to begin that work early enough to afford an opportunity to be of real service.

I have always had a great admiration for you. It has been a pleasure to work in your administration, but I have always wanted to serve on the bench, and it would be the disappointment of my life if I do not receive the appointment.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
PERSONAL

September 29, 1938.

Dear A. J.:

Many thanks for that nice note of yours. The O'Connor result in New York was probably the funniest story of the year — in fact, it ought to rank with the half dozen great funny stories of history!

I hope all goes well with you and your campaign.

Always sincerely,

Honorable A. J. Sabath,
Ten South La Salle Street,
Chicago,
Illinois.
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I noted in Wednesday's early addition of the Chicago American that you predicted a five hundred vote Democratic victory for O'Connor and denial of the Republican nomination. The results show that the Democrats recognized, and the Republicans appreciated the services he has rendered them, far more than you suspected. Personally I have reason to suspect that you knew a little more than your prediction set forth. Congratulations!

I talked with Colonel Knox of the Chicago Daily News today and learned that he is with you on your foreign policy. He is vitally interested in seeing the United States build and maintain the strongest possible Navy and Air Force. I tried to convince him that he ought to approve of your other policies but he refuses to heed.

I sincerely hope that Jim will be out shortly, stronger than ever.

Kindest regards,

[Signature]
October 14, 1936.

Dear Jim:—

I have not had a chance to thank you for your letter before this, but I have not forgotten you and I am glad to have the news from Idaho. Taking it by and large, it is better to have Clark and Ross elected than the Republican candidates, both of whom are more reactionary.

I count on seeing you early in November. I will be at Hyde Park most of the time before then.

As ever yours,

Honorable James P. Pope,
Boise,
Idaho.
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
JOINT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADEQUACY AND USE OF PHOSPHATE
RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES

September 28, 1938

PERSONAL

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

Dear Mr. President:

Upon my return to Idaho, I found the situation here rather chaotic. I presume you have had a talk with Worth Clark when he was in Washington recently. Before the primary, he vigorously opposed reciprocal trade agreements, the farm program, and reorganization bill, and was strongly supported by all the public utility interests in Idaho.

Now, I am being urged by the state committee to make a number of speeches during the campaign in Idaho. I am being asked to speak, particularly, in support of these measures. I have reminded the state central committee that in doing so I will be in direct opposition to the Democratic candidate for Senator and perhaps I had better make none.

The opposition to Clark and Ross in the state is very strong and many Democrats will not support either of them. I would not be surprised to see the Republicans win the principal offices in Idaho this fall. I am advised that some people will write in my name for Senator. I had a talk with Governor Clark who said he would appoint me Senator if anything should happen to Borah before the first of the year. The demand here seems to be becoming very strong that I run for the Senate two years or four years from now.

Your suggestion that I "keep in touch" with you leads me to write this brief letter regarding conditions here.

As to myself, I have done nothing since I talked to you. The columnists have been doing a good deal of speculating as to various positions. I know nothing about that, and have given none of them any hint of our conversations at Hyde Park and Washington.

I had planned to be in Washington early in November and to attend hearings before our special phosphate committee in Tennessee on November 21 and in Florida on November 28.
Your recent statements concerning the war situation have met with widespread approval here, and Borah's statement this morning in support of Hitler is being generally and vigorously criticized.

I find that Borah was deeply involved in the Republican scheme to come into the Democratic primary and vote against me. Senator John Thomas, my predecessor in the Senate, told me that Borah and many other Republican leaders urged him to run for the Senate and said if he did run they would not put Worth Clark into the Democratic primary. He said when he refused to run they induced Clark to enter. He said he refused to have anything to do with the scheme.

I hope you are well and that Jimmy will entirely recover.

With warmest personal regards and every good wish,

Very sincerely,

[Signature]
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR
WILLIAM GREEN

Dear Bill:—

Is your face red? Do your ears burn? Does your conscience prick?

!

F. D. R.

Letter to someone recommending endorsing Hamilton Fish for re-election.
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE OFFICES
of the
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers
Order of Railway Conductors
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America

To the Officers and Members of the
B. of L.E., O.R.C., B. of L.F. & E.,
B. of R.T., B. of M.W.E., and B. of R.S. of A.,
Twenty-Sixth District of New York.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Representative Hamilton Fish, who has served in Congress from the 26th Congressional District of New York since 1919, is seeking re-election and we are glad to commend him to you for your support. His record throughout the nine terms served is unexcelled for ability, integrity and impartiality, and for his devotion to the cause of Labor. We have always found him willing and ready to speak and vote in support of proper and righteous legislation, and just as ready to oppose measures framed for the benefit of special interests and against the wage earners.

Mr. Fish's influential activities during his tenure in Congress are too numerous to outline here, but during recent sessions of Congress he was particularly active and outspoken in his support of the Railroad Retirement Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act for railway employees, and in behalf of further loans to railroads in order to insure the jobs of railroad employees. In addition, he has actively supported legislation for Social Security, Low Cost Housing, Slum Clearance, and reductions in interest rates on Federal loans to home owners and farmers. On his exceptionally fine record, he richly merits the strong support of every voter in the 26th District, regardless of party affiliations.

We cannot too strongly urge your active and personal interest in the re-election of so tried and true a friend. His long training and established legislative ability make his services at Washington indispensable. He has always been a friend in need, whenever we have had occasion to call upon him, and now is your chance to show your appreciation for his loyalty and unfailing interest in your welfare. Especially during these trying times do we need such men in Congress, and his powerful influence as a member of the important House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Banking and Currency makes our need of him all the more urgent.

We trust that you will handle this matter with expedition and efficiency to the end that all our members, their families and friends, will go to the polls and vote in behalf of the re-election of Honorable HAMILTON FISH to Congress, as our loyal supporter and an established friend of the common people. Your influence with others in behalf of Representative Fish will also be most helpful.

Fraternally yours,

Arthur Howell, Vice President,
National Legislative Representative, B. of L.F. & E.

J. A. Thompson
National Legislative Representative, B. of R.T.

D. Calone, Vice President,
National Legislative Representative, B. of R.S. of A.

W. D. Johnson
Vice President,
National Legislative Representative, B. of R.S. of A.

G. W. Corbett
Assistant Grand Chief Engineer,
National Legislative Representative, B. of L.E.

R. B. Stout
National Legislative Representative, B. of M.W.E.
Mr. George Meany, President,
New York State Federation of Labor,
Room 1102 - 265 West 14th Street,
New York City, New York.

Dear Sir and Brother:
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.
Dear [Name],

November 16, 1926

As ever yours,

[Content of the letter discussing the need for recognition and support for the Congress of farmers and laborers, and the desire to meet in person.]

[Signature]

[Address]

[Note: Handwritten notes and signatures are present.]
Washington, North Carolina
November 14, 1938

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

My dear Mr. President:

I am glad to see in the papers of your continued interest in Reorganization although I know that you are going to be strongly urged not to press same. It is just one of those things that everyone is for and where methods cannot be agreed upon.

Although we had a great majority in the last Congress this measure was lost. If with our still great majority we are unable to make any progress on the subject we might as well admit our inability to legislate. Since the adjournment of Congress I have given this matter much thought on account of my intense interest. The Senate Bill is impossible and we can get nowhere along that line. I would like to see the House Bill which was recommitted by 8 votes become the basis of future legislation for every safeguard had been thrown around it and it was never disposed of upon its merits. Even the House Bill I am afraid will be impossible at the next session because 58 Democrats who voted with us are now out and only 34 who were against us are out.

I hope that sometime before any decision is made that I may have the privilege and opportunity to discuss this matter with you. As you know the House Committee has expired and we have lost three of our seven Democratic Members. Somewhere there must be a common ground for the Congress to meet on this subject and I am now in communication with several who were with us as well as a few who were against us but who still say they are in favor of Reorganization.
I have just noted with great pleasure that you have accepted the invitation to be at Chapel Hill on December 5. I am told that you will be urged to visit Lake Mattamuskeet on the following day which would put you back in Washington on December 7. As you know this is the greatest wildlife refuge in the Nation and I am sure that you have never seen such a sight before. There are more geese there than in any other place as well as three-fourths of the swan of the Nation. I certainly trust that you can make your arrangements to visit this wonderful spot and I believe you will greatly enjoy it.

With high esteem and best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

[Signature]
My dear Mr. President:

I am writing to express my heartfelt appreciation of your thoughtfulness in calling me on the night of the election and offering your congratulations upon my success in Illinois.

It was a ruthless contest. Never in my twenty years of experience in public life have I witnessed a political battle like it. Racial and religious prejudices were fostered by the opposition. Tons of misleading and scandalous propaganda were disseminated throughout the state. Downright falsehoods were stated as truths and restated after they had been challenged by such men as Robert P. Vanderpoel, impartial financial editor of the Chicago American. I refused to grovel in the dirt with them, but consistently followed what I believed to be a constructive course.

At the time you called I had every reason to believe that I would win by approximately two hundred thousand votes, but that majority was reduced to approximately one hundred and fifteen thousand. And yet, we in Illinois are very happy in the election of the entire Democratic state ticket.

I thought you would be interested in knowing that Governor Horner is still confined to his bed at the Congress Hotel in the city of Chicago but hopes to be able to return to the Executive Mansion within a few days.

With every good wish for your continued good health and happiness, I am

Yours most sincerely,

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Warm Springs, Ga.,
December 2, 1938.

Dear Jim:—

Thank you for your note about Mareantonio. I will speak to the Speaker in confidence.

We miss you a lot down here and some day you must visit us and the gang again.

Always sincerely,

Hon. James M. Kiernan,
Speaker of the House.
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SPEAKER

I enclose a letter from Jim Kieran who used to be on the "New York Times" and is now LaGuardia's Secretary. Apparently all that Marcantonio wants is his old place on the Labor Committee -- and I am inclined to think he will be with us more than against us.

F. D. R.
Dear Maury:

The coming primaries will have a vital influence upon the future of the Democratic Party.

The future of the Democratic Party rests in no small measure upon its ability to command the support of liberal-thinking men and women throughout the country. By commanding liberal support, Woodrow Wilson made the Democratic Party, which had theretofore been a minority party, a majority party. By commanding liberal support, President Roosevelt again built the Democratic Party into a majority party pledged by its platform to the realization, in twentieth-century America, of the principles of economic freedom and social security.

The Democratic Party is now engaged in a great struggle to realize those great liberal principles. It is engaged in a great struggle against reaction within the party as well as without the party.

Reactionaries within the party are attempting to gain control of the party in order to destroy the party's devotion to the great liberal principles which have given to the party its unity and its strength. The
essential unity and the effective strength of the Democratic Party, must
be found in its steadfast devotion to the liberal principles of its liberal
leadership and its liberal platform. For almost a quarter of a century
now, the Republican Party has definitely been the party of reaction and
there is room in this country for no other.

If the Democratic Party is to continue to represent the united
strength of American liberalism in the struggle against the forces of re-
action, it must support those who have led the fight to make the Demo-
cratic Party liberal and victorious. The American people will not trust
political Bourbons to lead a liberal party.

You have been in the forefront of the fight to make the demo-
cratic Party a strong and united liberal party faithful to the principles
of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt. You have been in the fore-
front of the fight to ensure economic freedom and social security not to
the few but to the many.

No one can accuse you of being a rubber-stamp Congressman. You
have not only supported the New Deal; you have helped to shape the New Deal.
In the fight against the excessive concentration of private economic power over the lives and fortunes of the common man, you have been in the front line trenches. You have not shied away from any of the people's battles against private monopoly in the utility, banking, industrial or any other field.

You have fought not only against the waste of our precious natural resources but against the waste of our even more precious human resources. You have stood for freedom to work, for the right to earn a living. You have consistently advocated a liberal policy of public works to combat unemployment. You have helped to make possible, at a time when there was little opportunity for private employment, the erection of many useful and enduring public works both in your own district and throughout the United States.

You have always recognized the dignity of human labor and have been fearless in the defense of the right of the workers to organize to protect themselves from economic oppression.

While you have fought for the oppressed and under privileged, you have always fought fairly, and with a zealous regard for the rights
and interests of all men and women, even of those with whom you have profoundly disagreed. You have fought, as few others have fought, for tolerance in a free democracy, for the right of those in high places and in low places, for the right of those with whom you may differ as well as of those with whom you may agree, to present their case before the bar of public opinion. You have always been among the first to defend against the slightest encroachment the civil and religious rights of the American people guaranteed by the Constitution.

I am sure that not only the Twentieth District of Texas, but all America, wants its Maverick in the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.
THE WHITE HOUSE
JAN 25 4 57 PM '39
RECEIVED Jan 24 '39

Mr. President,

I am deeply grateful for the nomination to the great office of District Judge of the United States for the District of Tennessee and, of course, for the kindness and consideration you have always shown.
in me, as evidenced by
this connection with your
name, always so precious.
To keep in mind and
heart the noble standards
of justice for love to
well, and assist me in
the Communion of faith.
The melody, the tenderness,
and the human sympathy
which for exhibit in all
gain contacts.
With great affection and regard
very sincerely yours.
T. Allan Readman.
Dear "Boss":

Herewith memorandum, and telegrams attached, for your information. They explain themselves.

Cordially,

[Signature]

The President,

The White House.
The telegrams hereto attached, in the nature of petitions, received from citizens of Cuba and Mexico, cannot, under the following rule, be received unless transmitted to the Senate by the President:

Paragraph 5 of Rule VII, Standing Rules of Senate.

"Every petition or memorial shall be signed by the petitioner or memorialist and have indorsed thereon a brief statement of its contents, and shall be presented and referred without debate. But no petition or memorial or other paper signed by citizens or subjects of a foreign power shall be received, unless the same be transmitted to the
CENTRE CATALA HABANA REPRESENTING THOUSANDS OF CATALAN PEOPLE OPINION LIVING IN CUBA ASK THAT SENATE TO SAVE WORLD OF FASCISM EXPANSION PROPOSED BY TOTALITARIES COUNTRIES TO STOP SUSPENDING ARMAMENT SHIPMENTS TO REPUBLICA ESPANOLA

HERRERA PRESIDENTE
THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

WASH DC

THE LATIN AMERICAN WORKING CLASS CONSTITUTING MOST VIGOROUS AND REPRESENTATIVE SECTION POPULATION OF TWENTY SISTER REPUBLICS NEW WORLD HOPES THAT CONGRESS OF UNITED STATES WILL FULFILL DUTY DEMANDED OF IT BY DESTINY OF PREVENTING TRIUMPH IN EUROPE OF BARBAROUS FASCIST REGIME NOW GRAVELY MENACING FUTURE OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE DEFEAT OF SPANISH REPUBLIC WOULD SIGNIFY GREAT VICTORY FOR FASCISM AND SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO DEVELOPMENT DEMOCRACY ON AMERICAN CONTINENT FASCISM CANNOT PROSPER WHILE DEMOCRATIC AMERICA EXISTS BUT NEITHER CAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY PROSPER WHILE FASCISM EXISTS IN EUROPE THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA HAVE DUTY TO FREE THE WORLD OF WORST ENEMY HUMANITY HAS KNOWN IMPOSE RESPECT FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW BY LIFTING EMBARGO ON ARMS TO REPUBLICAN SPAIN TO RETREAT BEFORE HITLER AND MUSSOLINI IN THIS DECISIVE HOUR IS TO YIELD TO THEIR FUTURE THREATS AND TO CONFESS IRREMEDEABLE IMPOTENCE OF DEMOCRACY IN FACE OF OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICE=

VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDO

PRESIDENT CONFEDERATION OF LATINAMERICAN WORKERS.
CONGRESO UNION NORTEAMERICANA

THY PAN AMERICAN UNION

COMITE AYUDA NINOS PUEBLO ESPAÑOL INTERPRETANDO SENTIMIENTO:

HUMANITARIOS PUEBLOS LATINO AMERICANOS APELAN ESA ASEMBLEA PARA DEMANDAR LEVANTAMIENTO EMBARGO ARMAS CONTRA REPUBLICA ESPAÑOLA VANGUARDIA DEMOCRACIA MUNDIAL VILMENTE ATACADA FACISMO SALVACION INFANCIA ESPAÑOLA DEPENDE DE VUESTRA DETERMINACION MUNDO ESPERA VOSOTROS ESA MEDIDA ACORDE DERECHO INTERNACIONAL =

COMITE EJECUTIVO.
MISSTRENN

POST CONGRESS 1932 & 1940
ATT. Garner to FOX
1-24-39
TRANSLATION

NA 197 43 NL--MEXICO CITY 17
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C.

COMMITTEE AID CHILDREN SPANISH PEOPLE INTERPRETING HUMANITARIAN
SENTIMENTS LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES APPEALS TO YOUR ASSEMBLY TO
REQUEST RAISING ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SPANISH REPUBLIC VANGUARD
WORLD DEMOCRACY VILDELY ATTACKED BY FASCISM. SALVATION SPANISH
CHILDREN DEPENDS ON YOUR DECISION. WORLD AWAITS FROM YOU SUCH
A STEP IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
January 26, 1939.

Dear Martin:—

Take a leaf out of my notebook. Pay no attention to what any columnist or any of the many varieties says.

An extended and careful investigation by honest to God newspapermen, detectives, the church and statisticians proves the following:

1. Over a period of a year no one single columnist's column has been accurate on any day.

2. The percentage of inaccuracies, false statements, half truths (which are worse than lies), deliberate fabrications, etc., etc., runs from an average of 20%, in the case of highbrow columnists, to as high as 60% in the case of the more sensation—
al new services.

The Congressional Record has a far higher standard of accuracy than that!

Don't mind me if I do a little kidding sometimes.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Martin L. Sweeney,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

January 22, 1939

The President
The White House

My dear Mr. President:

May I call to your attention an article which appeared in the syndicated column of the Washington Daily Merry-Go-Round, under date of December 23, 1938, with relation to my attitude toward the candidacy of United States District Attorney Emerich B Freed, who aspires to be Federal Judge for the northern district of Ohio.

This article is a base falsehood. I have taken no interest in the candidacy of Mr. Freed one way or the other. Copy of my letter to Mr. Drew Pearson, explaining the case in detail, is attached. I have also taken the liberty of forwarding to the Attorney General a copy of this letter.

With every good wish,

Respectfully yours,

[Signature]

Martin L. Sweeney
38th District Ohio
Mr. Drew Pearson
Washington Daily Merry-Go-Round
Washington, D C

My dear Mr. Pearson:

Under date of December 23, 1938, in the syndicated "Washington Daily Merry-Go-Round" written by Drew Pearson and Robert S Allen, there appeared a dirty vicious article with reference to Father Coughlin and myself. This article charged us with raising the issue of anti-Semitism against the candidacy of Emerich Burt Freed, United States District Attorney in Cleveland, Ohio, who aspires to be a Federal District Judge.

I did not read this article until it was sent to me by a citizen of Corpus Christi, Texas, who clipped the excerpt from The Corpus Christi Times, in which it appeared under date of December 23, 1938. This article reached me January 2, 1939, upon my arrival at the Nation's Capital. After reading the article I called your partner, Mr. Robert S Allen, by telephone to demand an explanation. Mr. Allen stated he could not discuss the matter because it was written by you, and he respectfully referred me to you giving your telephone number as Michigan 4321. In the last few days I have called your office several times. In each instance I left my telephone number for a return call, but for reasons best known to yourself you have failed to even extend to me the courtesy of acknowledging my call.

Mr. Pearson, let me state your charge that "A hot behind-the-scenes fight is raging in Democratic Congressional ranks over the effort of Father Coughlin to prevent the appointment of a Jewish judge in Cleveland" is a base falsehood. I am certain Father Coughlin does not know Mr. Freed, and I am equally certain that Father Coughlin in his long career never interfered in making recommendations for or against individuals seeking Federal appointments.

As for your charge that Representative Martin L Sweeney is known as the chief Congressional spokesman of Father Coughlin, again you utter a falsehood. As a newspaper man at the Capitol you should know full well that while Father Coughlin has many friends in the Congress of the United States, there is no organized block, nor is any one authorized to speak for Father Coughlin. Your false assumption was predicated, undoubtedly, because of the fact that on February 16, 1936, I arose un-
solicited to defend the Constitutional right of Father Coughlin to speak on political, social, and economic questions, as they affected the welfare of the Nation. That was the time, you will recall, when certain Members of Congress were challenging Father Coughlin's right as a clergyman to discuss governmental matters.

Mr. Pearson, you further state that the "Basis of the Sweeney-Coughlin opposition is the fact that Freed is a Jew, and one not born in the United States". Further you state that, "Irate Congressman Sweeney is endeavoring to call a caucus of Ohio Congressmen December 28 to protest against Freed's appointment". Again, you state a falsehood. I did call a caucus of the Democratic Congressmen from Ohio on December 28 for the purpose of discussing Ohio problems. This meeting was held in the office of Senator Vic Donahue, and the subject of Mr. Freed's candidacy for judge was not even considered at this gathering. I respectfully refer you to Senator Vic Donahue, and the Congressmen present, as proof of this statement.

Mr. Pearson, it is a cowardly act to charge a person with being anti-Semitic without a semblance of proof. For your information let me state I was born in the Ghetto section of Cleveland, Ohio. My early playmates and neighbors were Jews. I learned to respect their customs, their traditions, and the practice of their religious rites. Many of my classmates in high school were Jews. For eight years I was a Judge in the City of Cleveland, Ohio. Hundreds of Jewish litigants and their lawyers appeared before me many times on controversial issues. Never once was the charge of intolerance or injustice raised against me by any single individual or group. Coming from a persecuted race I have for years raised my voice against religious and racial bigotry. My reputation for tolerance in my native city of Cleveland, and for that matter throughout the country, is definitely assured. Of that I am certain.

I recite these facts Mr. Pearson, not to dignify by argument the vicious article written by you, but solely to keep the record straight. In view of the foregoing I now challenge you to substantiate proof of your article of December 23 with reference to the charge of anti-Semitism as concerns the candidacy of Mr. Freed. I also challenge you to make public the source of your misinformation, and respectfully request that you apologize equally as prominent in the entire syndicate receiving your service as you presented your mis-statements referred to herein. Failing to comply with this request will force me to reach the conclusion you have abused the traditional right of a free press, and have been guilty in stirring up racial and religious prejudice at a time when all decent newspaper men are condemning with all the vigor at their command such un-American and un-Democratic conduct.

Sincerely yours,
MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY KANNEE:

The President says that Goldsborough should ask Chairman Steagall of the House Committee on Banking and Currency whether there is any legislation of importance to the Administration pending before the Banking and Currency Committee on which action is desired at this session of the Congress. Also, that Goldsborough should check with Henry Morgenthau to see if there is any possibility of legislation coming to the House Banking and Currency Committee for action during this session of the Congress.

If either Steagall or Morgenthau says there is, then Goldsborough should stay on the committee. However, if he can get clearance from both -- clearance means assurance that he will not be needed on the committee to support any legislation either pending or that may come before the committee later on -- he may retire from the Congress to assume his duties on the bench, April 5.

The President wants to know whether Goldsborough gets the clearance.

S. T. E.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Rep. Goldsborough has tentatively arranged to leave Congress and take up his duties on the bench on April 5th. He would like to know if that is satisfactory to the President.
May 3, 1934

Dear Mr. President — May I

introduce in a moment to

you, and most warmly,

your birthday felicitations.

May I add that I cherish

a hope that you probably do not have — that two years hence I shall receive the same kind of message from the Dole friend dated White House.

This hope not too much for your sake as the great Cause is sure else Con

Jen is well.

Very sincerely,

David J. Lewis
My dear Mr. President:

Upon my arrival at the banquet room of the Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, for the testimonial dinner tendered to me, I was very much pleased indeed to receive your letter which had been placed in the hands of the toastmaster for delivery to me.

I appreciate very much the compliment which you pay me in your letter. It was gratifying I assure you.

Let me thank you very sincerely also for your good wishes for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert Hoover

Tuesday, May 2d, 1939
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

May 16, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May fifteenth.

May I say that I am in complete accord with you in opposing any amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act which would go beyond those recommended by Mr. Andrews. The Labor Committee did go somewhat beyond the recommendations of Mr. Andrews—but not very—and it was very difficult to hold the committee down to just what was suggested. There has been tremendous pressure brought to bear on Members of Congress all of which is coming from the same selfish sources which opposed the enactment into law of this wage and hour legislation.

I want you to know that I stand with you now just as strongly as I stood when this law was enacted. The difficulty in the House is considerably greater this year because in addition to the group of a certain section of the country who are strongly opposed to the law there is now added a group of Republicans and they have considerably strengthened the opposition. I think you should know this.

Mr. Cox of Georgia is doing everything in his power to get a resolution through the Rules Committee to bring out an open rule which would nullify the law. I have taken this matter up with the Speaker and Mr. Rayburn and I hope you will forgive me for showing your letter to the Speaker as I thought it important for him to know just how you felt on this subject. However, the letter has been otherwise held confidential.

If there is anything further you think I can do in this matter please advise me.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Mrs. Mary T. Norton
MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SPEAKER

June 6, 1939.

Since enclosed memorandum was written on June second, I understand that the Foreign Affairs Committee met yesterday and made definite progress. However, I think the suggestion of the bill coming out under the name of Sam McReynolds instead of under the name of Sol Bloom is a very excellent one (strictly between ourselves). Can you manage it with Sol Bloom?

It ought to be comparatively easy to get Sam's consent because even though he is in the hospital, his mind is functioning perfectly and I am sure he would be allowed to have the question put to him, and I am sure he would give his consent. Incidentally, it would be a nice tribute to Sam on the part of Sol Bloom and the other members of the Committee.

F. D. R.

Memo of telephone message from Congressman Hanning of Missouri in re Neutrality legislation.
June 22, 1939

Memos from Jim Rowe to Gen Watson in re-appt. for Congressmen Healey and Celler-

Subject--The Hatch Bill--letter from Carl A. Hatch to Watson attached, also copy of Chas. Michelson's letter to Bankhead and Rayburn in ref to Hatch Bill.

See: Watson folder-Drawer 2-1939
June 28, 1939

The Hon. Sol Bloom, Chairman
Foreign Affairs Committee
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Bloom:

From confidential advices as well as
the ordinary news channels, I am convinced that war is
imminent and perhaps inevitable. The one thing that
would give the war-making nations pause, and thus give
a breathing space to the peace forces, would be a change
in our Neutrality Law. If this country could only take
a clear-cut and vigorous stand in its foreign policy,
it would clear the atmosphere immeasurably.

It is not a matter of helping the
democracies over there or merely of keeping America out
of war, though I am convinced a change in the Neutrality
Law would be more apt to achieve this than the present
law. I only wish our statesmen could rise above these
issues and picture the horrors of another war, with all
its devastation of life and property, and do something
now to endeavor to avoid this catastrophe. It will soon
be too late; and, politically speaking, I know of nothing
except action by this country that will give the breathing
space that is essential.

I am leaving for Europe this week
to attend several international conferences, some of very
great moment, but our work will be useless unless we can
have a little more time. I most earnestly trust, therefore,
that your Bill or something similar to it will be passed
as the surest way of keeping America out of war, by endeavor-
ing to keep war out of the world.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) G. Ashton Oldham

Bishop of Albany
Randall

R.R.'s

Is Bill -- Rules committee to pass it out. -- Will be marked off by Warden in conference.

Chamber's subcommittee by Judiciary. Ref. it with the House. Underhill

Chamber B + O bill. Ist it out of House and into Conference
July 1, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SPEAKER Bankhead

Dear Will:

Sorry not to have a chance to see you before I leave for Hyde Park tonight but will be back Wednesday morning and hope to see you then.

Will you do me a favor? Go slow—even if it means giving up a few days in the Chair. You owe it to yourself and to the country. Do, please, rest.

Affectionately yours,

F. D. R.

P. S. I don't know much about the parliamentary solution of this TVA matter but I do hope we can get the thing through.

F. D. R.

Enclosure

Tele. to the President 6/27/39 from Congr. J. E. Rankin re legislative jam as it concerns TVA. Says Liberty Bond Bill has amendment tacked on —the Norris Bill”—which is now on the Speakers desk. Hopes a rule authorizing the chairman of Ways and Means to take this bill from the speakers desk and move to concur in the Norris amendment can be made and if so believes it can be carried.
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

July 7, 1939

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

Dear Boss:

You can't know how I hated to vote against the administration in the Neutrality vote of last week for I have all the faith in the world in you and Secretary Hull. But you and Eleanor know how I feel about war and I can not think it right for our country to furnish arms or implements of war and slaughter to other nations. The report of the Munitions Investigating Board makes ugly reading.

I can't speak for the Republicans, of course, who under their new leadership vote solidly against every administration measure except those pertaining to Military and Naval affairs. Nor can I speak for those men from the deep South whose resentment against the Wage & Hour bill causes them to vote with the Republicans, but I know the rest of the Congress voted as they did from deepest conviction and because that conviction seemed shared by their constituents.

I have talked with many of your most ardent New Deal supporters and they are as sorry as I that they couldn't follow you in this vote. I do appreciate your letter.

Affectionately and faithfully

Mrs. Daniel O'Day
Dear Missy:

Late this afternoon I am getting violent protests against the rumored appointment of Mr. McNutt to head Social Security.

I am told that both the Green and Lewis factions have been trying to reach the President as they are set against such an appointment on account of Mr. McNutt's labor record, and I do hope that he will give them a hearing before a decision is reached.

Women deeply interested in the Social Security program have also called up to say how detrimental they thought his appointment would be.

Will you please pass this word on to the President? He may not have heard how opposed Labor is to this rumored designation.

I am writing this because I was unable to reach anyone at the White House by telephone, and I hear that Senator Wagner was also unsuccessful in reaching the President.

Cordially

[Signature]

Jul 10, 1939
Memo for Gen. Watson for the President

From Congressman Steagall

July 12, 1939

Message from Steagall in ref-President's appt on July 13th with Williams and himself. Would like the President to talk to his friend about the Spending Bill

See: Watson folder-Drawer 2-1939
The Speaker's Rooms
House of Representatives U.S.
Washington, D.C.

July 14, 1939.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Jul 15 8 59 AM '39

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

My dear Mr. President:

Upon my return to my office from my short vacation in Canada, I find your most considerate message of July 1. I want you to know how very deeply I appreciate your personal interest in my physical welfare.

I assure you that my week in Canada was delightful and beneficial. I shall cherish and preserve always the expression of your interest in my welfare.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
The Speaker's Rooms
House of Representatives U.S.
Washington, D.C.

July 25, 1939.

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

My dear Mr. President:

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your note of July 22, enclosing copy of your letter to Chairman Lee, with reference to a national policy in the conservation of our oil resources.

I have not had an opportunity to discuss this matter with Mr. Lee, because every minute of his time for some days has been taken up with the pending Railroad Bill, but I shall discuss the matter with him at the very first opportunity, and endeavor to fully cooperate with your suggestions.

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]
July 26, 1939
Memo to Hon. Wm. H. Howes-Post Office
From the President

In re-Otto Hennefenk, Postmaster-Alexandria, Ind.
Pres. notations in longhand attached-Congr Larrabee interested in Hennefenk.

See-Wm. Howes-Post Office folder-Drawer 1-1939
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

August 3, 1939

Joseph M. Davis, President
Terpischore Corporation
271 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am enclosing copy of H. J. Res. 315 which passed the House on July 5th and the Senate on August 1st.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce Barton
JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for the adjudication by a Commissioner of claims of American nationals against the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1  Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

2  That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a Commissioner learned in the law to determine the validity and amounts of the claims of American nationals against the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to fill any vacancy in the same manner that the original appointment was made.

3  Sec. 2. The salary of the Commissioner shall be at the rate of $9,000 a year. He shall have a secretary and such additional legal, clerical, and other assistants as may be
approved and appointed by the Secretary of State, and at such rates of compensation as may be fixed by him within the limits of appropriated funds. Such persons may be appointed without reference to civil-service laws and rules or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended.

SEC. 3. The Commissioner shall be allowed the necessary actual expenses of office rent, furniture, stationery, books, printing, travel expenses when on official business outside the city of Washington, and other incidental expenses which he may certify as necessary and which shall be approved by the Secretary of State.

SEC. 4. Before entering upon his duties the Commissioner shall take a solemn oath faithfully and impartially to examine the claims and to give his decisions in accordance with his best judgment and such principles of law as may be applicable. The decisions of the Commissioner shall be in writing, and shall be final and conclusive as to the merits of all cases decided. No claim within the Commissioner's jurisdiction which shall not have been presented to him within twelve months from the date he enters upon the duties of his office shall be considered by him.

SEC. 5. (a) The Commissioner shall perform his duties in the city of Washington beginning within a period of fifteen days from the date of his appointment. He shall as soon as practicable make all necessary rules and regulations not in-
consistent with this resolution or the laws of the United States, governing the method of procedure before him in carrying into effect the provisions of this resolution.

(b) For the purpose of any investigation which, in the opinion of the Commissioner, is necessary for carrying out the provisions of this Act, he is empowered to administer oaths and affirmations, subpoena witnesses, take evidence, and require the production of books, papers, or other documents which he considers relevant to any case within his jurisdiction. Any person knowingly and willfully swearing or affirming falsely in any such proceedings shall be deemed guilty of perjury and shall, upon conviction, suffer the punishment provided by the laws of the United States for that offense when committed in its courts of justice.

(c) The attendance of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence may be required from any place in the United States at any designated place of hearing. Any failure to attend as a witness or to testify as a witness or to produce documentary evidence in an appropriate case may be regarded as a contempt of the authority of the Commissioner and shall be punishable in any court of the United States in the same manner as is provided by the laws of the United States for that offense when committed in its courts of justice.
SEC. 6. The work of the Commissioner shall be completed within two years from the date on which he undertakes the performance of his duties, at which time the authority vested in him by this resolution shall terminate.

SEC. 7. The Commissioner shall upon the completion of his work submit a written report to the Secretary of State. This report shall include a statement of the expenses of the Commissioner, a list of all claims presented to him, and his decision in each case.

SEC. 8. When the work of the Commissioner is terminated, the records, books, documents, and all property of the United States, in the possession of the Commissioner or his staff, shall be turned over to the Secretary of State.

SEC. 9. Appropriations are hereby authorized for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this resolution, not exceeding $25,000 in any year.

SEC. 10. Any and all expenditures made in carrying out this resolution shall be a first charge on any moneys which have been received, or may hereafter be received, in settlement of the claims described in section 1.

Passed the House of Representatives July 5, 1939.

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.
JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for the adjudication by a Commissioner of claims of American nationals against the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

JULY 6, 1939
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations
JULY 12 (legislative day, JULY 10), 1939
Reported without amendment
For Steve Early's conversation with Rep Taylor  
of Sept 19, 1939.

In re-Neutrality Bill approved in advance by the Administration, should be introduced in the House by Sam Rayburn, the Majority leader. Etc etc etc

See; Steve Early folder-Drawer 2-1939
Memo to the President
From Gen Watson
September 25, 1939

Congressman Snyder anxious to have President proceed on added construction of the Panama Canal without going through formality of a bid etc etc.
Mr. Woodring expects to speak to the President at Cabinet Meeting tomorrow-Sept 26, 1939

See: Watson folder-Drawer 2-1939
September 29, 1939

Copy of the President's Longhand Memo

1. Congress authorizes 191,000
2. Pres under emergency powers
   increases Navy up to 191,000 etc etc etc etc

See: Navy folder-Drawer 1-1939 for original copy
October 18, 1939.

Memorandum for the President
From General Watson

Re-telephone call from Lamont and his report on Senator Bridges on Neutrality; also his talk with Bruce Barton, whom he thought was backsliding, so put Hillis on his trail. Regrets, too, that Al Smith is not amenable to the idea of speaking in Boston.

See: Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939
Memo for Gen Watson from Congr Boykin of Alabama for the President.

In re-Cliff Woodrum giving Ham Fish hell etc etc.

See: Gen Watson folder-Drawer 2-1939
NEWS FROM AMERICA

By Robert Waithman

THIS IS

A MONO those present on
the Danish front at
present is a United
States Congressman named
Hamilton Fish, Jr., Mr. Fish,
as the leader of the American
Delegation at the current
Inter-Parliamentary Union
in Oslo, Norway, has felt im-
pelled to suggest a twenty
day "truce" on the Danish
differences.

He has indeed gone further. The
"New York Times" Correspondent
in Berlin cabled last Saturday an
interview with Mr. Fish in which
there occurred this statement:

"Were he asked to arbitrate in the
Danish issue, Representative Fish
would do so gladly." Up to the
moment of writing the news that
Mr. Fish has been asked to arbitrate
in the Danish issue is not to hand.

Nevertheless, there may be
some confusion in the minds of
readers in Britain who are puzzled
by Mr. Fish's name and so far
unknown to them. Mr. Fish is a fam-
iliar name in New York City. He is
now, however, the Repub-
lican Representative for the twenty-
sixth Congressional District of New
York. It chances that President
Roosevelt's Hyde Park home is in
this district so that the President
is actually one of Mr. Fish's con-
stituents.

This circumstance has given
both the President and Mr. Fish
any noticeable pleasure. Mr. Fish
knows the President is so stupid,
so misguided, and so incapable of guid-
ing the destinies of the United States
that he offered no opposition to the
suggestion made at one of his recent
meetings that the President should
be impeached. What the President
thinks of Mr. Fish is not a matter
for official record.

Mr. Fish is now in Europe as the
consequence of an interesting series
of events. Congress is so carried
away with the promotion of two thousand rounds
each year to pay the expenses of
American delegates to the Inter-
Parliamentary Union, which has
been irrevocably described here as
an "old standby in Congressional
lunatics."

For some time Senator Alben
Barkley, a Democrat, has been
chairman of the New York dele-
gation.

But this year Mr. Fish, according
to published reports, took along
to the meeting of the Inter-Parlia-
mentary Group enough Republicans
to dethrone Senator Barkley and to
install himself and several of his
friends as his chief officers. Having
accomplished which Mr. Fish
drafted a Congressional Bill inviting
the Union to hold its 1940 meetings
in the United States and providing
for a ten thousand pound grant for
entertaining the delegates.

Mr. Fish sailed for Europe before
this Bill could be considered, but
he is said to have been confident of
its passage.

In the meantime, however,
another Republican Representative,
Mr. Timkham, from Massachusetts,
who was not on the delegation,
has been urging certain criticisms
of this proposal. The report is that
he has sent to Mr. Fish in Oslo a
cable reading: "We have thrown
your resolution into waste-basket.

"Mr. Fish's position
with reference to his proposal
that the Inter-Parliamentary Union
should meet in the United States
next year is thus a little confused.

AAS for Mr. Fish's political record
it has been distinguished more
for its energy than for its consis-
tency. Not all Republicans have
been able at all times to
keep pace with him. The "New
York Herald Tribune," as Repub-
ican a paper as ever
denounced the New Deal, described
the Republican Mr. Fish in a recent
editorial as "a somewhat slumbering
gentleman," who "attacks any and
every proposal by the President,
whether it is good or bad." It is

Sensational" and "Dra-
atic" are poor words for
Fish's own announcement:
he is ready to arbitrate in
the Danish issue. But Mr.
Fish has never been inclined
to the sensational or the dra-
tic. He made a speech a few weeks
ago in New York when he
would withhold until after
the adjournment of Congress
his view on whether he would
vote for a Republican nomination for
the Presidency next year but would
understand that Mr. Fish was hearing
an investigatory committee
of the House of Representa-
tives that the President had
claimed to have discovered in the
stockyards of the great Baltimore
railroad in which he played a part in 1938.

The story may well have acquired
some embellishment through the years,
but as it stands now it is that Mr.
Fish was hearing an investigatory
committee of the House of Represen-
tatives, in which he presided,
that the President had discovered
a subsidiary of the Union Pacific
Railroad in which he was interested.

If ever Mr. Fish should fail for
the next United States Congress
the answer will probably be a
deflatation of the President's
status which was likely.
Jasper, Alabama
November 7, 1939

Dear Mr. President:

I have just received your telegram in answer to my wire to you about the information that had come to me relating to the atmosphere in the Wage-Hour office at Washington.

I very greatly appreciate your attention to this matter and your courtesy in wiring me the information that you developed. I feel sure that after your inquiry about the matter that if there had been any intention to eliminate or suppress people from the South from the Washington headquarters that it will not be further followed. Please accept my thanks.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Baruch
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/9/39
MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL WATSON

Representative McCormack telephoned. He said:

"The reaction I have got on this transfer of boats by the United States Lines is that it would violate the spirit of the law. I think it is loaded with dynamite. The impression would be that it is an overt act. If it had been granted beforehand that would be one thing but, starting afterwards, my frank impression is that there could not be any other construction placed on it. In fact that is the reaction."

[Signature]

For the President
Warm Springs, Ga.,
November 27, 1938.

Dear Luther:-

That is a very sweet note of yours but I don't think the time has come for the party nationally to imitate certain recent methods in Kentucky and a few other places.

Besides that, can you imagine F. D. R. as a Judge — I can't!

Always sincerely,

Honorable Luther Patrick,
Birmingham,
Alabama.
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

The time has come—I never thought it would—when we may consider the Happy Chandler system. If Vice President Garner really desires to be President of the United States an appointment of our present Chief Executive to the Supreme Court would prove his true democracy—and solve his case.

Our only trouble, you, Mr. President, have never gone in for that sort of politics, but Mother Nature (or the Good Lord) has made so many repeated passes at you recently that I yielded to temptation to write this letter.

Yours most sincerely,

Luther Patrick.

This is not accompanied by any statement to the press or to anybody else, let me assure you.
Telegram to the President from John McDowell opposing article in School Life entitled "To American Educators". He protests because he thinks that the Government should not print an article outlining the educational and political policies of the Hon. Paul McNutt etc. A letter from Jim Farley is attached of Dec 13th telling the Pres not to pay any more attention to it.

See: Farley folder-Drawer 1-1939

December 4, 1939
In re-correspondence on TNEC
See: TNEC folder - Drawer 2-1939
LIST OF MESSAGES TO CONGRESS

1. JANUARY 4th or 5th  
   BUDGET MESSAGE

2. JANUARY 6th  
   WPA FUNDS

3. JANUARY 10th  
   ARMAMENT

4. JANUARY 12th  
   PHILIPPINE TREATY AGREEMENT

5. JANUARY 20th  
   SOCIAL SECURITY

6. JANUARY 25th  
   HEALTH (Transmitting of the report and asking for study)

7.  
   REORGANIZATION (?)

8.  
   RAILROADS (I might be able to do this with a letter to the two Chairman, sending the report of the railroad group and sending suggestions that have been made by Sullam of I.C.C.)
January 16, 1940.

My dear Mr. Speaker:

Last month when the Republic of Finland paid the regular installment on her debt to the United States, I directed the Secretary of the Treasury to place the money in a separate account pending such action, if any, as the Congress might desire to take with respect to it.

There is without doubt in the United States a great desire for some action to assist Finland to finance the purchase of agricultural surpluses and manufactured products, not including implements of war. There is at the same time undoubted opposition to the creation of precedents which might lead to large credits to nations in Europe, either belligerents or neutrals. No one desires a return to such a status.

The facts in regard to Finland are just as fully in the possession of every Member of the Congress as they are in the Executive Branch of the Government. There is no hidden information; and the matter of credits to that Republic is wholly within the jurisdiction of the Congress.

This Government will have early occasion to consider a number of applications for loans from citizens and small countries abroad, especially in Scandinavia and South America. That raises the question for the determination of the Congress as to whether my recommendation made to the Congress some months ago, for enlarging the revolving fund in a relatively small sum, for relatively small loans, should be considered. It goes without saying that if the applications for loans can be acted upon favorably by the Congress, this matter will be kept within the realm of our neutrality laws and our neutrality policies.

An extension of credit at this time does not in any way constitute or threaten any so-called 'involvement' in European wars. That much can be taken for granted.
It seems to me that the most reasonable approach would be action by the Congress authorizing an increase in the revolving credit fund of the Export-Import Bank and authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase loans and securities from the Export-Import Bank to enable it to finance exportation of agricultural surpluses and manufactured products, not including implements of war.

It is wholly within the discretion of the Congress to place a ceiling on the amount of such loans. Whether this legislation should include an additional increase in the revolving credit fund of the Export-Import Bank, in order to provide for additional loans to increase our trade with South and Central America, is also within the discretion of the Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable William B. Bankhead,
Speaker of the House of Representative,
Washington, D. C.
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

April 3, 1940

THE WHITE HOUSE

APR 3 12 51 PM '40
RECEIVED

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

Dear Mr. President:

We had victory again yesterday. In my own
district, where I am the leader, the vote was
Bogan and Fay, 2,139; McNaboe and Smith, 399.
In Senator McNaboe's own district (the gentleman
who introduced the resolution against the third
term in the State Legislature) I received 240 votes;
he received 32.

Nuff said! Please do not answer.

Sincerely yours for a
third term,

James H. Fay
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.
April 6, 1940.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

I am convinced that the Party cannot win this Fall unless it has you, or Wheeler as its candidate.

I do not believe that Secretary Hull would have a chance. In the first place he is too old. The only thing he has is the trade agreement program, and, right or wrong, that would mean he would lose the entire West. I doubt if he would carry a State west of the Missouri River.

Garner is out as he is too old and too reactionary, although he would receive a larger popular vote than would Hull.

McNutt is definitely out. I don't think he would carry a State other than his own. Somehow he is not taken seriously.

As to Farley, he would make an ideal candidate for Vice President with Wheeler for President. Farley can organize and he knows where the votes are.

We must face facts. The trend is Republican. Dewey apparently has the pole and will make a hard campaign. He has caught the eye of the people. Maybe it is his mustache. You, or Wheeler, can more than meet him on the stump, and you are the only ones mentioned who could.

You need have no fear of Wheeler's liberalism. I have known him since 1910, and intimately so. In the old days in Montana, the Democratic Party was divided into two tongs -- "Corporation" and "Walsh". Wheeler was always definitely "Walsh". That should be an answer to any doubt as to his liberalism and independence. I saw him when he practically starved, but he remained independent. He may temporarily get off of the "reservation" but like the "erring husband", he will always come back home.

I am making these observations because I am apprehensive of the future of the Party.

Sincerely,

James F. O'Connor.
PSF: Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 4, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

F. D. R.
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

June 4, 1940

Dear Jere:—

Thank you for yours of May twenty-ninth. I really do hope you can get H.R. 9314 through as fast as possible because in a very real sense national defense requires that we have no trouble with the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and Hawaii use their own judgment in spending the revenues that are returned to them. In this bill such use would depend on the approval of the President. Therefore, there will be no waste of the money.

I have a certain personal pride in this also because President Hoover called the Virgin Islands the "poorhouse" of the United States. We have already accomplished much down there but if this bill goes through it will, in my judgment, remove the stigma perpetrated on them by Hoover. I promised to do this when I first visited the Islands in 1934. Do help me to keep the promise.

As ever yours,

[Signature]

Mendable Jere Foster
My dear Mr. President:

I am returning to you Congressman Jere Cooper's letter of May 29. I do not know what is the matter with the man. Congressman Doughton has not been able to pry this bill loose from him and seems to hesitate to use pressure. Cooper complained loudly that he had not heard from you in favor of the bill, and then when your letter reached him, he made the statement that he did not believe that you had written it. He also complained that he hadn't heard from me, and when I called him by telephone about the time that you wrote to him, I found myself talking to a stone wall.

Cooper won't even discuss this legislation, but it is evident that something is eating him up. When the Coal Administration was sent over here we had to dismiss a brother-in-law of his when we cut into the excess employees. Later, however, we found another job for him and Cooper told us that he would let us know if his brother-in-law wanted it. Since then we have heard nothing.

I am hoping that you will be willing to sign this second letter to him, and, if it would not be too great a burden, perhaps Steve Early might call him up to put on a little extra pressure. It is really important that we should have this legislation, and the session is drawing to a close.

Sincerely yours,

Harold I. Stimson

The President,
The White House.

Secretary of the Interior.
May 29, 1940

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I appreciate your very kind letter of yesterday relative to the Bill, HR 9214, in the interest of the Virgin Islands, and I am grateful for the information you have given me. I assure you that this measure will certainly continue to receive my most careful attention and consideration.

As you know, we are now working diligently on the Bill to increase the debt limit and provide revenue for your National Defense Program.

Again assuring you that I am always glad to be of service in every way possible and with kindest personal regards and sincere best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

Jere Cooper

MEMBER OF THE
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
My dear Congressman Cooper:

I have your letter of May 29 and I wonder whether you understand my real concern that H.R. 9214 should be passed at this session.

In ordinary circumstances this bill should be passed but the occasion now is even more pressing. We must not forget that the Virgin Islands, located as they are, necessarily constitute one of the outposts of our national defense. And our defense is not merely a matter of armaments and ships and airplanes. It is also a matter of a satisfied citizenry that thinks that it is getting the consideration to which it is entitled.

This bill, if passed, would only give to the residents of the Virgin Islands the same consideration that Puerto Rico and Hawaii already have under similar laws. The only difference is one that discriminates against the Virgin Islands rather than favors it. Puerto Rico and Hawaii may use their own judgment in spending the revenues that are returned to them, whereas expenditures that will be made if this bill becomes a law would require the approval of the President.

I appreciate your interest in the bill that you referred to, to increase the debt limit and provide revenue for the national defense. But H.R. 9214 has been pending so long before your sub-committee that I am hoping that you will be able to report shortly to the full committee for the reasons that I have stated.

Sincerely yours,
Sept 9, 1940

Telegram from Jim Rowe to Grace Tully

Re: New Mexico Senate primary Saturday Sept 14th.
Iukes and Dempsey protesting against Chavez etc etc
Iukes telegram of Sept 10th to FDR re Dempsey attached.

See: Jim Rowe-Administrative Assts folder-Drawer 1-1940
with whom we maintain diplomatic relations and his determination to police and guarantee the world.

I believe that I can say without any reservations that the Republican Members of the House of Representatives are unanimously for Mr. Wilkie in his efforts to keep America out of war and will back him to the limit. I shall be glad to take the stump in the Middle West when Congress resumes to campaign for such issues as Americanism, national defense, keeping out of war, and the election of Wendell Wilkie in order to guarantee the fulfillment of this program.

The Congress must not adjourn, but stay in session throughout the fall to see that any emergency at home or abroad, in safeguarded national defense, to preserve our free institutions, and to keep America out of foreign wars. [Applause.]

Mr. BABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BABATH. Mr. Speaker, once again the gentleman from New York, who has said so much. We know when he is talked, is wasting his energy by coming to the defense of one Wendell Wilkie. I presume that the man he is referring to is the same man who is the Power Ticket candidate for President on the Republican ticket, and whose rough treatment in several places in Michigan has been most disgracefully deployed by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. WOOSTER). Though I myself personally regret these occurrences, I cannot help but feel that Candidate Wilkie is bringing these attacks on himself by his reckless, harsh, contradictory references to the present administration. His misrepresentations are sometimes so bold and maliciously untrue as to be unworthy of a candidate for the great office of the Presidency. Mainly in the art of campaign he will be and is regarded not only in Michigan but in every section of the United States.

The gentleman from New York states that Mr. Wilkie in a letter to the voters he does not know which one and why changing all the time what he is going to do to either of them. In any case, he is once more endorsing an outstanding Rockefeller policy. I must admit that Mr. Rockefeller as a candidate does seem to have some common sense, for he has now endorsed nearly all of the administration policies. The candidate also stated that he will employ for 9,000,000 unemployed. He does not mention the fact that most of the 18,000,000 that were unemployed under the Hoover administration during 1929, 1930, and 1931 have already been reabsorbed in industry under the Roosevelt administration, that there are comparatively few able and willing to work still out of employment. The last report, as of October 1, revealed but 6,000,000 unemployed. Many of these, no doubt, are unemployed because of age, illness, or for other reasons.

I would appreciate it if the gentleman from New York or his candidate, for whom he states he is now willing to take the stump, would take the people into their confidence and tell them how and in what manner he will reemploy all those still remaining unemployed.

But, as we all know, this foot-hold promise of Candidate Wilkie is just another of the many reckless bids that he is making in his mad dash for the White House, which he is destined never to reach.

The gentleman from New York states that he is speaking for the Republican membership of Congress. Though I dislike to question my colleagues, I doubt very much that any considerable number of those 40 Republican Members who once stated Mr. Wilkie's nomination would be a public calamity would be willing to stimulate themselves now by saying too much. I am informed, by the way, that the gentleman from New York (Mr. Paun) will this evening broadcast a speech on behalf of Mr. Wilkie. I do not think he will have any effect at all. He has a tough job on hand.

I also sympathize with him because he, being a smart man, must recognize as well as I do that a vast proportion of the voters have already made up their minds to reject Franklin Roosevelt. This I am sure they will do regardless of the number of speeches that may be made by the gentleman from New York. It is rumored, by the way, that the former President, Herbert Hovever, of Ohio, is paying for speeches for Mr. Wilkie.

Democrats are wondering whether this is a threat or a sincere, honest attempt to campaign for such issues as Americanism, national defense, keeping out of war, and the election of Wendell Wilkie in order to guarantee the fulfillment of this program.

The Congress must not adjourn, but stay in session throughout the fall to see that any emergency at home or abroad, in safeguarded national defense, to preserve our free institutions, and to keep America out of foreign wars.

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The Congress must not adjourn, but stay in session throughout the fall to see that any emergency at home or abroad, in safeguarded national defense, to preserve our free institutions, and to keep America out of foreign wars.
Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan, Mr. DILL and Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois, by unanimous consent, were granted permission to extend their own remarks in the Recess and include therein a part of a speech made by the late Speaker Champ Clark.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Recess and to include therein a part of a speech made by the late Speaker Champ Clark.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Recess and to include therein a letter from William L. Oorem.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Recess and to include therein an address by Raymond Moley at Stamford, Conn., on October 1.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks on the subject The Present Day in Religious Trends.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

Mr. FISHER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by incorporating in the Recess the radio speech just referred to that I expect to deliver tonight.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

Mr. HANKEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Recess and to include a paragraph from a magazine and some data which I have compiled on the petroleum question.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.)

SOLDIERS’ AND SAILORS’ CIVIL RELIEF ACT OF 1940

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H. R. 1359) to promote and strengthen the national defense by suspending enforcement of certain civil liabilities of persons serving in the Military and Naval Establishments, including the Coast Guard, and that the bill may be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not—I am perfectly willing to have this bill brought up without a rule; but, inasmuch as I wish to speak on this bill, I ask the gentleman if I may not have 10 minutes.

Mr. MAY. I certainly would not object to 10 minutes, but I should like to ask the gentleman if he would not take 8 minutes?

Mr. FISHER. No; I want 10 minutes on the bill. I am willing objection to there not being a rule.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc.

ARTICLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 100. That in order to provide for, strengthen, and expedite the national defense under the emergency conditions which are threatening the peace and security of the United States and to enable the United States to make and comply with all agreements and obligations, by which the United States agrees to fulfill the requirements of the national defense, provision is hereby made to suspend enforcement of civil liabilities, in certain cases, of persons serving in the military service of the United States in order to enable such persons to serve in the military service of the United States, and to strengthen the national defense, and the following provisions are made for the temporary suspension of civil liabilities of persons in such service during the period hereinafter specified over which this act shall become effective:

Sec. 101. (1) In the civil liabilities of persons in the military service of the United States, as intended to be suspended hereby, shall include the following persons and no others:

(a) Members of the Army of the United States, the United States Navy, the United States Marine Corps, the United States Coast Guard, and all officers of the Public Health Service detailed by proper authority for duty with said military services;

(b) Persons serving in the military service in pursuance of the call of the President, as provided by law, for the enrollment of such men and women as may be necessary or required for the national defense, as training or education under the supervision of the United States preliminary to induction into the military service. The term "active service" or "active duty" shall include the period during which a person in military service is absent from duty on account of sickness, wounds, leaves, or other lawful cause.

(2) The term "period of military service," as used in this act, shall include the time between the following dates: For persons in active service at the date of the approval of this act it shall begin with the date of approval of this act; for persons entering active service after the date of this act, with the date of entering active service. It shall terminate with the date of discharge from active service or death while in active service, but in no case later than the date when this act ceases to be in force.

(3) The term "when used in this act with reference to any right alleged to exist against a person in military service or against a person secondary to that person, shall include not only the services, organizations, and any other forms of business association.

(4) The term "person," as used in this act, shall include any court of competent jurisdiction of the United States or of any State, whether or not a court of record.

Sec. 102. (1) That the provisions of this act shall apply to the United States, its several States and Territories, the District of Columbia, and all territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, including the Trust Territories, the Canal Zone, and the Philippine Islands while under the sovereignty of the United States, and to proceedings commenced or actions pending in any court of the United States, and obtaining in such courts or under such regulations as may be prescribed.

(2) When under this act any application is required to be made to a court in which no proceeding has already been commenced with respect to the matter, such application may be made to any court.

Sec. 103. Whenever pursuant to any of the provisions of this act the judgment of any officer or public or private body, the personal, or any suit or proceeding, the entry or enforcement of any order, writ, judgment, or process of any of the courts or any other court, may be stayed, postponed, or suspended, such stay, postponement, or suspension may, in the discretion of the courts, be granted to persons, guarantors, endorsers, and others subject to the obliga-
10-8-40

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

This letter from Governor Bailey stating that he would like to appoint Congressman Clyde Ellis to the Senate to succeed Senator Miller, in case Miller is appointed a Federal Judge, was given me by Congressman Ellis.

The whole question is, will Senator Miller resign and take his seat as a Federal Judge before January 12th, the day that Governor-elect Adkins becomes Governor.

Congressman Ellis says that a word from the President to Miller would accomplish this. If the President does not desire to speak to Senator Miller himself for any reason, I feel that Congressman Ellis might do it, if you think that the better plan.

E.M.W.
State of Arkansas
Office of the Governor
Little Rock

October 5, 1940

The President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You undoubtedly are intimately familiar with the effective service which Congressman Clyde Ellis has been rendering, especially in relation to hydroelectric power development. For this and every other reason of which I can conceive, he would be fully acceptable to the Arkansas public as one of the senators from this state.

You probably are not so familiar with the relationship between Congressman Ellis and myself. Suffice to say that we have seen eye-to-eye politically over the course of our entire political careers. Furthermore, there is a personal relationship which transcends political alignments and which is accurately referred to as genuine personal friendship.

If, therefore, Senator Miller should vacate his place in the Senate in response to your appointment of him to fill the vacancy on the federal bench in western Arkansas created by the death of Judge Heartssill Ragon, I would be most happy to appoint Congressman Ellis to succeed Senator Miller if this is in line with your own judgment about how Arkansas could be most effectively represented in the Senate immediately.

With great esteem and kindest personal regards, I am

Respectfully yours,

Carl E. Bailey
Governor
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10-10-40

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Congressman Ellis gave me this and I promised to see that it got in your hands.

He seemed to think it most vital.

E.m.w.

E.M.W.
MEMORANDUM NOTE

Mr. President:

In re the Senator Miller appointment and the Senate vacancy, I suggest:

1. You submit Senator Miller's nomination to the Senate immediately after the election

2. on the condition that he at the same time tender his resignation, effective then.

(The reason for waiting until after the election, so far as his successor is concerned, is to make sure that the prohibition against an appointed officer running to succeed himself is removed. It is to be voted upon and since it is tied into an unpopular run-off primary, likewise being voted upon, it is a good bet.)

Whereupon Governor Bailey, who will still be governor more than two months (until January 13) will, as agreed, appoint Ellis. Ellis will be seated at once and will have served more than two months and Miller will have served on the bench more than two months, relieving a congested court docket, before Adkins ever becomes governor.

This could not irritate Adkins for (1) it should not wait that long and (2) Ellis is the only man in or from Arkansas who has made a fight for the development of our waterways — to which Adkins is also committed.

You are not any too anxious to appoint John anyway, as I understand it, but John is anxious for the bench job. John hates Bailey but he is very friendly to Ellis — for you recall he sent Ellis to see you.

John will give you his resignation effective on confirmation provided you will just tell him that is what you want.

Bailey is anxious to do this, so if you will tell me so I can tell Bailey that you will tell John to just turn in his resignation at the same time — as indeed you have every right in the world to do — we'll rest easy till after the election. (Ethically a Senator should be willing to resign even before his name is submitted, I think.)

Many, many thanks,

[Signature]

Bob Jackson tells me he will work this out with John Miller if you say so.

[Signature]
Dear Mr. President:

Your letter enclosing a copy of the letter sent to Sam Rayburn has been received, and I thoroughly agree with your views on the important matter mentioned in your letter to Sam. I appreciate very much your confidence, and the same will not be violated. As I remember, a poet once said:

"Eyes have they; but they see not,
They have ears, but they hear not."

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially and respectfully yours,

[Signature]

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL-

Dear John:

The only other person in the world who sees this letter to Sam, is yourself. I know that you two will understand.

Affectionately yours,

Honorable John McCormack,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.
December 23, 1940.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL:

Dear Sam:

Because of our long-time friendship and intimate association I know you will not mind if I write you in great confidence some thoughts which come to me since the failure of the Republicans, and certain Democrats, to over-ride the veto of the Walter-Logan Bill. Courage -- just sheer courage -- brought that about.

I knew that there was much inclination on the part of Democrats -- the friendly kind -- the "cooperation" kind, to feel, ten days ago, that the veto would be over-ridden. When all is said and done that inclination amounted to a yielding to a probable defeat.

More courageous beliefs prevailed.

I myself must, as you know, be guided by the recommendations of the Democratic Leaders in the House, and while in no sense of the word do I want the advice of "yes men", I do want the advice of fighting leadership, with the adjective "fighting" underscored.

When I got back on Monday last, I did not quite know what to make out of this particular problem -- for some of my friends were pulling long faces and gave me the feeling that the veto would be over-ridden. Others among my friends were telling me that in thirty-six hours victory could be attained, by enthusiasm and team-work, to sustain the President.

You and I and John McCormack are facing a very difficult session. On the success of that session will depend the future reputation of the President and the Speaker and the Majority Leader. It will not help any of the three to meet with a series of defeats in the next Congress.
That is especially true if the three of us, or any one of the three, accepts prospective defeat tamely. Therefore, I renew my ancient feeling that it is better to be defeated while going down fighting than it is to accept defeat without fighting.

The vote last Wednesday is proof of this theory. A very large number of prospective defeats -- not all -- can be turned into victory by carrying on a real honest-to-goodness fight, thereby cutting down the percentage of defeats.

I know you agree and I know that John McCormack agrees.

What I want to get across to both of you before the new session begins is that good fellowship for the sake of good fellowship alone, an easy life to avoid criticism, an acceptance of defeat before an issue has been joined, make, all of them, less for Party success and for national safety than a few drag-down and knock-out fights and an unwillingness to accept defeat without a fight.

You and John have an opportunity to salvage much that would otherwise be lost in the coming session, and you and I know that this means day and night work, taking it on the chin, getting knocked down occasionally, but making a come-back before you are counted out.

I am saying this for the sake of the Party. I am saying this more greatly for the sake of the Nation.

And I know you will understand -- and do your bit.

Always affectionately,

Honorable Sam Rayburn,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
12-30-40

Mr. Early says find out when Rayburn, McCormack, and Cooper will be in the city and make appt for as soon after that time as possible.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 31, 1940.

Miss Jackson:

Congressman McCormack will be back on Thursday, Congressman Rayburn tomorrow and Congressman Cooper's office does not answer. Here now + available.

EAK

[Handwritten notes: General Watson says do not put on desk now. McCormack + Rayburn saw President 1/3/41]
P x
Rhythm. McTernak, Cooper
A talk with the new committee
assignments for this early
next week.

E. G. Kirk rookie Nicholas off rules
E. G. Kramer in Gris Kim
(Cleveland)

1930/40
6 12 16 18 20
in 10 6 12 18 20
Letter from Congr Sabath recommending that the President receive small delegation of Americans of Slovak descent who will need in Wash on Oct 17th and 18th.

Attached is memo to FDR from Watson, saying that Sabath refers to appointment with Lithuanians on Oct 17th which was arranged for by or thru Vic Shollis -- also attached is memo from Vic Shollis who says that it has been suggested that FDR make 4 political speeches before election etc, etc.

See: Commerce folder-Drawer 1-1940(Vic Shollis)