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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mexico

México, April 18, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

Agreeable to my promise to write you now and then something "off the record" about the duties, official and otherwise, to which you have assigned me, I am giving myself the pleasure of relating something of the first days since I told you "good-bye", which may have an interest apart from my official reports.

Upon leaving Washington on the night of Thursday, April 6th, the Honorable Fernando Gonzalez Roa and the members of his staff and their wives were courteous enough to come to the depot and wish us bon voyage. It was a gracious act which both my wife and myself appreciated.

We stayed in Raleigh, packing up our belongings (richer in things than we imagined), until Tuesday, April 11th, when more people than could get into the Union Station at Raleigh gathered to say good-bye and wish us well. It reminded me somewhat of the send-off you and Mrs. Roosevelt received from your neighbors at Hyde Park when you entrained for your larger duties.

It was most gratifying at Memphis, where we were entertained at dinner by our old friends Mr. and Mrs. G. T. Fitzhugh, to learn from prominent citizens, mostly connected with the press, that the approval of your actions at Washington was universal. More than that, it was enthusiastic. If the real sentiment prevailing in the section through which I passed makes itself felt in Washington, Congress will have no hesitation in giving the remedial legislation which you have proposed and are proposing. Did you hear of the lady who said that the

only

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

only objection she had to your administration was that it took all her household change to buy four or five editions of a paper every day to see what new thing was happening? But, like the people of Athens, as recorded by Paul, the people have so long tired of static that they welcome change, even change whose reactions they may not fully understand or appreciate. I found everywhere from Washington to San Antonio a feeling that the old order had brought about the debacle and that the attempt to put new wine into old bottles having failed completely, the people were even more eager for a new deal than you can possibly be, and that is putting it strong.

I believe it is quite as true of the railroad executives, and I saw some of the leading ones en route, and of the men who have been employed in positions of importance by big business, as it is of the men in the street. They know their old Gods have been demonstrated to have feet of clay. They do not see any hope for their recovery or for a new day for them except in the sort of sound radical proposals which are emanating from Washington. And this is quite as true of men who opposed your nomination and election, some of them almost as vigorously as Mr. Atterbury, as those who supported you. This feeling is not partisan, it is born in part out of the spirit of hopelessness which fell upon the people in the last days of the Hoover administration when mañana was the watchword in Washington.

Mr. A. D. Bell, Vice President and Passenger Traffic Manager of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, came down with us in his private car and we had the pleasure of dining with him. His courtesy added to the pleasure of our trip. He tendered us the use of his private car for the trip all the the way, but I decided it wiser to decline with thanks. It has been my lifelong principle that no public official should be, or seem to be, under obligations to any man or corporation, even when those proffering the courtesy, as in this instance, were wholly free from any desire to impose obligations.

At San Antonio the Chamber of Commerce invited us to attend a banquet. It was an elegant affair, attended by not only the leading men of the city, but by many beautiful women (you see I still have an eye for beauty, and I suppose every diplomat must have, as well as every citizen). The note of the whole gathering in the addresses made by Mr. Dick Terrell, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and by Mayor Quinn, was one of earnest longing for the changes that have been made and are in the making at Washington, and of faith that given time they

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will bring about restoration. It would have made your heart beat warmer to have seen the supreme confidence and leaning upon you voiced not only in public but in private by leading citizens and newspaper men of that city.

En route to San Antonio we had the pleasure at Austin of seeing our old friends former Postmaster General Burleson and his wife and daughter. The latter is as beautiful as ever, and you remember what a fair young thing she was in the days of the Wilson administration. With his customary eye on finance and economy, Albert told me how many pesos I could buy with a dollar in Mexico, and said: "Josephus, you have the opportunity now to save some money". He knew that I resemble Agassiz in one thing, and one thing only, that I have always been too busy to save or even think of making or saving money, and, as a good friend, he wished to give me some good advice. William Allen White says that every man gets three kicks out of a dollar - one in making it; one in saving it if he is a Scotchman; and one in giving it if his father is an Irishman. Where does a Dutchman of our descent (my great grandmother being a Van Pelt of New Jersey) come in?

[Viereck] I do not know whether you have read the book on Woodrow Wilson by Sylvester Vyrick. He made Colonel House not only the power behind the throne, but really the throne of the Wilson administration. Burleson, who has a personal affection and high regard for House, was indignant that a man who before we entered the war was so pro-German that many people thought he ought to have been arrested, and who was condemned by Wilson, should have assumed to write a life of Wilson. Imagine when you leave the White House having your most bitter critic (who is he, if there is any?) volunteer to write your biography! If living, you would wish him shot before sunrise. I am sure if it be given those who have gone before to know what is transpiring here, Wilson has used his harshest epithet on Vyrick. Of course he could not write an appreciative life, or a fair or a just life, and the whole book is shot through with belittling Wilson, and when you lay it down, if you believe a word of it, you think that House was President and Wilson a mere theorist who did not conceive the great policies which you and I know were not proposed to him by anybody.

I urged Burleson's wife and daughter to use force if necessary to compel Burleson to write his recollections of the Wilson administration. You know Wilson depended upon him very largely in the political activities and in dealing with Congress. His memory is more accurate than that of

any

any member of the Cabinet, particularly about the legislative policies and the methods employed in securing the adoption of executive recommendations. He never was as progressive as we have always been, but so just and honest and clear headed, that his approval of your policies was most gratifying.

"Ma" Ferguson and Jim too (you know Jim said in the campaign that Texas was so great a State that it could not get along with one person for Governor and, therefore, they had to have two, and that was why they elected him and "Ma") had invited us to be the guests of the city at the Governor's Mansion. Unable to stop over, we sent "Ma" a telegram of thanks and expressed the hope that upon some return trip to Washington we would be able to accept their courteous invitation.

Before reaching San Antonio, Mr. L. M. Lawson, the American International Boundary Commissioner, joined me on the train, as per arrangements made from Washington, and went over fully the plans of the Boundary Commission and the provisions of the treaty for river rectification and flood control in the vicinity of El Paso. I see in the papers that the treaty was approved by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. This treaty, as you know, would seek to make the boundary between the United States and Mexico the center of the Rio Grande, by preventing the frequent changes in the bed of the river. Mr. Lawson and the other engineers had worked out a plan by which the land made by the changes in the river bed would be about equal on both sides of the river - that on the side of the United States belonging to us, and that on the Mexican side belonging to the Mexican Government. I marvel that they could work out a plan which would so evenly divide the land made or changed by the river flow. The acreage was almost the same.

The plan was for the United States to pay 88% and Mexico 12% of the proratable cost of this rectification, which proratable cost would be about \$5,000,000 (the total estimated cost being around \$6,000,000). In determining the proration of cost between the two countries, the Commission gave consideration not only to the gross and irrigated areas and to the economic features and values which are distinct and different in the two countries, but also to the benefits that each country would receive according to the areas and their values rather than the benefits on the sole acreage basis. In his conversation, Mr. Lawson said that these figures of cost were arrived at early in 1930, and, because of the reduction in the price of materials and labor, the total cost of

rectification

rectification would be less than the \$6,000,000 contained in the report of the Boundary Commission.

In this treaty there is no mention of the Chamizal controversy, which has for many years eluded any settlement. I asked Mr. Lawson why this was omitted, as it seemed to me, with the brief time I have been able to give consideration to it, that this is the crux of the whole matter, or rather that it is certainly the most important matter to be settled. Since reaching Mexico City, I understand from the staff here at the Embassy that due to domestic political considerations, the Chamizal issue was not embodied in the River Rectification Convention signed February 1, 1933, but was left for future consideration.

The Chamizal issue is of long standing. Briefly the following is the problem:

On June 15, 1911, the International Boundary Commission, enlarged for the occasion by the addition of a Canadian jurist, Mr. La Fleur, rendered an award to the effect that the international title to the Chamizal tract (part of El Paso) north of the 1864 Rio Grande channel was in the United States and the balance in Mexico.

The American Commissioner dissented. It was held by the Government of the United States that the award was invalid and impossible of execution.

Prior to the rendering of the above decision, the International Boundary Commission had failed to reach a settlement for the adjustment of the issue.

In the negotiations conducted between the two Governments during 1932 for the drafting of a Convention providing for the rectification of the Rio Grande, a tentative agreement was reached for the adjustment of the Chamizal issue. It contemplated the relinquishment by Mexico of her portion of the tract in exchange for another tract of the same area belonging to the United States, and in addition the exchange of the Chamizal award for the Pious Fund award. As stated above, domestic political considerations prevented this agreement from being carried through.

I have no information from Washington as to whether the recommendation of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations will be taken up promptly or not, with the verbal change suggested in his letter to you by Secretary Hull. Unless a special session of the Mexican Congress is called, the matter of this treaty cannot come up until

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its regular session is convened on September 1st. I am not confident enough in my judgment to make any recommendation about it, but, as a horseback opinion, I would feel that inasmuch as the Mexican Senate will probably not act upon it until September, it might be well if the United States Senate did not ratify the treaty until after my conversation with Dr. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Puig wishes at an early date to discuss with me all the matters relating to claims between the two Governments, in the hope that a solution for a lump sum may be agreeable to both Republics, and settle what has come to be the modern Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce case. These Special and General Claims Commissions came into being as a result of the Bucareli Conferences of 1923. They were organized in August 1924, but have not held many sessions for one reason or another; consequently very little progress has been made during all these years. At the present rate of progress, your son Franklin's grandchildren would be gray headed before all these claims could be heard and determined. Before I left Washington you will recall we talked about this matter and also I took it up with Secretary Hull, and I gathered that you both thought that it was best that the appointment of the Presiding Commissioner of the General Claims Commission should be delayed until after my conferences with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, when I could report what he has in mind.

At Nuevo Laredo, General Rodolfo Casillas García of the Mexican army, together with five other officers, got on the train and accompanied us to Mexico City. These soldiers were spick and span in their bright uniforms and were assigned by the War Department, I understand, to make certain that there were no such demonstrations as some people had feared might take place because of the Veracruz affair. However, at no place was there anything but courteous greetings.

At Nuevo Laredo (which by the way we passed at 2 o'clock in the morning, and I was asleep) the following met the train, and sent greetings through Mr. Stanley Hawks, Second Secretary of the Embassy, who had gone up to San Antonio to meet me: The Chief of the Mexican Immigration Service at Nuevo Laredo; the Chief of the Garrison of Nuevo Laredo; the Mexican Consul and Vice Consul at Laredo.

Mr. Hawks, who is a very able and well informed official, acquainted me with the situation and the desire of the Mexican Government to render all courtesies, and to make sure that no untoward incident occurred. At all points along

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the route from San Antonio to Mexico City, where we have consulates, the Consuls and their wives greeted us from the platform and gave my wife flowers. We also were greeted by official representatives of the Governors of the States through which we passed, and by other State officials. At one city, where there had been unfounded reports that there might be a hostile demonstration by so-called communists, the crowd was quite large, but a more agreeable and courteous gathering I never saw. My wife and I at all places, where we were met by the members of the consular corps and others, left the train and walked on the platform. After we left one place, where we had spent fifteen or twenty minutes on the platform conversing with our officials and those of the Mexican Government, one of the railway officials told me that there was some uneasiness and he thought some of the officials would have been happier if my wife and I had remained on the train and had not gone on the platform and mingled with the people who came to give us welcome. If so, they made no such suggestion. My wife and I were both convinced there was going to be no trouble, and, conscious of our own feelings of friendliness, we expected and received the same sort of courteous treatment as was in our own hearts.

At one of the stops near Mexico City, three secret service men, who were sent, as I was informed, at the direction of the Foreign Office, were introduced to us and accompanied us to Mexico City.

Upon our arrival in Mexico City, the Chief of Police was at the train, with a number of his staff and some soldiers. Many Americans and Mexicans were at the station and the Embassy staff was there. It was a beautiful morning and the welcome was as cordial as we might have expected in our own country, with no untoward incident of any character.

The secret service men who had been assigned to the Embassy remained with us until yesterday, when I, expressing deep appreciation of the consideration, requested that they be withdrawn, as I felt - and those of the Embassy staff felt - there was no need for them, and, as a matter of fact, their presence might indicate that we feared some of the imaginary things that had been published might take place.

You know, and I know, that there is no safety for any man in public life anywhere if there is in the hearts of men a desire to do him injury. It is important, of course, that secret service men should be employed to give every protection possible to the Chief Magistrate, but they did not save Lincoln, they did not save Garfield, and they did

not

not save McKinley. The only way that a man in public life can be perfectly safe from any sort of attack is to be hermetically sealed in a water tight compartment. I think it is better to run some risk than to die of such suffocation and fear. I do not think your wife ever said anything wiser than, after the attempt upon your life at Miami, when she was offered police escort, she declined it, saying that people in public life must know that they must expect whatever happened.

The Embassy and the surrounding grounds are beautiful and every comfort and elegance surround us here, and our first days were made happy by the courtesy of the members of the Embassy staff and others. We had been warned that in this high altitude (Mexico City is almost 7,500 feet, as you know) we might suffer in the first few days. Our son, Dr. Worth Bagley Daniels, advised his mother not to do any walking for the first week. As a matter of fact, we would not have recognized, so far as our feelings are concerned, any change of altitude except one of very mild exhilaration. The weather has been beautiful and we look forward to a very happy time. I wrote one of my daughters-in-law (you know we have four sons and four daughters-in-law. I call the sons the out-laws and the daughters the in-laws) that her mother was so happy that we were really having a second honeymoon.

Please tell Mrs. Roosevelt that we are fully and happily counting upon her coming this summer, and have already selected the room for her, looking out upon a whole garden and wall of the most beautiful flowers she could imagine.

The only fly in the ointment here, and that is not a fly really, is that the distance makes it impossible for me to drop into the White House every few days and have a little controversy with you about whether I shall call you "chief" or you shall go back to the old days and call me "chief". The photograph which you inscribed so affectionately stands on the center table at the residence. As our goods have not arrived, it is, in fact, our only Lares and Penates, and we regard that as very fitting.

My wife joins me in love to you and Mrs. Roosevelt, and all in your family.

Always affectionately yours,

Joseph Daniels



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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, April 26, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Señor Don Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de America:

I have sometimes wondered how a young chicken, confined in the egg shell, felt in the week prior to being emancipated from his dark home and coming into the light. At last I fully understand the feeling. For one week I have been that embryo chicken, neither egg nor fowl, Ambassador designate, but not having a leg to stand on.

Now that I was received yesterday afternoon, with the pomp and ceremony reminiscent of old Spanish grandeur, I really feel like an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, though that mouth-filling phrase almost choked me when I uttered it in the Palace in the address I made to President Rodríguez, presenting your recall of Ambassador Clark (though he went to Utah before you named his successor) and my own letter of credence. It was all very grand and I felt, as Napoleon said in Egypt, "Twenty centuries look down upon you". The Palace is more than three hundred years old, of noble architecture, with magnificent large portraits of Benito Juárez and the other leaders of Mexican Independence and of former days.

As the hoofs of the cavalry horses reverberated through the streets and the populace lined the streets in a parade of splendor, I had to pinch myself to see

if

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

if it was really I who was receiving the honor paid to our country. These people have a sense of color and grandiose ways which we Nordics copy only indifferently. I guess we have as much gold braid and royal red, but not outside the Army and the Navy, and we seem to think it is something not in keeping with democracy. Here it seems indigenus and the people glory in it. And such horses, with soldiers riding as if they had been born in the saddle!

My wife was duly impressed that an Ambassador is something more than a country editor, at least for the time being. Women do not vote here and do not have so large a place in the public eye as with us. My wife and the wives of the Embassy staff were present. She was quite thrilled at the spectacle. The military and officials lent all the necessary color. I wonder if my wife will look up to me now after all that dignified ceremony. Does Mrs. Roosevelt change in her attitude now that you are in the White House? Our wives know us all too well.

In my address to President Rodríguez, after presenting your message of friendly regard, I said:

"In this period when mankind everywhere is moving towards a better social system, it is gratifying that as never before the United States of America and the United Mexican States are facing the necessary changes with no slavish adherence to precedent or tradition. They have rather embarked upon new and well-considered experiments with optimism born of courage. Both are animated by faith that the social order now in the making in both countries will guarantee to all men equality, justice, liberty, and the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labor."

In his message of acceptance of my letter of credence, the President responded in like vein. In accordance with custom, I sent a copy of my address to the Minister for Foreign Affairs so the President could know what he would have to listen to when he received me. His reply was to the exact words I had employed. Referring to the new policies you are inaugurating, in a very delicate and diplomatic way, he virtually said in substance: "We began this reform and

we are glad Uncle Sam is following our lead". Of course his language was much more tactful, but that was the tone of it. Here is what he really said:

"The recognition, so frankly and courageously expressed, of the fact that humanity is passing through a period in which it is obliged to seek a better social system, is of inestimable worth to this country, which was one of the first, in the new social era which is beginning, to decide to take a new course in meeting vital needs and satisfying the demands of collective justice, without feeling bound by precedent or by tradition."

President Rodríguez speaks English very well and was gracious in his welcome. After the formal ceremony we had a brief talk and he requested me to convey his admiration for your courageous progressive policies and to say that Mexico is in hearty accord. He did not mention silver in this brief chat, but in an interview in the press he saw great advantage to Mexico in the contemplated larger use of silver.

He wore the presidential decoration, very beautiful and ornate, in the place where I wore my plain black tie. The difference was as great as the distance between "The Halls of Montezuma" (which I must not mention here) and the News and Observer building in Raleigh.

On Saturday Dr. Puig, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, called by appointment at the Embassy to see me. He brought with him a long twenty-five page discussion of the relations between the United States and this country covering many years. It was in Spanish. It is to be translated. When that is done a copy will be sent to the State Department. I will read it carefully. The conclusion of his long statement is that the long-drawn-out hearings before the Claims Commissions, extending over ten years, have tended to prevent the best feeling between the two countries and have gotten us nowhere. When the Commissions function they cost us \$300,000. a year and Mexico also pays out a large sum for lawyers, Commission expenses, etc., and it is difficult to get a member from a neutral country to serve even when the United States and Mexico can agree upon a presiding officer from a neutral country. As I told you in Washington, I think some fixed sum should be

agreed

agreed upon if possible and the matter settled without another ten years or more of controversy. But there are many things to be considered and some hurdles to jump over before an agreement can be reached. As soon as I secure the translation of Dr. Puig's memorandum, I shall immerse myself in it and then have a conference with him. Mexico has settled all claim disputes with other countries at a very small percentage and thinks we should do likewise. But American claimants are insistent for the large amounts they claim, and Congress will have to O.K. any recommendation we may make. I will keep in close touch with the State Department about this whole subject and will send a translation of Minister Puig's argument.

Speaking of the mañana policies, I know you will be glad of how red tape was out in Washington last week. It will recall to you how it was out in the Navy Department when we were trying to get things done, a la Samuel McGowan's motto: "It can't be done, but watch us do it". One day last week a letter came from Mr. Herschel Johnson, Chief of the Mexican Division in the Department of State, saying, in reference to an inquiry, that the Treasury Department had not been able to get around to paying the \$30,000. Congress had voted some time ago to the families of the Mexicans who were killed in Ardmore, Oklahoma. Congress had acted with remarkable promptness in making the appropriation, but the Treasury was permitting the payment to take its course. The Mexican families, naturally, could not understand why, if the money had been appropriated, they could not get the cash. When the letter came from Mr. Johnson indicating that the Treasury would not act soon, I decided to try to get action. Of course I knew Secretary Woodin had no personal knowledge of the delay. So I dictated a letter introducing Mr. Johnson to Mr. Woodin, and one to Mr. Johnson asking him to deliver it in person and explain to Mr. Woodin that the delay was creating a bad impression in Mexico, and to request him to order payment of the claim at once. As I knew he would do, Mr. Woodin acted quickly, and a few minutes ago a telegram came from the State Department that a check for the amount would reach Mexico City tomorrow. Of course I knew that in the tremendous strain on all at Washington such matters cannot receive quick action. I am recounting this incident to you because I know you would have acted as I did here and as Mr. Woodin did in Washington. It is necessary to cut red tape and I know you will take steps to have it done all along the line as soon as the legislative strain abates and the bigger things are attended to.

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I am taking up with Secretary Hull and Secretary Roper some matters which I hope will result in economy and efficiency. The introduction by Secretary Redfield of commercial attaches was of doubtful wisdom. The extension of employees in the Department of Commerce from 600 to 6000 constituted one of the pieces of extravagance which helped to swell the majority against Hoover. Before I left Washington I promised Secretary Roper to make a study of the situation here and give him my opinion. I am almost ready to report that all matters in foreign countries should come under the State Department and commercial work should all be done through the Embassies and Legations and the consular service. If a consul cannot promote trade as well as a commercial attache, he should give place to someone who can. Hull and Roper may take up with you a policy I have outlined to end duplication and secure unity abroad as well as at home.

The climate is ideal here and my wife and I are very happy. She joins me in love to you and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Afectuosamente, mi querido amigo y Presidente,

Josephus Daniels

P.S.: Nothing makes me quite so happy as to see the progress toward the Muscle Shoals development. If I had not come here, I should have preferred to help carry out that great project than to have had any other assignment under your administration. I take it that Frank Walsh will be called into the great undertaking. I have known him well for many years, but not so intimately as you know him.

J.D.



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, May 18, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

I had a letter to-day from our friend Albert Burleson, former Postmaster General. He is delighted with the suggestion that the American Delegation at London will embrace Cordell Hull, James M. Cox, Key Pittman and Professor Moley. He adds: "I think he should name at least two Republicans, and inasmuch as the conference is not to deal with the debts due America by the European countries, I think Borah should be named as one of the delegates and some intelligent, honest, stand-pat Republican as the other. It may be difficult to make this last selection, if not impossible, but still I think the President should make the effort".

I am venturing to send this to you by air mail for your consideration. You will remember that in naming his delegates to the Peace Conference our chief, President Wilson made a great mistake in not naming two Republicans who had the confidence of their Party, and who would have been supported by the Party at home in their recommendations. It was reported that he was about to send Henry White as one of the members to serve on the Peace Conference as a Republican member. I called at the White House and he was out. I then wrote him a letter saying that in my judgment there was not a man in the Republican Party who would serve the country better than Henry White; that he had the background, the experience and the patriotism; but that he was almost unknown to the leaders of the Republican Party; that he had lived abroad so long and had had so little to do in the political fights of the preceding twenty years, that the active Republicans would not feel that

he was

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

he was their representative. I urged him to appoint two Republicans who had high standing in their Party at that time, and I named a number of them, among them Mr. Taft.

I had a letter from Mr. Wilson the next day in which he thanked me for my suggestion, but said it came too late as he had already asked Mr. White to serve. He appointed Mr. White on Mr. Lansing's recommendation. White and Lansing's father-in-law, Mr. Foster, were very good friends and Foster thought very highly of White. For that matter I did too and do still, but the thing happened in Paris that I feared would happen - nobody regarded Mr. White as a representative Republican and he had no weight, therefore, with that Party in the country.

I agree with Mr. Burleson, that you ought to appoint two Republicans. Mr. Borah has been the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, has the respect and confidence of the country, and has the ability in the Senate and out of it to defend any course which he takes. If he is in sympathy, as I judge he is, with what you are undertaking to do, he would be the ablest advocate upon his return of any man in the Senate or in the country. Of course the difficulty about Mr. Borah always is that he has not shown himself able to do team work and there is always the fear that he will kick out of the traces. Somebody said during the campaign last year there were three political parties in the United States, "the Democratic Party, the Republican Party and Senator Borah." However, in a matter of this great moment I share in Mr. Burleson's feeling that Mr. Borah would be in sympathy and his aid would be of very great value both in London and at home in and out of the Senate.

Of course I would not appoint any man of the Republican Party who was not heart and soul in sympathy with the objects in view. The issue is too great and the hopes are too high to pay any personal compliments. I have no doubt, as Burleson says, that in appointing two Republicans, one of them should be a progressive from the west who has the ear of his Party, and the other should be some man that you know who has no reactionary tendencies. If Senator McNary of Oregon is in sympathy with what you have in view, he would be a good man on the Commission. He is the leader of the Republican Party in the Senate, a man of good judgment and not adamant.

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I may be writing too late and you may already have selected the Commission, but I am constrained to give you these views which are expressed by our friend Burleson, and with which I am in harmony.

Always faithfully yours,

Josephus Daniel

P.S.: Your message to the nations of the earth on Peace rang around the world like a bell pealing for peace. I am glad to see the response. I was speaking in Mexico City on the day your message was printed, and when I referred to it, and declared that it was the precursor of the long delayed peace and amity upon which world restoration and world happiness depend, there was unanimous approval and applause.

JD



PSF Mexico

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
México, May 18, 1933.

Handwritten notes:
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Mexico

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

At Austin, on my way down here, I saw our friend Albert Burleson, former Postmaster General. You will recall that when he was Postmaster General he entered an order establishing a common rate between the United States and all countries on the western hemisphere. It had a most wholesome effect, tending to facilitate trade between our country and the other countries on this continent.

I had a letter yesterday from Mr. Burleson, in which he said that he hopes under the new administration a movement will be set on foot "to bring about the freest trade possible between the United States and all the countries on this hemisphere". He added: "I know it would result in the greatest benefit to our trade".

Mr. Burleson also goes on to say:

"I have been in full sympathy with every action taken by President Roosevelt since the 4th day of last March. If he continues in the future to act with the same wisdom characterizing his conduct since that date, I am sure he will succeed in completely destroying the Republican Party - just as Jefferson destroyed the Federalists and General Jackson destroyed the Whigs."

Of course you did not see it, but in my speech at the banquet at San Antonio, on my way to Mexico, I noted

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Washington, D.C.

the fact that, outside of the circle of a few Republican politicians, the rank and file of the Republicans who did not vote for you (though millions of them did) were backing you up in your progressive and radical (so-called but really conservative) measures. I ventured to predict that, given a full and a fair chance, and with the patience necessary for the working out of the policies, the country would come to see that the "new deal" was to restore in the United States what Jefferson promised in his first inaugural, when, after enumerating the blessings which had come to the new Republic, he asked what more was necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people, and said:

"Still one thing more, fellow-citizens -- a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

In all the years since that statement, the Democrats have stressed the words "shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement", and have jumped to the conclusion that Jefferson was defending unrestrained freedom for people to do as they pleased. Until recently I never have heard the leaders of our Party stress the words "Government ... shall restrain men from injuring one another, ... and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned". You will observe that Mr. Jefferson qualified freedom by these two restraints. You cannot have good government unless men are restrained from injuring one another, and unless every man is free in his enjoyment of what he has earned. What has brought us to the present debacle is the ignoring of these two essentials which Jefferson stressed. The measures which you have proposed are belatedly carrying out the principles which Jefferson enunciated one hundred and thirty years ago. If they had been in existence and enforced, it would not be necessary now for you to be charting what people call a new route to a safe harbor. There would be no need of a "new deal". People would have been in the enjoyment of their earnings, and it would not be necessary for us to be safeguarding them.

It must give you great satisfaction to be able, after the lapse of a hundred and thirty years, to translate Jefferson's ideals into practice.

All the papers here were very enthusiastic about your message to the nations urging an end of aggression. Without aggression on some nation's part, there would have been few wars. I am enclosing you herewith a translation of an editorial from EL NACIONAL, entitled "Roosevelt's call in favor of Peace", showing that here in Mexico there is the same spirit in thoughtful quarters that has found so full expression in the United States.

Faithfully yours,

Josepau Durand

Enclosure.

P S F Mexico

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. of May 19,
1933, from the Embassy at Mexico City.

SOURCE: EL UNIVERSAL
May 17, 1933
Mexico City

FULL TRANSLATION OF EDITORIAL

ROOSEVELT'S CALL IN FAVOR OF PEACE

In another place in this edition we print the important message which President Roosevelt, in the name of the government and the people of the United States, transmitted yesterday to our government, as well as President Rodriguez's reply.

We do not need to emphasize the importance of both documents; that is indicated merely by reading them. They reflect once and for all a firm and serene intention of finding a way out of the tremendous crisis that afflicts the world and threatens to founder it in barbarity and lay in ruins for many centuries the laborious efforts of civilization.

Collaboration is essential for this task, upon which depends the destiny of humanity. The policy of national isolation cannot longer prevail, when the facts demonstrate that it has been definitely proved a failure by the realities of its results.

The United States, which has maintained for this policy a traditional respect, through the voice of its chief magistrate now recognizes that the salvation of all peoples of the earth is linked with joint international action, divested of greed and selfishness. Consequently, the government of Mexico cannot do less than second with enthusiasm an attitude which is in perfect accord with the sentiments which have always inspired its foreign policy. Without any manner of doubt, our people will approve this decision of their government.

The worldwide economic crisis, which is the gravest registered in history, despite the arguments employed to disguise this truth by ingenuous optimists, together with its accompanying damage, misery, the destruction of wealth, hunger and the desperation of millions of men, threatens a danger of terrifying perspectives -- war.

For the material dislocation produced by the crisis creates a deep perturbation in the minds of the people which at times appears to assume the proportions of a veritable collective madness. Hence, to the unbalanced spirits of the peoples, war offers itself to them as a possible solution of their present difficulties. This explains the delirious belligerency which, among some nations, has come to be an important factor in their domestic policy; and correlatively the nervous tension of other countries which regard themselves as being under the perpetual menace of unexpected aggression.

An indication

An indication of this situation is supplied by the unceasing increase of armaments and the constantly increasing palpableness of the inefficiency of pacific tendencies. Nothing now remains of the generous illusions of 1918, when for a time it was believed that the horrible slaughter that was then terminated would be the last. The prospect of peace has never been so ephemeral as at present, even without considering the partial wars in which various countries are engaged.

The decisive influence of the crisis upon the warlike ambient which envelops the nations is too evident to permit of doubt that world peace cannot be assured without the previous elimination of the economic difficulties that afflict the world.

It may be said that another war, if it comes, will merely be another phase of the crisis, from which will perhaps proceed, according to the thought of the wisest men in all countries, the complete ruin of our present civilization. And the crisis itself, in great part, at least, is the result of the bloodless hostility, of the economic war, which since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, has been maintained by the most powerful and wealthy nations.

For this reason we see linked in President Roosevelt's message, as parts of a single whole, his pre-occupation with the problem of disarmament, of the liquidation of the crisis, to be accomplished by a concert of all the nations.

"Common sense tells us," he says, "that if a power refuses to join with genuine sincerity in these concerted efforts toward political and economic peace, one of which is being made in Geneva and the other of which will be made in London, progress may be obstructed and finally blocked. In this case, the civilized world, which seeks both forms of peace, will know where to place the responsibility for the failure. I recommend that no nation assume this responsibility and that all nations taking part in these great conferences transform into action the policies which they profess."

"Inspired by this conviction," replies President Rodriguez, "and by the general sentiments which you demonstrate, Mexico hopes to renew diplomatic relations with the countries with which they have been suspended, and to carry on, if in all cases the occasion is propitious, a policy of understanding, as before set forth, which is the exponent of the acceptance of its international duty of cordiality and cooperation and of its desire for international solidarity. Mexico, which is not and never has been an aggressive country, believes that it will thus provide, in addition to the action which it is purposed to develop in Geneva and in London, a new demonstration that it is absolutely united with you and with the sentiment of the great people of the United States for the realization of the hope of peace and international prosperity."

In response

In response to the frank expression of the urgent necessity that, once for all, acts take the place of words, contained in President Roosevelt's message, Mexico promises the immediate realization of deeds, which, although directly related to continental policy, form part of the joint program of normalizing international cooperation and which supply proof that it is in favor of it, without mental reservations or diplomatic suspicions.

It is to be desired, for the immediate future of humanity and of civilization, that all nations accept, in the same spirit as that demonstrated by Mexico, the elevated and fraternal message sent by President Roosevelt, and that it provide a point of departure for a new era, in which good understanding and an effective sentiment of human solidarity shall be substituted for the deaf egoism and the scarcely disguised hostility which now characterizes the relations between the most representative states of Europe.



PSF Mexico

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, June 5, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

On the day that Pani left for London, my wife and I were guests at the Pani home at a luncheon, at which other members of the delegation and Dr. Puig, Minister for Foreign Affairs, were present. Mr. Pani lives in one of the very old and beautiful houses built in another age. French tapestries adorn the walls, with pictures of historic interest, some by noted artists. "Mr. Pani is an art connoisseur", said a guest to my wife, who turned to Mr. Pani and said: "I hear you are not only a connoisseur of art but also in many other things".

"No, señora, I am a connoisseur in only one thing: my children".

All the same, he was pleased to be regarded as a connoisseur. He is regarded here as an able financier, with much shrewdness and capacity to carry out his policies. In inner circles here he is not regarded as being as favorable to silver as Minister Puig, President Rodríguez or General Calles. As a matter of fact, it was these three who insured the naming of Mr. Constantino Pérez Duarte, an ardent advocate of silver remonetization, on the London delegation. It is generally believed here that Mr. Pani did not wish him on the delegation. One gentleman said to me: "It was believed, however, that it was better to let Mr. Pérez Duarte go to London than to be pressing his views here in Mexico".

Speaking of the outcome of the London Conference to me at the luncheon, and again at the train when I went to see him off, Mr. Pani said: "I am something of a pessimist as to the outcome at London".

Speaking

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

Speaking of "seeing him off" as he started on his journey, it is the custom here, rarely honored in the breach, when a man or woman starts on a trip, for the family and friends to gather at the train to say "good-bye". It is quite a function. When Mr. Pani left, a crowd of at least a hundred gathered - all his relatives, officials of the Department over which he presides, other public officials, and representatives of the Diplomatic Corps.

"Why do you suppose so many people gather at the train to see one leave on a journey?" I asked the fiancé of Mr. Pani's daughter.

He enlightened my ignorance. "It is", he said, with a smile, "a relic of the old times when a journey was perilous. His friends knew he might be done away with by bandits or enemies, or the flood, or some disaster might occur, so he would never come back. It is a way of saying 'good-bye forever' in case the traveller never returned".

In the case of Mr. Pani, the papers made much of his going and of his reception in Washington. He greatly appreciated your courtesies. Mrs. Pani told, with her eyes gleaming, that you and Mrs. Roosevelt accompanied Mr. Pani to the door and were "so nice and so gracious".

After telling me he was a pessimist as to achievement at London, Mr. Pani said: "It is not easy to secure cooperation with European countries. They have their problems which differ from those that concern the governments on this continent. Of course we hope to come to world agreements on trade and currency to permit better world trade. But if European countries are not ready to cooperate fully with us, then our duty is plain: The countries on this hemisphere - the scene of future world greatness - must get together and work in concert for mutual advantages by trade and currency agreements".

Singularly enough, two days later, when Dr. Puig was lunching quietly with me at the American Embassy, he said that if European countries were so straight-laced and nationalistic that they were not ready to act with all nations for the tearing down of barriers of trade, the only thing left for the countries on this continent was to secure a working agreement for mutual advantages. I am sure Dr. Puig and Mr. Pani had not collaborated on the subject. They came independently to the feeling that if the London Conference failed, the door would be

open

open for closer arrangements of all Pan America.

I find that Dr. Puig is looking forward with great interest to the Pan American Conference to be held this fall at Montevideo. I have some views as to that Conference, about which I have communicated with Secretary Hull, and will take up with you after Congress adjourns and you are free to think in terms less than the fate of the whole wide world.

A few days before Dr. Puig came to the Embassy to lunch, he sent word to me by Counselor Arthur Bliss Lane that he wished to have a talk quietly at his home or at a restaurant. I invited him to lunch at the Embassy, supposing that he wished to go further into the discussion of the way to arrive at an en bloc settlement of the long drawn out question of the hundreds of millions of dollars of claims. But he did not mention claims, talking rather of world problems in which Mexico is deeply interested, particularly as to freer trade and the larger use of silver, and to gossip unofficially about other matters. He speaks English well and is an interesting man. He was in his youth a journalist, but, like you, he fell from grace and embraced another profession. He practiced medicine three years in Albuquerque. He was once in jail during a revolution. He has been Ambassador in Spain and France also, I think. He is an authority on Latin America. He has humor, and he keeps posted with things American.

You know the Postmaster General has excluded "Time" from the mails in this country because of an article on General Calles, attributing the lack of a known father to this influential Mexican political leader and "father of the National Revolutionary Party". Here the liberals boast that they stand for revolution. In the United States the people last November voted for revolution, but we shy away from the word "revolution", whereas here the dominant party boasts of being revolutionists, while not as revolutionary in some things as we are. The term "Revolutionary Party" attracts those who hate the old Díaz and Huerta forces, even some who think the present government has not been as zealous to carry out its promises for "Land and Liberty" as was promised. In accordance with a communication from the State Department, I spoke to Dr. Puig about the exclusion of "Time" from the mails in this country. I gathered that the order was issued by the Postmaster General, a kinsman of General Calles, who naturally felt affronted that "Time" should advertise Calles as being born out of wedlock when such is not the case. Dr. Puig agreed to take the matter up with President Rodríguez, in fact had intended to do so on Friday, but
the

the President was not well and postponed the meeting to a later date.

Dr. Puig has done everything possible to make my welcome cordial and my coming acceptable. Last week, at a reception given to my wife at the American Club, in a speech over the radio, Dr. Puig related a conversation that I know will interest you, as it has to do with your administration. After bringing "a cordial salutation" to Mrs. Daniels from President Rodríguez and his wife, whom he had the honor to represent, he said: "The relations between Mexico and the United States are perhaps more cordial than ever before". He then said:

"I cannot but recall in this connection a conversation which I overheard a few days before President Roosevelt took office. A Mexican and an American who, for different reasons, felt themselves profoundly dissatisfied both with the revolutionary Governments of Mexico, the present one, naturally, among them, and the Democratic Administration which was to succeed the Hoover Administration in a few days, were talking together at a social function. In their personal enmity toward both governments, they were saying, the American gentleman speaking first: "I would be capable of forgetting everything and even of feeling myself a friend of the Mexican Government if it were true that it is going to have difficulties with the Democratic Administration", to which the Mexican replied: "The same with me. I could feel myself a friend of the Democrats if they would cease to be friendly with this revolutionary Government of Mexico".

"I smiled. And when, in order to confirm their hopes of disagreement between the new American administration and the revolutionary Government of Mexico, they said that Mr. Morrow had died and ex-President Coolidge also, and that Ambassador Clark and President Hoover were leaving public offices not to return for some time if they returned at all, good friends of Mexico every one and guarantees of cordial relations between the two countries, I simply kept on smiling because I recalled that, while it is true, as once said by Viscount Ishii, the distinguished Japanese statesman at present visiting your country to confer with President Roosevelt, that "it is idle to continue counting the age of dead children," alluding to the uselessness of clinging to things of the past, I realized that it is not dead children but actual

and

and living things which now and always will unite Mexico and the United States; common interests, common needs and realities also, and, finally, ideals increasingly similar, strikingly set forth since before the inauguration of President Roosevelt in his admirable book "Looking Forward", in which are laid down doctrines and measures of a social system very similar in aims and purposes and even in procedures to those of the Mexican Revolution.

"For this reason, ladies and gentlemen, the change of administration not only did not signify an estrangement or a coolness, but, on the contrary, it has strengthened the bonds which must each day become stronger and closer and more enduring. For this reason, also, as a natural result of the "new deal" of the new political and social plan which is being developed in the United States, there has come to us a man of liberal views like Ambassador Daniels. The most I can wish and the most I can say on the occasion of this festivity given in honor of Ambassador and Mrs. Daniels by the American Colony is that the American Colony may find the Ambassador and his wife as delightful as we have found them."

I take it Dr. Puig will talk of the claims later. He has directed his assistant to talk of the details with a member of the Embassy Staff. When they have threshed out some of the matters, he will ask a conference. I will keep you posted.

My wife and I are greatly disappointed that Mrs. Roosevelt could not extend her western trip to Mexico City this month. She agrees to do so later. Her coming would make us happy and be beneficial to the relations between the two countries.

My wife joins me in love,

Affectionately your friend,

Josepau Daniel

PSF TTI cyico



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, June 6, 1933.

[also 6-1-33]

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

If you ever desire to use some cuss words that are not hackneyed, I will give you a few out of my experience. A letter came to the Embassy to-day from a party who had desired us to take some action which it did not seem we had authority to take, and when we asked this party to submit proof before we could pass upon the matter, the answer came that what we asked for would require the party to submit to "an illegal, unconstitutional, tyrannical, destructive, bad, confiscatory and usurping act". If you want to say anything rough about anybody, you can quote that as a Mexican way of giving strong expression without using any real cuss words.

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

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



PSF Mexico

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
México, June 1, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

If I were to write you every time you do something that makes me wish to say "Bravo", you would not have time to do the big things that are characterizing your administration. Instead of taking up so much of your time, I drop a line now and then to some Senator or Representative congratulating the Democrats in Congress for standing firmly behind the progressive (should I not rather say revolutionary?) policies which have been set in motion since March 4th.

Some of my Congressional friends (only a few) have not been as enthusiastic as they should be. In fact, some of our Southern Democrats, who have been too near the power and high tariff influences than was wise, have had to gag several times before they swallowed the Roosevelt medicine. This was particularly true as to Muscle Shoals and regulation of industry. But most of them swallowed it down and concealed their wry faces. I was troubled when a North Carolina Senator failed on some important measures and wrote him saying: "We must hang together, or we will hang separately". I hope our North Carolina delegation will back you up one hundred per cent, but you know the power companies have too much influence in North Carolina and some of our Democratic leaders in the State are too close to these interests which exploit the people. As a matter of fact, while you were opposing control by power in New York and Washington, it is a sad fact that in North Carolina the public agencies were letting the power companies levy rates on a claimed investment of \$275,000,000, while paying taxes on about one third of that amount.

The

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

The fact that most of the money from the Duke Power Company goes to the support of Duke University (Methodist), Furman (Baptist) and Davidson (Presbyterian), and to pay \$1 a day for the care of all indigent patients in all hospitals in both Carolinas, and to the support of all orphanages, enlists support from influential quarters to oppose any reduction in the high rates charged. The Dukes put about thirty million dollars in the Duke Power Company and earn dividends on one hundred million dollars. The Carolina Power Company (owned by the Electric Bond and Share Corporation of New York) a few years ago issued twenty million dollars worth of what you properly called "phantom stock" and they charge rates to earn dividends on the water.

But you know more how utility companies operate than I do. Insull was but the biggest plunger, but neither worse in principle nor better than the others.

I am glad you are making some changes in the Federal Trade Commission. I think highly of Mr. Davis. President Wilson's idea in creating that Commission was to prevent monopoly. He did not wish to wait until a trust had become powerful and then try to convict it for violation of the Sherman Law. He said business ought to know what it could do legally. He wanted a legal body organized on the theory of "an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure". McReynolds and Garrison, "black letter lawyers", opposed Mr. Wilson's idea and thought the old way of waiting for violation of law, before acting, was the only one. It was such positions as that, held by McReynolds and Garrison and like lawyers who worship at the feet of the God of Precedents, that made Mr. Wilson impatient at what he called "the legalistic obstructions to justice".

Putting new blood into the Federal Trade Commission is gratifying. Of course, as you know, the World War dislocated all regulatory processes at Washington. Big Business got in the saddle and has been riding hard ever since. Harding made the Federal Trade Commission a refuge for the trusts, more their defender than protector of the people. It was not until Walsh forced an investigation into the operations of the Power Trust - buying newspapers, subsidizing colleges and the like - that the Federal Trade Commission did anything to earn its salt after Wilson's day.

Then, under the direction of the Senate, it put an able lawyer to work, and discreditable disclosures were

brought

brought to light. But even then, up to date, no investigation has been made of the Duke Power Company (Duke was associated with Mellon in Canadian power companies) or some of the other big companies which need "pitiless publicity". As you change the personnel of that Commission, I hope you will instruct the members to push the power investigation. I understand they claim they lack the money. If that is so, they ought to call off employees engaged in inconsequential investigations, and concentrate on Power investigation, so you and the country will have a clear picture of how much cash money has been invested in the big utility companies and how much "phantom stock" has been issued.

In the Morgan disclosures you have, of course, observed that most of the velvet came from utility shares in the companies where the concern was caught red-handed in favoritism. Who paid the ten millions of "rake-off" that the Morgans made? People who used power and light - a burden on industry and families beyond any justification.

The disclosures that men holding high place in the banking world, making big profits, were evading paying income tax, is a national scandal. If Al Capone should be in prison for failure to pay income tax, why should the over-rich who evade just taxes be running at large?

In this connection, it heartened the world when you told Chairman Fletcher "to go to the bottom". I wrote Fletcher (an old friend) a confidential letter of congratulation. I am sure if Mr. Woodin will investigate, he will find that many other favorites have escaped paying income tax. The big refunds given Steel and Oil and like companies, if probed by experts like Pecora, would reveal much more rottenness in the Treasury Department than was even disclosed in Denmark. The spectacle of scores of defeated Congressmen settling in Washington and using their "pull" to make big fees by securing tax reductions and refunds has been nothing short of a national scandal. I hear some prominent Democrats, hoping for like big fees and commissions, are opening offices in Washington.

In this connection, I am sure you have in mind, as soon as the international and other pressing big things give you opportunity, to direct a study of the present intricate income tax laws. They need to be made so plain that our average business man may make out his tax return without employing costly experts and lawyers who fatten by reason of the present intricacies in the law and its operation. Nothing would be more popular than a simplification of the law, and it would reduce the evasions and

increase

increase the revenues.

I observe that the Treasury Department dismissed the representative of the Department who passed on Mitchell's income tax returns. A wholesale dismissal of employees who have been blind to the evasions by men in high positions, to be replaced by diligent, honest men, in sympathy with your policies, will be well received and will increase the needed revenues. I do not believe a government can function well unless its agents are in hearty accord with its administrative policy. Andrew Jackson went too far in "to the victor belong the spoils", but Jefferson had the better idea as to appointments, when he wrote to Dr. Barton in 1802:

"The republicans have been excluded from all offices from the first origin of the division into republican and federalist. They have a reasonable claim to vacancies till they occupy their due share."

History repeats itself. Democrats have been excluded since 1921. Worse than that, Republicans who wished a square deal have also been excluded in favor of the proteges of privilege. I know you will wisely change that situation in all departments. It is a big task.

I would go a little further than Jefferson and create vacancies by removing those put in by political considerations by your Republican predecessors, and name in their places in important positions, wherever the appointment is not under civil service laws, those who are keen to see your Administration successful. Partisans of your predecessors will not be keen to execute your policies.

In connection with the Morgan investigation, it seems fortunate that our friend Carter Glass is not Secretary of the Treasury. He is able and honest and I hold him in high esteem. However, he is an individualist to the nth degree. In the Morgan matter, I think unconsciously he is influenced in his criticism of Pecora by his high regard for Mr. Leffingwell. You may recall that when Glass (then Secretary of the Treasury) resigned to accept appointment to the Senate, he urged Wilson to appoint Leffingwell as Secretary of the Treasury. He said that he was the best man for the place, and he is a high class man. I went to see Mr. Wilson and urged him to name a Democrat who was interested primarily in the success of his adminis-

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tration and in the continuance of the Democratic Party in power. Glass was disappointed that Wilson did not accept his recommendations for Leffingwell, who later went with Morgan, thereby showing he was not deeply concerned with policies to put an end to favoritism or privilege. Glass knows nothing of team work, and it is better for him and for you that he remain where he feels team work is not required.

I am glad to see Senator Couzens is going to London as the Republican member. He has independence and courage, and wears no man's collar.

With my affectionate regards and congratulations on the great achievements of your administration in its first few weeks, I am, as ever

Faithfully yours,

Josephus Daniels

no answer is expected. Submitted, in accordance with our understanding, for such consideration as it may justify. J.D.



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, June 8, 1933.

PSF Mexico

Mexico

*File -
"Dunick"*

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

I had it coming to me, I guess, but to-day I experienced the worst jolt since I reached Mexico. Going from the Chancery to the Embassy for luncheon, my wife met me with a copy of a paper containing your address delivered at Annapolis (we are about a week behind in reading the papers from home). "I have often told you", she said, "that if you did not quit making long speeches, it would bring you trouble".

Of course I knew she inferred that, having to listen to my long speeches, had brought her to weariness of the flesh.

"What are you talking about now?" I asked her.

"The worst I had long feared has happened. This paper says that upon the occasion of his recent visit to the Naval Academy, the President of the United States told the graduates and the Naval officers and their assembled relatives that on one occasion when he attended June week exercises he had to listen to your long speech before you presented the diplomas. He added that it was so long and dull that he fell into slumber from which he had to be rudely awakened. I am mortified to think that the President of the United States in a public address should feel it a duty to give you such a severe rebuke. I guess you will never again inflict a long speech on any audience."

She kept such a straight face that I said: "You are joking".

"If you don't believe me, look at the paper."

I did so, and of course saw, as the Raleigh man said

on

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

on the witness stand, you were "a naming of no names". I said to her that she had misrepresented President Roosevelt's speech, for he did not refer to me at all.

"Yes, he did. I remember when he was present one June week when on a hot day you made a very long speech. It could have been no other time that he fell asleep, for I'd have gone to sleep myself if I had not been your wife. I think you ought to write to the President and thank him for his mercy in not calling your name. It was most considerate in him not to mention the date or give the name of the speaker who put him to sleep".

Is a man's wife always his best friend?

I liked your Annapolis speech. The need of a graduate of Annapolis is to be a part of the world in which he lives. The tendency is toward aloofness or confining their work and interest to men who work for Uncle Sam, chiefly in the Army and Navy, and in living in cliques. You gave them the very advice they needed.

With my affectionate regards,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

PSF Mexico
File



DEPARTMENT OF THE
INTERIOR OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

México, June 26, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

There appeared a short time ago an article in EL UNIVERSAL entitled "Human Law and President Roosevelt", which I had translated here. I am enclosing it, thinking you might like to see the opinion in which you and your policies are held by a prominent writer in this country. You will observe that he thinks you have made an admirable interpretation of the present moment, and that is the general opinion in Mexico.

With sentiments of esteem and high regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph Daniels

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

Enclosure.

SOURCE: EL UNIVERSAL
June 13, 1933
Mexico City

(FULL TRANSLATION OF CONTRIBUTED
ARTICLE)

HUMAN LAW AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

By ERNESTO LOZANO G.

The study of World History reveals to us that Law, more than a philosophic concept, is an historic concept, since it is History which describes its development down the centuries, showing us how it came into being and how it has been developing under the impulse, often unconscious, of those who have pretended to be its creators, but who in reality have been only instruments of the times led by the irresistible and inevitable force of the law of evolution.

The concept of Law goes back to the first dawn of the idea of authority; and it is logical to suppose that in the early history of mankind the arbitrary will of this authority was the only law existing, whose decisions and rules were adjusted more than to the needs of men to the "reason" of their progenitors.

Even today it is not unusual for the particular reasoning of those who rule or govern to over-rule the needs of society up to that psychological moment when the force of the law of evolution or, in other words, the sentiments, the predominating ideas and the social conscience, break tradition and establish a new Law according to the acquisitive means to satisfy the collective needs.

Down the centuries, human Law has experienced two radical revolutions in political and social customs and traditions. The first of these revolutions, which undoubtedly was the greatest suffered by the ancient world, (took place when) the Roman Empire, through the maxims of its jurisconsults, introduced reforms in the Natural Rights laws, burying in the graveyard of injustices those perpetual quarrels between oppressors and the oppressed, their simple methods and their effective sentences becoming universal (universalizandose) within their singular ethics. The second reform in Law occurred during the French Revolution, when all those rights which the nations thought lost and which really constituted the basic principles of the famous declaration of the rights of man, were won. It is undeniable that the philosophers of that time led by Rousseau and Diderot inspired a vigorous movement toward liberty and justice;

but if

but if, as a result of 1789, juridical wrongs disappeared and feudal, monarchical institutions were crushed, there arose, on the other hand, by virtue of a sad human condition requiring centuries of suffering to remedy, a sovereign and implacable bourgeoisie, and, with it, its negative (su negación): the proletariat; both with opposed ideologies, with different aspirations, radically unlike and separated by an abyss in their concepts of life.

There is no doubt that between law and ethics (la moral) there exist easily discernible differences which at one time undoubtedly were confused in one concept. But in order to illustrate our view on this point, of paramount importance at present, it is well and useful that we should refer to sources of unimpeachable authority.

"The best Law, the best laws," says Plato, "exist where this maxim is applied: 'All is common among friends.'" To Plato, the moral law constitutes the harmony between the actions of man and his reason inspired by good and noble sentiments, reason being understood to be "the faculty which we have to find the necessary relations between objects," as defined by Joly.

Aristotle, whose philosophical doctrine is diametrically opposed to that of Plato, bases Law and ethics upon an equilibrium of passions and upon justice as a fundamental attribute of all authority, the exercise of which, says Espinosa, "seeks a pleasure which we might call ethical."

Voltaire entertains and becomes involved in skeptical views of ethics and Law, and concludes by affirming that "they are contingent and accidental ideas exercised by men according to their views (medio de accion)." Not so the famous English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, who declares that Law should be in harmony with the aim and object of humanity: well-being, declaring that: "the first object (aspiración) of man is to preserve himself; the second, is to increase constantly his well-being."

Samuel Clark defines Law as "the relations established by nature itself between all the components of the Universe." And, finally, Jeremiah Bentham magestically synthesizes in a few words his concept of Law, stating that "it is the art of directing the actions of men to the end of producing the greatest amount of happiness." To Bentham, the mission of the lawmaker consists in preventing the clash of interests to the prejudice of a majority. President Roosevelt expresses identical ideas in his famous and historical "Pro Peace" message, dated Washington, May 16, when he declared: "Our duty

is to

is to direct things in such a way as to produce practical results by means of concerted action based on the greatest good to the greatest number. Before the imperious call of this great duty, petty obstacles and small designs should be swept aside and forgotten."

Such fair hopes and bright purposes cherished (engendrados) by the man at the head of the most powerful nation in the world today impel the thought: will the coming (proximo) social betterment be a fact and the ineffable and longed for spiritual and material peace (descanso) a reality, in spite of the fact that experience in history proves that social transformations have always taken place from beneath and not from above?

. . .

"The happiness, the prosperity and even the life of men, women and children inhabiting the world, will be affected by the decisions soon to be made by their governments. The improvement of social conditions, the conservation of individual human rights and the BROADENING OF SOCIAL JUSTICE depend on those decisions," says President Roosevelt in his abovementioned message. What does this admirable interpretation of the present moment, especially when it is that of the chief of the most powerful and the wealthiest government on earth, signify? It is the profound conscience of the present sad times; it is the supreme moment of the centuries, striking the hour of the beginning of a renewal of all human values, brought about by the social needs and distress knocking at all doors and calling to all minds. This is the reason, "the imperious call of this great duty," which impels the chief of the North American nation to point out new ways for the Law of the countries, ineffective, decentralized and inharmonious in relation to the advances of contemporary science, technique and economy.

Very well. If by Law we understand in these times an equation based on principles of real equality between all men, the ethics of which are based upon the principle of universal good, since "what we all want is always just and reasonable," according to Lamennais, we doubt very much if from the Disarmament and World Economic Conferences will result that Law and, consequently, the well-being (felicidad) which our small world has long waited for and about which President Roosevelt is so concerned. The past furnishes us the key to the future: let us observe that so long as the Capitalistic State persists and endures as a system absorbing all life, it will continue to be secular and fundamental barrier in the realization of any Law of equalizing tendencies, social, political or economic; because without socialized economy of general methods, excluding monopolistic minorities, the last battle will not have been fought.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile, the monster of a hundred heads will defend itself like a pursued beast against all elements antagonistic to its interests. Daily its sphere of action grows smaller and its powers of control are decreased, developing all its strength and boldness by means of medieval methods (super-vivencias): the "irreplaceable" Mussolini and the "phenomenon" Hitler, united with the imperialistic chiefs of Wall Street. They and only they will be the ones who will oppose, obstruct, question, or seek to prevent (conculcar) any attempt to reform the Law of nations, in order to bring it into harmony with the ethics and sentiments of the modern world.

Meanwhile, the hundred-headed monster will defend itself savagely like a pursued beast against all elements antagonistic to its interests. Daily its sphere of action is growing smaller and its powers of control are decreasing, and it is developing all its strength and boldness by means of medieval superventions: the "irreplaceable" Mussolini and the "phenomenon," Hitler, together with the imperialistic chieftains of Wall Street. They, and only they, will be the ones who will oppose, obstruct, question, or defy (conculcar) any attempt to reform the Law of nations, in order to bring it into harmony with the ethics and sentiments of the modern world.

México, August 7, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

You doubtless saw some reference to the address of General Calles upon the very enthusiastic reception tendered him by thirty-five thousand Mexicans on his return to the capital of this country. He made a very complimentary reference to you and your policies. You may have seen it, but in the multiplicity of matters that are engrossing your attention, it may have escaped your notice. I am enclosing a copy herewith and have marked the part in which he made reference to your administration.

With sentiments of esteem and high regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Daniels

The President,
The White House.

Enclosure.

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 426 of August 1,
1933, from the Embassy at Mexico City.

SOURCE: EL UNIVERSAL
July 31, 1933
Mexico City

(Copy of translation of official version of the speech of General Plutarco Elias Calles upon his arrival in the City of Mexico on July 30, 1933, as published in the English Section of EL UNIVERSAL, July 31, 1933)

In the name of Divisionary General Lazaro Cardenas and in my own, I wish to make patent our thanks to the workers of the Federal District and other elements of the groups of those gathered here, who have taken part in the demonstration, for the evidence of affection we have received.

I know that in circumstances like the present, there exists in the minds of all of you the question of what we think in regard to the movements of national life at the present moment; whether political, or economic, or what is our social philosophy. I will endeavor to enlighten you in regard to my personal ideas on some of these points.

A few days ago the President of the Republic, with the clear vision which he has of all our national problems, and because the National Revolutionary Party is preparing the program of action of the government for the next six years, the President, I say, when lending his co-operation for the formation of this plan, expressed points of view which in my opinion, we ought to examine.

He referred first of all to the agrarian problem, that is to say, to that which should solve the economy of the peasant class, and he attacked the problem fully: he referred to the necessity which the nation has to fulfil the revolutionary promise to give lands to the villagers; he referred also to the question of irrigation works, which the nation has started in order to colonize national territory; he outlined the idea of the benefits which even the landowners themselves will receive by the division of their extensive properties; but he not only attacked the problem of the distribution of land, but also he referred to the organization of agricultural credit and agricultural technique, things which are so necessary for our agriculture.

In regard to the labor problem, the President of the Republic said: "It is absolutely necessary to raise the 'standard' of living of the workers," a phrase which has within it great concepts. To raise the standard of living of the workers means to say that they be given an opportunity to satisfy their material necessities with greater ease and with greater well-being;

that is

that is today, to improve their food, to improve their living quarters and to become better dressed. And this is only obtained by raising the wages of the workers, for such a firm fight has been undertaken. The President of the Republic also referred, in these declarations, to the necessity which the Nation has of knowing how to take advantage of our national resources for public benefit and he said: "We need to work without utopias, without mirages, placing ourselves in the true Mexican position." All the revolutionaries, peasants, workers and even the capitalist classes which see in these declarations a protection of their interests and a better distribution of public wealth, have received the declarations of the President with pleasure and have applauded them and all we revolutionaries back them with all our strength. (Applause: Viva el General Calles! Viva el General Cardenas!)

It is certain that these points so wisely pointed out will be taken into consideration by the Commission appointed to form this six years' plan which the nation desires so greatly; because it is now the time that the nation should know what it may expect from the men of the Revolution. (Applause: Viva el General Calles!) Because it is now the time for us to define with all courage and with all sincerity what is our ideology; that we should know where we are going and that the entire Republic should also know it. We have been predicating throughout the country, and this is the policy of the government, that to reach a state of collective well-being, it is necessary to organize all sectors of the national economy: the agricultural section, the industrial section, the commercial section and the labor section; only thus, with the indirect control of the nation over these organizations, will we be able to make a more equitable distribution of production so that each may receive what is just and that which legitimately corresponds to him. (Applause. Viva el General Calles!)

We are face to face with one of the greatest failures which humanity has experienced: the failure of the World Economic Conference in London. There, were congregated the representatives of almost all the peoples of the world to discuss the measures which should be taken with a view to alleviating the anguished situation through which millions and millions of proletarians of the universe are passing. And the first point of discussion, the monetary question, only served the purpose of drawing the representatives into interminable controversies; and it is because the influence of established interests was making itself felt; it is because the exploiting spirit of the Jews of finance was imprisoning the minds and consciences of the delegates. (Applause: Viva el General Calles!) The disinterested and apostolic voice of the great United States President, Roosevelt, served for naught. (Applause.) The disinterested co-operation of Mexico which was disposed to offer her natural resources to alleviate the sufferings of the hungry, served for naught. The

Conference

Conference has failed and humanity finds itself more at sea than ever, because the only thing which is clear, is that blocs of nations are being formed to declare an economic war which must be more disastrous than armed warfare. I am going even farther; it appears that there is an attempt to establish a policy of a continental character to declare economic war from continent to continent. We do not desire this, we condemn all who have these ideas in their minds and in their consciences, because the results will be disastrous, and the great masses of workers of the world will have to suffer the consequences. Possibly those who desire this war will be those who are most affected in the end.

The American continent counts on a great civilization, with centers of scientific investigation of all classes, with unlimited natural resources, with seas full of wealth, with ~~plenty~~ materials capable of satisfying all needs of modern life; the hearts of our mountain ranges contain all the minerals, contain a wealth of metals and we count on something even greater, great territorial reserves where we may place our growing population for many centuries to come.

Let them think well, those who desire a continental economic war. We shall be at our post, but we must be organized in all economic sectors, in order to save the interests of this continent, so that the homes of this prosperous and virgin America may always be happy. (Great applause. Viva el General Calles! Viva el General Cardenas! Viva la Revolucion!)



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, August 15, 1933.

Personal

Handwritten initials

My dear Mr. President:

I recall what you said to me about General Calles just before I left Washington. I have found that you truly understood the situation in Mexico and that he is really the big man of this country. Nothing very important is done without consultation with him. This is true of the President, the members of the Cabinet, and members of the National Revolutionary Party, which party dominates the politics and the government of this country.

I had a long conference with General Calles yesterday. It was the first time I had met him and, in view of his great influence here, I dictated my recollection of the conference and his views upon four important matters: First, the six-year program which will be presented to Congress when it meets in September; second, the Montevideo Conference; third, the Radio situation; and fourth, the matter of claims and en bloc settlement.

I thought you would be interested in this summary, so am enclosing herewith a copy of my memorandum of the conversation. It expresses the views of the one man in Mexico who is in a position to carry out policies which he favors.

With sentiments of esteem and high regards, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

The President,
The White House.

Enclosure.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
THE AMBASSADOR

México, August 14, 1933.

with General Calles (in Cuernavaca).

Shortly after I arrived in Mexico I received a cordial letter from General Calles, who was then at Ensenada, welcoming me to Mexico and expressing a desire to see me when he returned to Mexico City. Later he wrote a very kindly letter expressing his approval of the utterances made in two of my addresses. On his return to Mexico City, on July 30th, I wrote him that I would be very happy to call at his convenience. He sent me word that he would see me last week, but when the time came he was not well and postponed the engagement. Last night he sent word that he would be very glad if I would come to Cuernavaca to-day.

I went down this morning with General Calles' friend, Mr. James Smithers. Mr. Smithers has been General Calles' partner for many years, since his early days in Sonora.

On the way down Mr. Smithers gave me, in answer to my questions, the story of General Calles' life and of his, Mr. Smithers', relations with him in the days when they had a store and commission business in Sonora and their close relationship during the Revolution.

General Calles' new house at Cuernavaca is in the process of construction. Until it is completed, while he is staying in Cuernavaca he is at the house of President Rodríguez, a very pleasant, unpretentious cottage.

General Calles received us with great courtesy and, with Mr. Smithers acting as interpreter, we had an hour and a half conversation about public questions. Unlike many interpreters, Mr. Smithers does not wait for a man to finish what he has to say about a subject, but interprets it word by word - an admirable way of doing as I was certain I was getting exactly what General Calles said and not some paraphrase of it by an interpreter, which is generally the case. Sometimes I have interpreters wait until a man speaking in Spanish had finished a five minutes' talk, and then give it to me in English in about a minute. This is very unsatisfactory because you know you are only getting the interpreter's understanding of what the man said. Mr. Smithers gave it sentence by sentence while I was looking at General Calles and observing his emphasis, as well as getting his words through an interpreter.

General Calles had been reported as very ill. He looked very well and his looks belied the gossip of his severe illness, though Mr. Smithers told me he had lost 15 or 20 pounds in the last six months, and last week had been out of commission for two or three days from some stomach disorder. He had to come to Mexico City

for

for an X-ray. Of course we did not discuss his illness. I only expressed my regret that his slight illness delayed my calling to pay my respects. We then plunged into the discussion of matters and said nothing further about his health. I do not think he wished to talk about it, and certainly I did not.

After the amenities, I opened the talk by telling him I had been reading with great interest the six-year program about which the papers had published so much both from President Rodriguez and the interview with him, General Calles. He was full of it and said that too often governments concern themselves with important projects and budgets without a sufficient amount of study and without practical plans for a long period. He believed that in Mexico there ought to be a long view with reference to socializing industry, public service, utilities and the like, and other legislation, so that people could know what to depend upon.

When he had finished stressing the importance of a program covering six years, without going into particulars, we discussed the Montevideo Conference. I referred to the publication of the statement that President Rodriguez had requested him, Minister for Foreign Affairs Puig and Minister of Hacienda Pani to act as a Board or Commission to outline Mexico's plan for presentation at the Montevideo Conference, and asked him how long before they would have that plan in form, saying that I should like very much to see it when it was ready, and, if agreeable, I should like to send it to Washington so that the President and Secretary of State might give it careful consideration before the Delegation to the Montevideo Conference left Washington. He said he would appreciate it very much if I would send it to Washington, and he would furnish me a copy as soon as it was completed. "The failure of the London Conference", he said, "was due to the extreme nationalism of the European countries and the fact that the delegates to that Conference from the gold standard countries went there with minds made up to agree to nothing that did not continue the privileges to the classes in those countries which they represented." His idea was that France and the other gold standard countries were so adamant in their position that it prevented the success of the Conference along the lines which the people on this hemisphere thought were important.

He spoke rather strongly of France's position which had done so much to prevent the success of the Conference. I then asked him if he had heard the story emanating from London of the conversation between Senator Pittman and Minister Bonnet. He had not. He chuckled and laughed very heartily when I told him that the story as it had come across the ocean was: When the Committee met to select a Chairman, Bonnet wanted it himself in order to strengthen the gold standard influence in the Conference. He opposed Senator Pittman, saying: "We do not want an inflationist as Chairman of this Committee". Somewhat nettled by this criticism, Pittman is said to have replied: "And we do not want a repudiationist as Chairman of this Committee".

After I told this story, General Calles said: "You

know

know France took umbrage to the speech I made upon my return to Mexico City, in which I called the Conference a failure. France sent a very courteous letter to the Foreign Relations Office criticising my statement." I told him that Dr. Puig had informed me that such had been the case.

"We might as well understand, all of us who live on this hemisphere", said General Calles, "that this is a psychological moment for our countries to unite in matters of commerce and monetary stabilization. At the Ottawa Conference England secured such trade agreements between herself and the colonies of the mother country so that in effect the markets of all those countries are closed to the products of North and South America except for such products as they cannot obtain in the British Empire. This closes the doors to all of us, particularly the United States which manufactures so much that needs foreign markets. Not only that, but Great Britain is now, in advance of the Montevideo Conference, seeking to get special arrangements with South American countries to secure the lion's share of the trade on those countries. The gold standard countries in Europe are making it impossible for us to trade with them advantageously. Nothing remains, if this continent is to find a return to prosperity, except for all the countries on this continent to come to an understanding that it is to their interest to mutually trade with each other."

General Calles continued: "For example, the United States formerly bought practically all its henequen from Yucatan and paid a price for it that enabled the henequen growers to make a profit. What was the meaning of this profit? It was that the people who raised the henequen had a larger purchasing power, thus enabling them to buy more goods manufactured in the United States, which afforded a good market for your surplus manufactured products. Then some of your people instead of buying henequen from Yucatan bought it from South Africa because they could get it for a fraction of a pound cheaper. The result was to shut off a good market for American products in Yucatan without getting a market for them in South Africa. Great Britain had that market and kept it. It would have paid the United States to have given a fraction more for our henequen and had our trade, than to buy in South Africa. This is only one instance to show the value of trade between Mexico and the United States. The same thing is true of trade with Central and South American countries. If we can sell to the United States, Mexico and all the other Latin American countries will buy from the United States. But they cannot buy unless they can sell their products. We must swap our products if we are to have a return of prosperity on this continent."

General Calles enumerated the three things that he thought had to be made paramount at Montevideo: First, interchange of products, which he called economic; Second, monetary; Third, credits.

I have given above an outline of what he said in extenso about the importance of swapping products. He emphasized the fact that neither Mexico nor the other countries south of the United States were developed as

industrial

industrial countries; that they do not manufacture much and they afford the best and largest potential market for the surplus manufactured by the United States. All these countries he thinks ought to discuss at Montevideo and come to some conclusion that would make them independent of Europe and cement these countries together through increased commerce.

Touching upon the second question - monetary, he said about the only thing really accomplished at London was the passage of the Pittman Resolution looking to the larger use of silver. He enlarged upon his idea that the ~~financial~~ world was now built upon a foundation not strong enough to hold it up. That is to say, that dependence upon gold had given it a fictitious value and made it high and made all other products cheap, so that a creditor could get two or three times as much in commodities as he had loaned in dollars; that this had done as much as anything else to bring about the panic and distress in the world. He thinks there is not enough gold as a basis, and that we ought to come to the fact that metal should be the foundation of currency and that we must use silver as well as gold. He thinks the Montevideo Conference ought to take up the monetary question and settle it with a view to increasing the prosperity of this continent. He was very earnest about this.

In this connection General Calles said that one of the best treatises he had seen on the monetary question was by Dr. Knapp of Berkeley, California. I took it that Dr. Knapp is a professor at the University of California. I asked him if he had read the recent articles by Dr. Irving Fisher of Yale University on the essential necessity that money should represent the average price of commodities. He had not. I told him that Dr. Fisher was coming to Mexico City in October to attend the International Conference of Statistics, and I would write him and ask him to send his argument in favor of a currency that would be a good yardstick rather than the present hard and fast yardstick which operated to double and treble the money that debtors had to pay.

I referred also to President Roosevelt's statement made on July 24th to the effect that, "the problem of the credit of the individual was made more difficult because of another fact. The dollar was a different dollar from the one with which the average debt had been incurred."

General Calles then spoke about how the countries in Central and South America were overburdened with debt, and some of the debts were contracted because credit was cheap and speculative bankers were keen to lend money. For instance in Peru, where they borrowed money to build a railroad that ended abruptly at the foot of a mountain and was of very little value to the country. "They did not need it" he said, "and they cannot pay for it." If these countries are to be restored to good conditions, General Calles thought that the Montevideo Conference ought to try to find a way to have a moratorium for their debts for five years. He enlarged on that subject, elaborately, showing that he had given it great consideration. He

spoke

spoke of how France and other European nations have repudiated their debts, or are refusing to pay them, although they were far better able to meet their obligations than the Central and South American countries. If a moratorium or delay in the paying of their debts by these Central and South American countries who had suffered so much could be reached, he thinks it might have a good effect with reference to the debts owed by European countries to the United States. His idea was that if a moratorium was given to the Pan American countries for five years, the European debtor nations might ask for a similar moratorium. "By that means", said the General with a chuckle, "these European countries would be acknowledging their debt, which they now seem unwilling to do." A universal postponement of five years for all debts would be a good thing he thought.

The burden of all his talk along this line was that there never had been a time when everything was so propitious for unity between all the Pan American countries.

I then expressed my regret that the Radio Conference had failed to secure any agreement as to broadcasting stations in the United States and in Mexico. He said he was not very familiar with that and asked me what had happened in the Conference. I told him that the impasse was due to the fact that Mexico demanded 12 exclusive channels and the United States offered 3 exclusive channels and other broadcasting which they said would be equivalent in all to 6 exclusive channels, but the United States coupled it with the statement that the countries ought to agree that there should be no stations on the border in Mexico broadcasting in English in the United States, and that the United States ought not to have any stations on the border in the United States broadcasting in Spanish in Mexico. I mentioned the fact that the United States felt very keenly that Dr. Brinkley ought not to be allowed the use of a station in Mexico to carry on his propoganda in the United States. "Dr. Brinkley" said General Calles, "I know about him, he is a charlatan". General Calles expressed the opinion that one trouble about an agreement with the United States was that there were so many vested interests in broadcasting in the United States, which militated against an agreement.

"The air ought to be controlled by the Government" he said. "There is only so much of it, and it ought to be used for educational and social purposes and not controlled for commercial. The United States did not do this at the time when it might and is now embarrassed by the amount of money invested in radio by private parties. Mexico is not so embarrassed and might very well make radio a government monopoly."

In this connection General Calles spoke about how when President Roosevelt wished to get a message over to the American people he used the radio and reached many more hundreds of thousands of people than he could have reached in the press, and intimated that the radio was going to put the press out of business or minimize its power and influence. I told him that that prediction

hit me between the eyes, that I was a publisher and I did not see how I could make a living if the radio put the newspapers out of business. We both laughed about that, of course. He then said that radio is a great educational influence and should be made more and more a social influence, and in order to do this the government would have to have more control over it.

We talked then about the suggested en bloc settlement of the claims pending between Mexico and the United States. He said he had always thought there ought to be such a settlement, but it ought to be made upon such terms as would enable the debtor nation to pay. A settlement that did not have that result would not be very good. In view of the fact that the claims commissions had been at work ten years and had accomplished very little, he suggested that if the money spent on the claims commissions could be used toward paying the claims, it would not take very many years to pay off the claims. He said that if the claims commissions continued, the lawyers would be getting the money instead of the claimants. I told him that it looked to me, ~~as~~ if the process of adjustment of these claims continued at the snail-like process of the past ten years, that he and I would both be in heaven fifty years before a final settlement was reached. This seemed to amuse him very much, and I added: "I think we will both go to heaven if we reform." With a smile he said: "That is too far in the future".

General Calles was very enthusiastic in his praise of the courage and vision of President Roosevelt. He said he was following the policies being pursued in the United States with much interest and he believed that the time had come when public men ought to courageously blaze new trails. I will not quote General Calles' words about President Roosevelt, as I do not remember them exactly, but his faith in the "New Deal" was very apparent and he said Mexico and the United States were working along somewhat similar lines. "The basis of everything" he said, "in government is to see that every man secures his fair proportion of all national wealth which he helps to create". I told him that he evidently believed as I did, that the whole basis of government must rest upon the doctrine enunciated by Jefferson of "Equal rights to all, and special privilege to none", and he said that that was his faith, but that the governments had neglected it too long to secure this equality and justice.

At this juncture his small son toddled in and kissed his father and used the one English term that you find everywhere in Mexico "okay".

After a mutual exchange of expressions of friendship, I said goodbye. The General went to the door with me and summoned a man to give me his raincoat so I would not get wet going to the car.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

JD:VK

[1936]?

Mexico D.F. Aug. 21, 1933



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

P.S.F. Mexico

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Dear Franklin:

The church situation has improved somewhat. There has been no active persecution and President Cardenas has several times told me that there will be none. I have tried to impress upon him our American point of view.

Frank Leannenbaum, of Columbia University faculty, who knows Mexico better than any man except Ernest Gruening, spent two weeks with President Cardenas on a recent trip over the new highway. He has his confidence and Gen. C. talks freely with him. I told Frank that the fact that no Catholic churches were open in Vera Cruz, Sonora and some other states injured the prestige of Mexico and he ought to say so to President Cardenas. He came to it shrewdly and unofficially. As a result he called this morning and told me of his latest conversation with President Cardenas and I asked him to give me a memorandum of his conversation. I am enclosing it to you in confidence because I know you are interested in a better situation everywhere.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Memorandum for Ambassador Daniels: (Dictated to a stenographer at the Embassy by Mr. Frank Tannenbaum.)

I had a long talk with President Cárdenas this morning about the religious situation in Mexico and its political repercussions in the United States.

President Cárdenas said that he wanted to be just as helpful as he possibly could and was anxious to do everything that would ease the situation as I described it to him. His own difficulty lies in the fact that he has to wait until he can get new governors into the States, before he can get any effective change of policy in church matters. He hoped to be able to clear the situation up in most of the States within the next two or three months, as a number of new governors are taking office within that time.

We talked about the situation in Veracruz, and he said that as soon as the new governor is in, which he hoped would be within two months, the churches would be opened again in that State.

He also told me that in the case of the State of Sonora, where the churches have been closed for a number of years, the new governor is getting ready to re-open them.

He expressed the greatest admiration for President Roosevelt and said that so far as he was concerned whatever he could do to be helpful he would do.

México, D.F. August 21, 1936.

VK.

México, September 18, 1933

My dear Mr. President:

One of the best editorials that has appeared on the relationship between Mexico and the United States in recent months was in the issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of August 31st and was sent to me by Clark McAdams of the editorial staff of that paper. Mr. McAdams suggested that I send it to General Calles. I have also sent a copy of it to President Rodríguez because Mr. McAdams better than anyone else has sensed the "growing intellectual fellowship between the United States and its neighbors". I know how busy you are and presume you have not seen this editorial and that you would like to read it.

With sentiments of esteem and high regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Josepé Daniels

The President,
The White House.

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UNCLE SAM AS AN EXEMPLAR.

More than one foreign observer has agreed with Lloyd George that the outcome of our American experiment will profoundly impress all civilization. Mr. Wells' prophecy that ours would also be a new world of ideas illustrates the widespread expectation of us.

Among others, the Mexican people have their eyes on the United States. They are in trouble. Theirs is not, in all respects, the same trouble that we are in. They are a much more agricultural people, and the tempo of life is not so accelerated there as it is here. Nevertheless, they are in trouble, and they would like to get out of it.

The recovery plan in the United States appeals to them as a practicable means. Mexico is therefore applying it to her own ills. President Abelardo Rodríguez has asked the Governors of the 19 Mexican states to join the central Government in a six-year recovery plan, which has as its object an increase in consumption. They are asked to establish a minimum wage and a shorter work day to restore the purchasing power of the people. In a country where low wages, approximating human slavery, have been a custom for centuries, this is naturally something of an about-face.

Six Governors have thus far consented. That the idea will enjoy a fair test goes without saying. Behind any Mexican Government stands Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles, of whom the late Dwight W. Morrow said, "He would be a great man in any country." We may be sure that Gen. Calles knows all about the American experiment. Nor can we be insensible to the compliment that so able a statesman and political economist should think enough of it to adopt it in his own country.

With all other forward-looking persons, the General realizes that Mexico cannot always go half-barefooted; that she must rise to a higher level of life; that she must become a great deal more self-sustaining than she has been; that she must rely more upon her domestic economy and less upon the international economy; that she must not merely produce her own raw materials, but that she must more and more produce her own manufactures. This is the way in which the whole world is going, and so knowing a man as the great Mexican Solon would be among the first to set Mexico's feet in the right direction.

President

President Rodríguez is somewhat more optimistic than our own President Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt is always careful to have an anchor to windward. He is not sure we will succeed; not too sanguine of the outcome; not blind to the pitfalls between the old deal and the new; not unmindful of the power of custom and the tenacity of privilege.

Not so the Mexican President. Following the counsel of his one-man Brain Trust, he has weighed every anchor and crowded on all sail. Like Columbus, his every answer to faint-heartedness is, "Sail on and on." Here is what he says of the recovery plan:

Our scheme of recovery is not Utopian. It is practical, and we are resolved to make it work. It is, of course, axiomatic that if workers are paid more, their standards of living improve, misery disappears, they buy and consume, and the circle is completed. If employers will co-operate, we will realize this goal of our own free will. It cannot be delayed longer. We must and will act for wage increases, better working conditions and increased buying power.

One of the interesting things about our time is the growing intellectual fellowship between the United States and its neighbors. We were never so close to Canada, never so friendly with Mexico. It is not inconceivable that these three great areas, perhaps the most favored upon this mundane sphere, may in time constitute an economic unit. More than one prophet is saying that something of the sort is on the laps of the gods. The possessors of a continent incredibly enriched by nature, and separated from the rest of the world by the wide seas, why should they not show the world a better way of life?

Apparently Mexico thinks they can do so. We give her hail.

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*File
Personal
JWS*

México, October 13, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

Does the President of one Republic take interest in the recreation and opinions of another?

I had an opportunity at the week-end to judge the President of Mexico at close range. You have observed how much people are interested in the Chief Executive of a country, in all he does and says. I suppose it sometimes goes to such a length that the incumbent of the office is denied the quiet and privacy which he naturally would seek. President Wilson never understood why a citizen should wish to visit the White House or shake hands with a President. He had never desired to do either. I remember that he spoke with approval of the fact that his second wife had never gone to a White House reception or desired to do so before she became its mistress. You went to the White House very early. I recall your telling me that upon your first visit, your father having taken you as a small boy to see Mr. Cleveland, Grover put his hand on your head and said: "I have one wish for you, little man. It is that you will never be President". That must have been one of his bad days when he complained that he "had Congress on his hands". At any rate, his wish did not cause you to shun the post, and I am sure that even with all its strain, you do not regret having the opportunity to render high service in your important post.

Some time ago Mrs. Rodríguez told my wife that as soon as the rainy season permitted travel on the country roads, she and the President wished us to go with them in the country where we could see how the farmers lived and what was being done by the Government in helping in the improve-

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The President,

The White House.

ment of agriculture. There are many portions of Mexico where the farmers still use wooden plows and carry on their operations in the most primitive ways. On Saturday morning, in response to the President's invitation, we went to Chapultepec Castle (sounds like royalty, doesn't it?) to start on the trip that had been planned. It was a beautiful day and we traveled all the morning through the country made historic by the revolution headed first by Hidalgo and then Morelos, the priests who raised the cry against the tyranny of Spanish rule. En route we paused to look at the monument erected to the memory of Hidalgo. It recalled a story related by an American diplomat. During the critical days when the churches were all closed, Father Burke of Washington, representing the Catholic Church, Ambassador Morrow and General Calles held a quiet conference on a ship in the harbor at Veracruz. None of them, it seems, wished news of the conference to become public. In the course of the conversation, Father Burke (you know what charm he possesses, for he helped us select Catholic chaplains for the Navy) said that it should be remembered by General Calles and the Revolutionary Party that the first voice raised for Mexican independence was by a Catholic priest, Father Hidalgo.

"Yes, I know", replied General Calles, "but the Catholic Church excommunicated him."

"He was excommunicated", said Father Burke, "because, contrary to his vows of celibacy, Hidalgo was the father of children."

General Calles replied: "If all the priests of that day who were the fathers of children had been excommunicated, there would not have been enough left to carry on the work of the Church."

Whether true or not, the story is a good one. It is said Ambassador Morrow tactfully turned the conversation into other channels, which later helped to secure a plan by which priests were registered (they had refused to obey the law to register along with lawyers and men of other professions) and a given number of priests were permitted to officiate in the churches.

The first objective of the trip was the Government Agricultural School near Tenancingo. It is one of a number of such schools in the republic which were established by General Calles and his successors to train boys from the farms in modern agriculture. We saw boys using tractors, and there were fine cattle and hogs and chickens.

President

President Rodríguez said it was the hope that these farms would become self-supporting. You know from experience in New York how illusory is that hope. After a two-year course at the agricultural school these boys are expected to return to the farms and show other farmers how much more profitable it will be to adopt modern methods. At this school also all teachers who are to teach in rural schools are given training in farm methods. Their idea is that no one will be given a place to teach in a rural school who cannot impart the rudiments of agriculture. Not a bad idea, if you expect the students to remain on the farms. I hope the Mexicans will be more successful in seeing the agricultural students go back to the farms than we have been in North Carolina. Too many of them trekked to the cities, but that was in days when there were more jobs than men.

President Rodríguez and Dr. Puig (who was in the party) had much fun laughing over a question addressed to me by the School Inspector and my answer. Upon being introduced the Inspector, after telling me in good English that he had taught several years in Los Angeles, turned to me and asked: "Do you speak English?"

I replied: "A little."

The Mexicans thought it funny that the American Ambassador should be asked if he spoke English. Perhaps I answered "a little" because of a story long current in North Carolina anent a foreign Minister who was appointed from North Carolina to Spain. He was ever afterwards known as "Spanish Bill" Saunders. He was an able lawyer, but he murdered the King's English. He was an influential Democratic leader, delegate to the Democratic National Convention and Democratic candidate for Governor. When the President nominated him as Minister to Spain, one neighbor asked another: "Why didn't the President send Saunders to a country whose language he could speak?"

"There is no such country" was the reply.

The boys in the Agricultural School were neat and clean, with bright faces (nearly all Indian), and they were much impressed by a visit from the President. It was his first visit. Licenciado José Luis Solórzano, the new Governor of the State (the State of Mexico) accompanied us. He is quite a young man and a brilliant lawyer. I was interested in the appeal made to him by a group of serious and earnest Mexican farmers (Indians). It seems that three years ago under the land laws, certain

portions

portions of land were donated or dotated to these farmers. They have been cultivating the land but have no written title. They were asking the Governor to see that they obtained the promised title. He promised to look into the matter, saying he had been Governor only a short time and was not familiar with the matter.

When we had re-entered the cars to go to Tenancingo where we were to have "chow", though they did not call it that, it was interesting to note that President Rodriguez, who spoke rather slowly and seemed to be careful of his sentences when he was speaking to me in English, let himself loose when he was joking with those in the car who did not understand English. He told some good stories that created good laughs.

One story that was told was about Senator Ashurst when he first went to Washington. According to President Rodriguez, Ashurst was a big man in Arizona but found himself a small potato in Washington. The story told to illustrate the changed position was like this: A boy having caught a large and beautiful trout, put it in a bucket and set out for the White House to present it to the President. En route, stopping for lunch, the cafe proprietor removed the fine trout from the bucket and substituted a small catfish. Upon arrival at the White House, Steve Early's or Marvin McIntyre's predecessor refused to permit the boy to see the President when it was discovered that he had nothing but a little catfish to give to the President. The boy was much disappointed. Returning home, he stopped at the same cafe when the proprietor again changed the fish. When the boy arrived at home he told his mother what had happened and of his failure to see the President. Lo and behold when the mother removed the lid from the bucket she discovered the fine trout in the bucket. They decided that the fish was a trout in the country home but only a catfish when it reached the national capital.

"That's the way with some Mexican politicians", said the President. "They are very big fish at home, but shrink when they come to the capital". Then he and the Governor of the State of Mexico and the head of the National Revolutionary Party, General Riva Palacio, and Minister Puig enjoyed good laughs, naming certain of their countrymen who "shrank" in the big pond. It recalled a favorite saying of President Wilson, to the effect that "one of two things happened to every man who comes to Washington in public office; his head either grows or shrinks". One of the party told a story about animals who were supposed to understand human language and related some remarkable incidents.

I said

I said: "This recalls a story showing that President Wilson could laugh at himself. You will remember that his critics poked much fun at him during the early days of the World War, saying: 'Wilson thinks wars are won by notes rather than bullets'. One day, at a meeting of the Cabinet, Mr. Wilson read one of his many notes, and after reading it, smiling quizzically, said it might produce as much result as occurred by reason of a note a certain man wrote to his neighbor. The note-writer had a vegetable garden. The neighbor kept chickens. The chickens often got out of their enclosure and scratched up or devoured the young vegetables. A feud followed between the neighbors. The owner of the garden protested vigorously in writing to the chicken raiser. Finally the man with the garden wrote a letter to his neighbor: 'You must keep your chickens out of my garden or I will kill every one of them.' The promise was made that they would be kept out. The next morning the chickens returned for their breakfast of early vegetables. The owner of the garden in wrath reported to the owner of the chickens that he had not kept his promise.

'You do not mean to tell me that my chickens are in your garden', said the chicken raiser.

'I do', was the reply, 'and after your solemn promise yesterday that they would never again trouble me, I wish to know what you are going to do about it.'

'I am astonished', was the reply. 'I am dumbfounded because when I received your note, I called together all my chickens, read your note to them and understood that they would not again invade your vegetable garden'.

Pausing, after telling the story, Mr. Wilson remarked that he wondered if his notes would be more effective."

The only response I had to the story, beyond a few smiles, was the remark by President Rodríguez: "Mexico received some of those notes from President Wilson". I then perceived that the story was not a happy one.

President Rodríguez told me a story of his first meeting with General Calles that I think will interest you. He said that he was a young officer in the army in Sonora. He found that an older officer was guilty of graft, and he decided to report it to General Calles because he thought a grafter ought to be punished. "General Calles heard my charge against the old officer, who in former days had been a good soldier", said the President,

"showed

"showed no feeling, but told me to return on a certain day. At the time designated, I returned. The old officer was there also. I was called on to present the charges in the presence of the officer. I did so. He gave his side of the case, but there was no doubt of his dishonesty. After hearing us, General Calles dismissed us. I was indignant because I expected the grafter to be punished or at least dismissed. After the old officer retired, in my hot anger, I said to General Calles that I believed he was a reactionary rather than a reformer. He made no answer. I spoke hastily and did not think how harsh was the criticism until I reflected upon it later. Then I was sorry I had been so imprudent and looked for some rebuke. I heard nothing about it for a week. Then I received a message that General Calles wished to see me. I went to his quarters in fear and trembling. He received me courteously, spoke some commonplace, and then said: 'Let us take a walk'. The General led the way to the deserted plaza and we sat down. Then, without referring to my inept remark, he outlined to me the plans and purposes he had in mind for Mexico. I listened with absorbed interest and learned of his great constructive hopes and purposes for his country. It made me heartily regret that I had misjudged him. It was the beginning of our acquaintance. I have seen him patriotically and unselfishly live for nothing but to preserve the peace and secure the prosperity of his countrymen. The fact that he gave me no rebuke showed the greatness which has later shone out in his career."

At the home of former Governor Filiberto Gómez, a beautiful home built on a high hill overlooking Tenancingo, we had lunch - and such a Mexican lunch I had not before tasted. My wife ate tortillas, wrapped around barbecued rabbit, with all the skill of a native-born Mexican. I was not so expert. If you had been with us in good form, you would have ruined your girlish figure.

With warm regards,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

México, October 21, 1933

My dear Chief:

Nothing with reference to our foreign relations has heartened me so much as your letter to the head of the Russian Government and his reply in kind. Your allusion to the century-old close relations between the United States Government and the Russian Government recalls a very significant evidence of that friendship at a critical period during the War of the Sixties. You will recall the controversy between Charles Francis Adams, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, and Gladstone, when the latter and the more influential British statesmen favored recognition of the Confederacy. France and Spain were on the point of recognizing Jefferson Davis' government. At that juncture (when Lincoln and Seward feared Europe would aid the Confederacy) you will remember that Russia sent its naval fleet to the chief ports on the Atlantic seaboard as a practical and powerful demonstration of friendship. When the war ended with victory for the Federal Army, Alaska fell into our lap. How that happened is one of the most interesting unpublished stories in history. I wonder when Kalinin made reference to the long friendship between the two countries of largest expanse of territory, whether he knew the secret story of that naval demonstration and the transfer of Alaska from Russia. You are doubtless familiar with the part foxy old Simon Cameron played in that historic event.

I always thought that Secretary Hughes set up an insurmountable barrier to recognition of Russia when he insisted, as a condition precedent to recognition, that the Soviet Government pay back the money this country advanced to the ill-fated Kerensky when the Root Commission sought in vain to help Russia set up a constitu-

tional

The President,

The White House.

tional government somewhat after our pattern. You remember Mr. Bakhmeteff, the representative of the Kerensky Government, was in Washington - remaining long after the Kerensky Government had fallen. There was a feeling, you will recall, that part of our money advanced to the Kerensky Government never reached Russia, and I have a hazy recollection that about the time Wilson went out of office a demand, maybe unofficial, was made on Bakhmeteff to return such portion as had not reached Kerensky. I do not recall that there was any suggestion that Bakhmeteff had grafted, only that the money, not having accomplished the aid desired to be given to Kerensky, it should be returned to our Treasury. Whether it was located or returned, I do not recall.

The opening of the door to conversations, which I hope will result in recognition and renewed relations between Russia and the United States (and I crave for you the distinction of bringing it about), brought back to me the recollection of one of the most tragic dinners I ever attended during my eight-year official stay in Washington. My wife and I, with other Cabinet officials, were dining with the old and aristocratic Ambassador Bakhmeteff at the Russian Embassy on the night that the news came that the Czar's government had been overthrown. He was called out near the close of the brilliant dinner party to see an "important visitor". Upon his return, his face blanched and his body shaking as if he had received a severe blow, the news went around the table that he had been informed that the Czar had been dethroned. That meant the crashing of his world; the wreck of matter and universal destruction to him. After dinner the guests fell to talking about the effect of the tragic incident. Before the news changed the current of conversations from ordinary topics to tragedy, I remember that a distinguished engineer (I cannot for the moment recall his name) was telling of his stay of a year in Russia and pointing out the similarity of conditions in Russia and the United States. "The two great countries" he said "are alike in many ways. They will shape the destiny of mankind". Then came the blow to Bakhmeteff and all of the old regime when, whatever shaping Russia was to do, would deny them any part in the shaping.

You doubtless recall the uncontrolled rage of the aristocratic Ambassador Bakhmeteff when Kerensky named another - a parvenu Bakhmeteff - to succeed him as Ambassador in Washington. He said that he could have survived anything but having the indignity of an unknown supplanting him who bore the same name. That fact added gall and bitterness to his cup of woe. It was tragic,

for

for old Russians had contempt for those who were not born to the purple.

My sincere hope is that the conversations you hold will make recognition upon mutually advantageous terms possible, and the New Year will witness the rapprochement. Certainly if we can maintain official relations with Mussolini's autocratic rule in Italy and the Hitler dictatorship in Germany, there is no insuperable reason why we should demand that Russia set up a government of our type before extending recognition. Jefferson laid down sound rules, applicable to our day, for recognition of other countries, which demanded no particular form. Your letter to M. Kalinin recalls a letter written by Jefferson to M. Dashkoff in 1809 in which the sage of Monticello made this observation, which is identical in spirit with your letter to Kalinin:

// "Russia and the United States being in character and practise essentially pacific, a common interest in the rights of peaceable nations gives us a common cause in their maintenance." //

More power to your arm!

With affectionate regards,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

file

México, October 24, 1933

PERSONAL.file
Mexico

Dear Mr. President:

I think I have written you before with what deep interest and admiration the leaders and people in Mexico follow your new progressive policies. I have informed you of expressions of approval by President Rodríguez and General Calles. When he was leaving for Washington I wrote Secretary Hull and requested him to give Dr. Puig, Minister of Foreign Relations here, the pleasure of meeting you. Like other officials here he had spoken often of how intently he was keeping pace with your proposals and of his hearty accord. Just before he sailed from New York for Montevideo he wrote me a letter expressing his pleasure at having seen you and said:

"I cannot explain to you the impression created upon me by President Roosevelt. I can only say that I thought that twenty years of politics had cured me of great admiration and surprise before statesmen and chiefs of State and I have discovered that this is not true. The President is 'different'; his sincerity, his unselfishness, his intelligence, quickly impress you, after five minutes of acquaintance. While he may not say so - I do not know if he will - while he may not admit it perhaps - he gives one the impression of being a social revolutionary in the highest and noblest sense of the term. I am so certain that this impression of absolute respect and perfect confidence which he inspired in me will last always that I did not hesitate to write him so. I know that Ambassador Daniels,

probably

The President,

The White House.

"probably as distrustful as myself, has in the past known only two men whom he loved and respected entirely: Wilson and Bryan (probably estranged from the latter toward the end) and that to-day there is only one man whom he loves and respects entirely: President Roosevelt. If that be so, I agree entirely with Ambassador Daniels. Roosevelt will be - whether or not he succeeds entirely in his noble undertakings - a figure as high in the history of the United States as Jefferson or Wilson and with the advantage over the latter that his sense of reality and greater humanity will not permit him to make mistakes."

I feel you will be gratified by this appreciative appraisal of what you are doing, and doing so well, by a honored official of our nearest neighbor.

With my affectionate regards, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

P.S.: Your Sunday night radio speech hit the bull's eye.

JD

*Pres.
File 1*

México, December 1, 1933.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

I have no doubt you have received many congratulations upon your Thanksgiving Proclamation - you have never done anything better. I doubt, however, if among all your congratulations any friend has sent anything finer than the following which I quote from the Raleigh News and Observer, written by my son Jonathan, who is editing the paper since you sent me out of the country:

"REASON FOR THANKSGIVING

"President Roosevelt in his proclamation of Thanksgiving Day gave many excellent reasons why this year the people of the United States should give thanks. The most important reason, however, was not set down by the President as a reason but as a formal salutation: 'I, Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States.' For that chiefly this year the people of the United States are thankful."

I have no doubt that when you read this you will say that Jonathan is a "block off the old chip".

On Thanksgiving Day, at the invitation of its pastor, I delivered a Thanksgiving address at the Union Evangelical Church. I am enclosing it herewith. Don't jump to the conclusion that, with all your other burdens, I am asking

you

The President,

The White House.

you to read it, but I have marked two paragraphs which I thought might be interesting to you.

No one appointed by you ought to expect you to read his addresses. I recall one of the first of Berryman's cartoons made in the second Cleveland Administration. J. Sterling Morton, Secretary of Agriculture, was so enamored of his own speeches that if any member of Congress went to ask him to do something he would always lock the door and say: "Before discussing this, let me read you my last speech", and as he wrote very long speeches the Members of Congress were often bored, and it became a by-word in Washington that if you secured anything from J. Sterling Morton you had to pay for it by listening to him read his long speeches. When this became a matter of comment in Washington, Berryman had a cartoon - a picture of Secretary Morton in the White House with a great file of manuscript in his hand and saying to the President: "Mr. Cleveland, let me read you my annual report". The President was fast asleep and Morton was reading on. I should hate for anybody to put me in the Morton class, and say that I had put the President to sleep. Therefore, don't try to read all this address.

With my affectionate regard in which my wife joins to you and Mrs. Roosevelt,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

P.S. My wife joins me in thanking you and Mrs. Roosevelt for the invitation to the White House Reception on Thursday evening, December 7th. If Uncle Sam furnished an airplane for the American Ambassador in Mexico, he would be present in person. As it is we shall be present only in spirit.

JD

THANKSGIVING DAY ADDRESS AT UNION EVANGELICAL CHURCH,
MEXICO CITY, BY JOSEPHUS DANIELS, AMERICAN
AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO, NOVEMBER 30, 1933.

In compliance with the Proclamation of President Roosevelt, read in your hearing, calling on the people "in our churches and in our homes" to "give humble thanks for the blessings bestowed upon us during the year by Almighty God," hundreds of thousands of Americans, at home and abroad are at this hour, in widely separated churches and homes, uniting in a pious and grateful service. In the United States this is an official holiday. More truly it is a national holy day. The opening sentence of the Proclamation of the Chief Executive acknowledges that God is the giver of all good and its closing admonition is to hope for "the brighter day," not alone by placing dependence upon personal effort or wise laws, but "by seeking the help of God in a more unselfish striving for the common bettering of mankind." The Proclamation lifts the thoughts of men high above the altars erected for the worship of the God of Things and points them to "the pure ideal of equality of opportunity," too long denied, as "the goal of mutual help in time of prosperity and in time of adversity." It breathes thankfulness for "blessings." Those enumerated are not confined to full granaries or large bank accounts or those abundant creature comforts which we have regarded as the incentive of giving thanks. Too long has emphasis been placed upon material gifts. It is good that fewer people are hungry, but we should rather be thankful for the cause than for the effect.

What are the special reasons which should cause gratitude to well up in every heart on this annual festival? The President enumerates them thus:

1. "The new spirit of dependence one upon another."
2. "The closer unity of all parts of our wide land."
3. "Greater friendship between employers and those who toil."
4. "A clearer knowledge by all nations that we seek no conquests and ask only honorable engagements by all peoples to respect the lands and rights of their neighbor."

To these four causes for thanksgiving, the President adds a prayer that guidance may be vouchsafed to "more surely learn the ancient truth that greed and selfishness and striving for undue riches can never bring lasting happiness or good to the individual or to his neighbor."

The all-embracing enumeration by our Chief Executive of the causes which command our gratitude leaves little or nothing to be added. Would it not be most fitting to go from this place, without an additional word, to carry these sentiments of the Proclamation in our hearts, and with the resolution to make them the rule of action in our lives? The wisest course would seem to be to sing a Thanksgiving hymn, follow the pastor in a prayer of thanksgiving, and thus bring the service to a close. After hearing and emphasizing the Proclamation, I do not feel capable of adding anything to the President's well nigh perfect expression of what is uppermost in the hearts of all patriotic men and women. And yet, chiefly because I have promised to attempt to voice the gratitude of Americans sojourning in this country of a good neighbor, and because one additional sentiment applicable to our day dominates my thought, I venture to suggest that no two periods of thanksgiving are alike, and that each one has its mission and its message.

Every Thanksgiving Day brings its own particular obligation, growing out of experiences peculiar to itself. There have been periods, as when the Feast of the Tabernacles, the first Thanksgiving, was divinely appointed, when it was needful for primitive man to be given specific directions as to the observance of the season. The command to Israel was: "When ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days." From time immemorial all nations observed harvest festivals, but all were not marked by the spirit of religion. Literature is enriched with accounts of the rejoicing and singing "Harvest Home," the most delightful description being that by George Eliot, in "Adam Bede." If you wish to have a thrill re-read that classic of how the English celebrated. After a period of suffering when half their number had perished in seeking to make homes in the New World, the people gathered first on Plymouth Rock on December 21, 1621, to rejoice that they had garnered the fruits of a plentiful harvest. In Old England, and in their sojourn in Holland for ten years, the Pilgrims had observed the custom as a religious service.

Thanksgiving is God-appointed, not merely for feasting and family reunions, but for gratitude to God as recognized in the proclamation by Governor Bradford. That year abundance, following crop failures, saved the lives of those who had survived. No wonder they responded to the call for a three days' feast. If this generation had known such hunger and such privation, would they not come to the feast with hearts overflowing with gratitude? And would we not be seasoning our turkey by sharing material blessings with those

less favored, as did the New Englanders in their first celebration when they invited the Indians to partake with them of the feast? A Thanksgiving that is confined to self is pagan, no matter how many songs of praise are raised.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, Washington's proclamation contained thanks that a free nation, based on the consent of the governed, had been born. When the War of the Sixties terminated in an indissoluble union of indestructible states, Lincoln's proclamation was a paean of gratitude for the preservation of the Union. Shortly after the Armistice, Wilson, having a vision of a warless world, rejoiced that in spirit the nations were making ready to constitute a "Federation of the World and a Parliament of Man." To-day, having walked in recent years in the shadows of a debacle which brought hunger and unemployment, we meet in the spirit of 1621 to pray for faith and courage to bring us and all the world into the "brighter day" envisioned by our Chief Executive.

The sentiment that needs to be stressed at this hour is born in the similarity between the conditions of distress when the first American Thanksgiving celebration was held and those which have given pause in the difficult years through which we have been passing. It is to be questioned whether the Pilgrims would have responded so generally to the first call to give thanks if they had not known distress. In all ages prosperity has not been provocative of thanksgiving. When men have been accustomed to the fulfilment of all their wants - when they have "waxed fat" - they have too often accepted the gifts of providence as the result of their own foresight and industry. It is only when their own efforts have failed that they turn unto God.

If asked to express in one sentence the paramount cause for Thanksgiving in 1933, the correct answer would be: Thankfulness for divine dissatisfaction, as emphasized years ago as something very good by a distinguished philosopher (I think it was Emerson) and recently by an eminent divine. "The truth is that the discontent of the present generation is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, since it can be harnessed and used as a force of good," declared the Reverend Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in a recent sermon. He added:

"Most of us never start on worth-while tasks until we are discontented. The idealistic pull of goodness, truth and beauty alone would not launch us on high courses or keep us there. The push of discontentment is indispensable. We do not even think until we have to.

"We desire world peace mainly because we

have

have been so plowed up and harrowed by world war. We want something better in our economic order mainly because we cannot stand what we have now. For everything, personal or social, that mankind has ever gained we are unpayably indebted to discontent."

For generations, from a misguided pulpit, press, and forum, men have been warned against being dissatisfied. They have been told that in whatever state they found themselves they should therewith be content, and never under any circumstances join the army of the discontented. Indeed the poor have been told, time out of mind, in order to keep them contented, that while the rich man "receiveth thy good things and likewise Lazarus evil things, but now he is comforted and thou art tormented" - that is to say, though the poor in this world lack comforts, they should bear their discomforts uncomplainingly because in the world to come every desire would be gratified as a recompense for their suffering here below.

Did the man held in serfdom, desiring the just rewards of his labor, threaten to rebel, the smooth voices of so-called religious guides were wont to bid him accept without complaint wrongs and injustices, and to calmly await the rewards which he was assured are laid up for the righteous in heaven. Such soporifics strengthened feudalism and slavery and the semi-feudalism which persists in our day. Against such soft syrup, justified nowhere by the teachings of Jesus, stands His gospel compressed into the Golden Rule and His maledictions upon those who grind the faces of the poor. Jesus nowhere justified taking bread from the mouths of those who had earned it, or any practice which keeps men's minds in subjection or their bodies dwarfed that the few might monopolize comforts and luxuries.

Much of what in our day is called by some Radicalism is in fact Divine Dissatisfaction with unjust conditions and unfair policies of government and of industry. The day, however, has passed when just protests can be silenced by promises of heavenly rewards, or by the mailed hand, or other cajolery or force. The mighty army of mankind is on the march for equality of opportunity and a fair share now and here of the resources of nature and of the products of their skill and labor. And it is an army bearing the banner of Christian Equality. Dissatisfaction sometimes unfortunately finds expression in tearing down, forgetful that no permanent improvement can come by destruction. It is gratifying that men, long suffering under conditions which denied a fair chance to their children, are now learning that by recourse to

education

education and the ballot alone will they be enabled to reach their goal! Bloody revolution retards victory.

It is not only those whose toil has been unrequited who are in revolt against "greed and selfishness and striving for undue riches," which closed factories and banks and brought on the depression of our day. In the mobilization of the forces of the Army of Divine Dissatisfaction are enrolled thinkers and philosophers and forward-looking business men whose sad experiences in the era of frenzied finance, miscalled the New Economy, have disillusioned them. These forces will never beat a retreat until Government and Industry accept and practice the Golden Rule. No great good to mankind has come except through travail. Privilege has never abdicated. It must be dethroned. When dethroned, the new rulers must fulfill the aspirations of the poet who wrote:

"For justice all seasons summer
And every place a temple."

Therefore, while evidencing gratitude for food and raiment and shelter, let us be thankful most of all that a new revolution by peaceful methods is advancing toward a world in which every man will help his neighbor, when every country will respect its neighbor's points of view as well as its just rights, and when Justice and Peace, as foreshadowed by the Prince of Peace, will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

File

México, January 29, 1934.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

I was made very happy this week by the turn of affairs in Cuba and in El Salvador. The recognition of responsible governments in both countries is regarded here and elsewhere as practical demonstrations of the Good Neighbor policy you announced in March, and to the strengthening of which our delegation at Montevideo contributed so much. Even among partisans of Grau San Martín here (and Mexican authorities were hopeful he could secure order and recognition) there is a feeling that you have taken a step that will not only help Cuba but strengthen sound Pan Americanism.

Soon after I arrived here, in touch with people who were familiar with conditions in Central America, I became convinced that sentiment south of the Rio Grande was veering toward the recognition of General Martínez. The belief was that, while he might have obtained the presidency of El Salvador in violation of agreements in the treaty signed by the Central American Governments, which had refused recognition to any high official who by force of arms assumed the presidency, the fact that since coming into office President Martínez had preserved order and met the obligations of his country was evidence that his rule was acceptable to a majority of the people of El Salvador. Mexico has long ago given recognition. El Salvador's Minister here, Dr. Juan Ramon Uriarte, is a well informed, courteous gentleman, and is held in high esteem. Grapevine telegraph had caused Mexicans to

believe

The President,

The White House.

believe the recognition would be given by all Central American countries if such agreement was agreeable to the United States.

Yesterday when the Ambassador from Guatemala informed me that his country had recognized President Martínez' government, he said he was sure that it would be followed by Nicaragua and Honduras. With a smile, he added: "Your country will do likewise". His point of view was that recognition by these countries was precluded by an understanding with the United States. The opinion is entertained here that the Central American treaty as to non-recognition, now in the discard, was in the first instance prompted or approved by our government, and that the recognition would not have come unless we were ready to follow suit.

I have all along had a hunch (President Wilson defined a "hunch" as something you could rely upon more than knowledge but could not give your reasons for it) that the Central American treaty as to recognition was inspired by Washington in order to secure co-operation with those countries to make revolutions more difficult. Evidently the Guatemalan Ambassador had the same opinion, for he looked "very knowing" when he took me aside and told me that he was sure that Nicaragua and Honduras would recognize El Salvador on the same day, and the rapprochement would be complete by the action of the United States.

The ex-President of Cuba, Grau San Martín, who arrived here two days ago, received enthusiastic welcome. Arthur Page, who came from Veracruz on the same train with his party, said that when the train would stop at stations delegations would come aboard and present him with large bouquets of flowers. Some of these delegations were very black and Mr. Page thought they were Cubans. Grau San Martín was accompanied by members of his family (he is unmarried) and expects to be here two months or more.

It is a very good way that ex-Presidents have in Latin American countries of leaving their country when they leave office. Those who quit when quitting is good are wise not to remain nearby, thereby giving their successor a free hand without the embarrassment of their presence. As to the others, who are forced out, they are required to leave between suns, as for example Díaz and Huerta and others who had to get out.

With

With us ex-Presidents are a problem. In these countries the problem is solved either by their expulsion or by their voluntary expatriation. However, that is changing. Both Calles and Portes Gil, ex-Presidents, remain here, General Calles as head of the National Revolutionary Party, and a real Warwick, and Portes Gil as Attorney General. Public position is still here the most profitable business. That is Mexico's weakness.

It was natural that Grau San Martín should come here, for he is among friends. From the first the Mexicans have favored him. Their Chargé d'Affaires in Cuba was very close to him, so close that Sumner Welles thought he was assuming too much influence in Cuban matters. The day after his arrival here, Grau San Martín called on Minister Puig. Quite a crowd assembled to see him and he was closeted with Dr. Puig for more than an hour. On that morning the EXCELSIOR carried an interview with him. In the main his utterances were discreet, but at the close he spoke unwisely in severely critical terms of the United States. He asserted that the revolution he headed was "detrimental to vested interests which are probably the ones which have contributed to my downfall". He said his fight against "predatory foreign companies", one of them the chief electrical enterprise, which has made a fortune at the cost of the public by charging fifteen cents gold per kilowatt while the cost in the United States is six cents, was in the interest of the people and was one of which he is proud. "I shall return to my office and my chair in the University. I shall be in Mexico long enough to learn a little of the country, to which I am more grateful because here the Cuban Revolution was understood". He denied that the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Reyes Spíndola, meddled in Cuban politics, stating that "it was not true that he took part in affairs prior to the transfer of the presidency to Carlos Heviar, as one foreign news agency printed, but which has now been officially denied".

Dr. Puig said only the EXCELSIOR carried the critical expression about the United States, and it was most unfortunate that any of them printed it and that the ex-President had given expression to such views. President Rodríguez is to receive Grau San Martín, but only "in a social way as he has no official position".

The ex-President of Cuba, as you know, is a physician of note in his country. His Ambassador to Mexico, Dr.

Salvador

Salvador Massip, was educated at Columbia and was a professor in the University of Cuba. He has made a good impression here and I have come to esteem him highly. In view of the fact that Cuba has named three Ambassadors here since I arrived, I suggested to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that they would have saved money if they had purchased return tickets. Seeing the existence of a working "brain trust" in the United States, our Cuban friends decided to go us one better and make a professor chief executive as well as call on the University to furnish other men in high positions. Their trouble seems to have been that the chief executive chosen had enjoyed no experience outside college walls and was unable to use the mortar which men long in public life must utilize if the building is firmly fashioned. Men in the "brain trust" must submit the result of their research to men accustomed to team work. Research workers and scholars are not, as a rule, good executives and can rarely secure the necessary co-operation. Accustomed to dealing with students, they are inclined to give directions instead of seek co-operation. That was partly Grau San Martin's chief lack. Doctors are usually that way - they tell patients and nurses what to do. Trained publicists seek to secure the aid of those upon whom they must lean if the largest success is attained. That is why trained public men succeed where scholars fall down.

It is gratifying to read that you are sending food to feed the Cubans. That is practical Christianity as defined by St. James. That, by the way, is the most practical book in the Bible by which any life can be regulated. At the bottom of the Cuban, and the Mexican, as well as most other revolutions, is hunger. And hunger is sometimes caused by governmental favoritism. If from the day of Cortez the land in Mexico had not been taken from the Indians, the chief cause of revolution would not have existed. Here one half the land, originally ejidos for natives, belonged to the established church. Much of the best of the balance belonged later to the favorites of Diaz. The only hope of Mexico is dividing the lands so that those who live on them will be safe in their cultivation of the soil. This is the big problem Mexico is trying to solve. That and public schools are the foundations upon which the leaders with vision are trying to rebuild the country after centuries of oppression and denial of the most fundamental rights to the great mass of original Mexicans.

The same thing must be done in Cuba. Since American
sugar

sugar companies became owners of most of the good lands in Cuba, the tillers of the soil have exclusively worked on sugar plantations. The old time cultivation of bread and meat has fallen into disuse. Partition of land and raising home supplies is the essential for Cuban restitution. Mexico's safety is that its people "live home and board in the same place" and are being given land. Faith in Anteus was right. We must touch the soil to obtain strength.

Congratulating you that the New Year witnesses cordial relations between all governments on this hemisphere, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph P. Daniels

PSF Mexico

México, April 13, 1934.

PERSONAL.

Dear Mr. President:

During your absence on your fishing trip I wrote you that Dr. Puig had informed me that owing to the illness of General Calles, his physician had ordered him to rest. This involved the cancellation of all engagements. Therefore, the luncheon, at which I was to present your letter to General Calles, was annulled. I then wrote General Calles a note expressing regret at his illness and the hope for his early perfect recovery, and enclosed your letter. To-day I received a letter from General Calles, written upon the eve of his departure for a long stay in Sinaloa, requesting me, his "distinguished and esteemed friend", to take a letter which he had written to you, along with his thanks and regards, with me to Washington. I am enclosing a translation of his letter to you and will deliver the original to you when I come to Washington in May. In his letter to me, General Calles said:

"I want to thank you to be good enough - in addition to delivering the letter in which I personally do so - to convey to President Roosevelt my admiration for his political labors and for the great and generous personal efforts which he has made since the beginning of his administration in favor of the general public and most particularly in favor of the needy and forgotten of his country."

I am looking forward to seeing you shortly. Save some of your fish stories for our delectation. My wife joins in love to you and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Faithfully yours,

Josephus Daniels

The President,
The White House.

TRANSLATION

GRAL. P. ELIAS CALLES
Mexico, D.F.

April 11, 1934

Mr. President:

At the hands of my distinguished and esteemed friend His Excellency Ambassador Daniels, I received your kind and flattering letter in which you referred to the modest contribution which you believe I have made toward the happy condition of peace and growing prosperity in Mexico.

I am very sincerely grateful for your felicitations, and of course I do not need to tell you that when I have not been a part of the Government as assistant of President Rodriguez in some concrete post, my activities have been only along the lines of general support and coöperation, a coöperation to which I am inspired by my past responsibilities, my political convictions and obligations, my respect and affection for President Rodriguez, and my sincere appreciation of the exemplary administration he is carrying on.

Ambassador Daniels will already have been good enough to inform you of the reasons of health which prevented me from entertaining him on the eve of his departure for the United States, as I had wished to do. He can also tell you of the extent to which I feel that the progressive policy which you are carrying out coincides in general terms with the policy which we have sought to carry out in Mexico. You may be sure that we particularly appreciate and admire the magnanimous work of your administration in favor of the unemployed, the workers, and the forgotten man in general.

With every good wish for your success, and health and strength for the noble task you have undertaken, I send you my very cordial and respectful greetings.

Your sincere friend,

(SGD)

P. ELIAS CALLES.

His Excellency

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

Trans:KCT

Paula
file

PSF Mexico

México, August 17, 1934.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL



Dear Franklin:

I wonder if one President has any interest in what another President does and how he lives. You remember that a gossiping old lady once said to a friend: "One half of the world does not know how the other half lives", and she was met with the reply: "But that is no fault of yours".

On Monday my wife and I were invited to go down to Cuernavaca to lunch, quietly and without any others, with President and Señora Rodríguez. We had not seen them since our return, and a short time ago the father of Mrs. Rodríguez died and she is in mourning.

Cuernavaca is famous for having preserved the palace built by Cortez, and, of course, an old Cathedral; for the murals on the palace walls which Ambassador Morrow paid Diego Rivera to paint; for its modern Monte Carlo, where the players win a little occasionally - about half as much as the luckiest gambler at Monte Carlo; and as having become the summer capital of the republic, seeing that General Calles has a home and lives there much of the time, and President Rodríguez has a nice home just opposite that of his predecessor in the office of President. It has importance also for other reasons, mainly because a large number of the wealthy Mexicans and foreigners have homes there where they go for week-ends. It leaped into prominence when Ambassador Morrow bought an old house there and Mrs. Morrow laid out or rather improved an ancient Spanish garden, making it so beautiful in the moonlight that Lindbergh didn't have a chance when he and Anne followed the old song, "Come into the Garden".

Mr.

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

Mr. Morrow evidently was far from well when he was here, for he could not sleep well in Mexico City and sought a week-end home at Cuernavaca so he could sleep. It is about 5000 feet above sea elevation, while Mexico City is 7500, or about a mile and a half nearer heaven, in altitude, than Washington City. You observe I limit the elevation to "altitude", for I do not think President Rodriguez, or Mexicans in their capital, live any nearer heaven than you and others who sweat in summer and freeze in winter on the banks of the Potomac. Not being able to sleep here, Mr. Morrow spent his week-ends, sometimes more, in the warmer climate of Cuernavaca when he was in Mexico. However, he was away from Mexico much of the time during his term as Ambassador, which began October 23, 1927, and ended September 18, 1930. In addition to his stay at Havana during the Pan American Conference and the time he spent in London at the so-called Disarmament Conference, to both of which he was a delegate, he stayed here only twice more than three months without going to the United States.

When I was appointed Ambassador all my friends in Washington congratulated me, saying: "You have two homes at your disposal, one at Mexico City belonging to Uncle Sam and the other the Morrow place, in Cuernavaca, which he gave to the Government for the use of Ambassadors, where you can spend week-ends". That was the general impression there, and Mr. Morrow is said to have contemplated transferring his Cuernavaca place to the Government for the use of his successors. If so, he died without carrying out his purpose. It belongs to Mrs. Morrow, who tendered the use to members of the Embassy staff who served here with Mr. Morrow when they wished to use it. Two winters ago it was rented by Winston Churchill, of New Hampshire. It is said he spent most of his time painting. Isn't it strange how many men who are proficient in one art or craft or profession come to regard it as not so fine and play amateur at something else? Churchill wrote some great - or at least near great - novels. I liked best those depicting the political control of New Hampshire by bosses, though his Richard Carvel stirred my patriotic imagination more. They say here that he did not write at all at Cuernavaca but gave himself to painting. I have seen nobody who can judge of his ability as a painter. It may be, however, that painting was a fad, and that here he was gathering material for a novel. He had the right setting and I hope he makes it his best work. What a novel he could write with Marina as the heroine. I could almost write a good novel with that romantic historical background myself if I had the time. Churchill could do it to the Queen's taste. By the way, does a Queen have any better taste than a President's or Ambassador's wife? I doubt it when I think of Mrs. Roosevelt and my wife and

Mrs.

Mrs. Rodríguez.

It was a very good luncheon the President and his wife served, with both Mexican and American dishes, mostly the latter, probably out of deference to American guests. Both of them speak English well, she perfectly. Sometimes during the meal, while talking with us, he would hesitate a moment for the proper English word and she would promptly and naturally supply it. I told them of your desire next summer, after your return from the Pacific, to stop at some point or points on the border, probably El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, and meet the President and other officials of the Mexican Republic, and to in person discuss neighborly matters.

"I wish I had known that this morning", said President Rodríguez, "for General Cárdenas was here and I would have been glad to talk with him about it, for I am sure he would enter into the plan with sympathy and cooperate heartily."

"Did you know", he asked, "that after he was elected, I invited President Roosevelt to visit Mexico?"

I had not known of it, and he said he guessed you were so busy making up your Cabinet and studying the big problems you had to consider that you could not possibly get away. I told him that I had hoped you could come during his term, but that your trip to Panama and Hawaii took all the time you could spare this year, but you were planning to come next summer. He was glad and I can assure you your coming will make a great occasion for both countries.

President Rodríguez is as familiar with all the plans and experiments of the New Deal as any American, probably more familiar than most of our countrymen, for he has been busy with problems that are not dissimilar. He is enthusiastic in his praise of your policy and believes it will help Mexico and all other countries, as well as the people of the United States. He compared the Mexican Six-Year program with the New Deal and said they had a common objective. In some things, as for example, giving land to men who work the haciendas, Mexico is looking to do more for the forgotten man than you have been able to do. For one thing, in putting people on the land the forgotten men here have been forgotten many more years than in our country, and more must be done to somewhat make up for the neglect of the leaders for five hundred years. When, thanks to Andrew Johnson (by the way a North Carolina President), the homestead law gave a chance for every American to get a

farm

farm, the land that the Indians in Mexico had held in common "since the time whereof the memory runneth not to the contrary" was being taken from them and given to the "Cientificos", who from the time of Cortez ruled the country with rods of iron.

President Rodríguez is very happy at the financial improvement in Mexican affairs. With pride he unfolded that in his term the budget had been increased ten per cent and "I will turn over a balanced budget to my successor". He said that the program he had been carrying out, embodied in the platform of the National Revolutionary Party, would be continued by General Cárdenas when he was inaugurated in December. "We belong to the same party and have common aims", he said.

There is a persistent report - or gossip - here that President Rodríguez will go from the office of President to a portfolio in the Cabinet of his successor. Of course I did not suggest that, but in the course of conversation after luncheon he said that when his term expired he looked forward to returning to his home at Ensenada, where he has large packing interests. He probably puts up the sardines you eat when you go a-fishing. Observe he said he "looked forward to going back to Ensenada". He did not say he was actually going back. He added that he owned large stock in the Popo Company in Mexico City which makes automobile tires, and in the company at Tehuacan where a large hotel has recently been built at the famous mineral springs, and in other corporations hereabouts, and said looking after his business would necessitate his spending much of his time in Mexico City and Guernavaca. Without any mock heroics, he said he would be happy to be again in private life, adding that he would again be a private citizen "if they will let me". I do not know what, if anything, was behind that "if they will let me". Probably nothing. However, I promptly rose to the occasion and said with emphasis and absolute sincerity: "I hope they will not let you". He has shown himself a good Administrator and has stood for many progressive plans. There are not many men with these qualities, as you know better than I do. Those who are able and are devoted to the weal of the forgotten man and who know how to bring about important improvements are needed in public stations in both countries. My observation is that too many who talk eloquently about reform and securing equality and justice when candidates, forget the promises and pledges they make a short time after they are comfortably ensconced in office. I expect you have had trouble with some of these forgetting gentry. President Rodríguez has not forgotten the average man. In fact the hold-overs from the "Cientificos" think he does too much for the worker.

This

This thought recalls the conversation that followed about the necessity of a governor, president or other executive knowing at first hand how the people live, their conditions, and what is needed to give them a more abundant life. In that conversation Mrs. Rodríguez said that she had been intrigued by, and was always interested in, the story of the English King (or was he a Scotsman?) who dressed himself as a hunter and went into the cottages and lived among his people in order to know how to become a good ruler. The President said, after an inquiry by me, that his experience as a soldier in the Revolution had taught him the true situation of the people of his country, how little they had, and how they had been neglected. It is his vivid recollection of his comradeship in the Revolution that keeps him knowing how they need land, irrigation, tools for farming, schools, freedom, better wages, liberty - the things he says that the Six-Year Plan undertakes to bring in the reach of all, particularly those who have never had a chance. Some people say that this is a political pose on his part and on the part of his political associates, but if you had heard him you would have been convinced, no matter how far off is the goal, that he really wants a better day for the workers of his country. And if you could hear the criticism of the policies by power owners and the agents of rich concessionaries you would know it was no more a pose than your great power program.

I was impressed with what he said about the Catholics (his wife is said to be a devout Catholic) in their dealings with these people. He spoke in severe criticism about the priests compelling the poor people, with hardly enough to feed their families, to give the first fruits of all they produced to make the church rich. My wife said: "I know some people in America who do that - give a tenth of all they make to the Lord". The President paused at that statement, but added: "They do so voluntarily and out of their abundance. The priests took what was needed for a bare existence from the Indians who were forced to give". It was this policy of the Catholic Church and the fact that, having direction of schools, they kept the bulk of the people in ignorance, which makes him oppose what he regards as the dangerous policies of the Catholic Church. His wife said nothing. One can in Mexico be a good Catholic in the spiritual life and rejoice in the better day the Revolution has brought to the mass of the long neglected people. I like the word "forgotten man" better than "neglected", for in our country and in Mexico some bad things have been wrought, as the poet says, by "want of thought rather than by want of feeling". The people simply were forgotten by those who should have kept their needs and rights in remembrance. But

Faithfully and affectionately,

has

has that ever been done by those who live on Easy Street? It is because it has never been done that you are meeting with so much unreasoning opposition at home now that you are sincerely undertaking it. However, the hearts of the people are with you. The letter of Raymond Clapper in the Washington Post, written from Rochester, Minnesota, is reassuring on that point. Though he found old bankers and business men hostile in the Northwest, he found that the white collar and overall workers, in city, town and country, were back of what you are undertaking and ready to stand by you to the end.

President Rodríguez wished me to convey to you his congratulations upon the big work you are doing and his gratification that these two republics are more together in policy and in mutual esteem than at any time in their history. He told me that he was going on the air tonight (Friday) to talk on the minimum wage. Until the days following the success of the Revolution, the maximum wage was hardly enough to keep soul and body together. The fight for a minimum wage here is for a compensation far below such wage in the United States. The Mexican President has a "good press", something you lack in certain pivotal parts of our country. If the press continues to fight for a restoration of the Old Order, the people will have to look more and more to the radio, which raises the question: How long before the Government shall make all communications government owned and operated? I see no more reason why Uncle Sam should carry the mail than provide telegraphic, telephonic and wireless communications.

My wife conveyed to Mrs. Rodríguez Mrs. Roosevelt's appreciation of her invitation to visit her when she comes next fall. She appreciated the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt might not wish her visit to have any official significance, but hopes to see her while she is here. You both would like Mrs. Rodríguez. She is beautiful and has charm and poise.

I am afraid I have made this letter too long, but seeing I am trying to convey the attitude and surroundings of one President to another, I hope you will forgive me for being prolix. I have an idea that perhaps this letter might interest Mrs. Roosevelt. If you think so, please let her read it, if indeed either of you can snatch time to read a screed from Mexico. We both hope it will help to persuade her to pay us that promised visit this fall.

My wife joins in love to you and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Faithfully and affectionately,

Joseph Daniels

PSE Mexico - 1934

Writer: Mrs. Aida S. de Rodriguez
(Wife of President of Mexico)

Address: Castillo de Chapultepec
Mexico, D. F., Mexico

Date: October 29, 1934

Language: Spanish

Translated Social Bureau
by: White House

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Being absent from the city for the last two weeks, I did not receive your letter of the 1st until my return, and I regret for this reason not having answered sooner.

Thank you for your kind expression concerning my ideals of fraternity between all the Latin-American Republics, and it is indeed a satisfaction to know that you have so interpreted my sentiments, which is the interpretation one might expect from you whose acts have been so noble and humanitarian.

Our polo players returned home very pleased with the kind attention shown them.

I am sorry that at the present time you (plural) cannot make a trip to Mexico, as it would so please me to entertain you in the way you should be and to show you many of the beautiful places in my country. I surely hope I will be fortunate enough to be in the city when you (plural) plan a visit, as, aside from the official reception, my private desire would be to entertain you.

My husband and I thank you very much for your greetings and in return send you ours.

(signed) Aida S. de Rodriguez

Aida I. de Rodriguez

PSF Mexico

CASTILLO DE CHAPULTEPEC.
29 de Octubre de 1934.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
The White House
Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

*Please send
unpublished copy
to Mrs. Roosevelt
of President*

Muy querida señora Roosevelt:

Por haber estado ausente de esta Capital las ultimas dos semanas, a mi regreso tuve el agrado de enterarme de su muy amable carta de fecha primero de los corrientes, que lamento no haber contestado antes por las razones que dejo anotadas.

Estimo muy sinceramente sus bellas palabras por mi ideal de fraternidad entre todas las Repúblicas Latin-Americanas, y es una gran satisfacción para mí saber que este ideal haya sido debidamente interpretado por usted lo cual ya me esperaba, dados los sentimientos tan nobles y humanitarios que usted ha demostrado en todos sus actos.

Nuestros jugadores de Polo regresaron muy complacidos por todas las atenciones que ustedes tuvieron la bondad de dispensarles.

Siento mucho que por el momento no puedan ustedes hacer un viaje a México, pues me agradaría haber podido atenderla, como usted se lo merece, y mostrarle algunas de las bellezas de mi país. Ojalá que me toque en suerte estar en esta Capital cuando ustedes proyecten su viaje, pues aún fuera de la representación oficial, mi deseo muy particular sería poder atenderla.

Mi esposo y yo agradecemos muy sinceramente los saludos de ustedes, los que retornamos con afecto.

Quedo su atenta y segura servidora.

Aida I. de Rodriguez

personal

*File
P.S.F. Matrics*

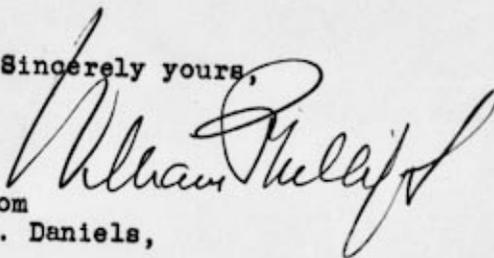
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1934

Dear Mr. McIntyre:

As the President may wish to send a personal reply, I am returning herewith the letter which he gave me yesterday from Ambassador Daniels. I had an opportunity to discuss the contents of the letter with the President when I saw him this morning.

Sincerely yours,



Enclosure:
Original letter from
the Honorable J. D. Daniels,
October 26, 1934.

The Honorable
Marvin H. McIntyre,
Assistant Secretary to the President,
The White House.

Mexico, October 26, 1934.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

The submission by the Mexican Congress of an amendment to Article Three of the Constitution, to be voted on by the States, has created a situation here which has had reverberations in the United States and has accentuated divisions here. It provides that "primary education shall be obligatory and will be imparted gratuitously by the State". It outlaws all church schools, provides for granting the right of licensed private schools, subject to the provision that they must impart "socialistic education" as prescribed by the State. The article declares that "the education imparted by the State shall be socialistic, and furthermore will exclude all religious doctrine and combat fanaticism and prejudice, and toward this end the school will organize its teachings and activities so as to imbue in the young a rational and exact concept of the universe and social life". There is also a provision which declares that "religious corporations, ministers of the cults, societies exclusively or preferably devoted to educational activities, and associations or societies directly or indirectly connected with the propaganda of a religious creed, may not in any manner participate in the activities of primary, secondary or normal schools, nor furnish them financial assistance".

There is much resentment, particularly among Catholics, toward the ban upon schools conducted by religious organizations, and it has manifested itself in protest parades, in strikes by children in schools, the closing of some schools, and, according to General Calles, in organized opposition by priests, amounting in his opinion to "sedition". Undoubtedly the rift is deep and something of a crisis exists. A South American diplomat told me last week that he feared the worst, for the opposition to "socialistic education" is resolved to prevent

its

The President,
The White House.

its being carried out in the schools. He is a strong Catholic and his view may be colored by his earnest belief in the attitude of his church associates. The Government authorities recognize the opposition.

The present agitation, beginning with the introduction of the Amendment to Article Three, demanding no instruction that is not "socialistic", is mainly responsible for the criticism of my address made to Americans attending the Seminar last July. In that address I quoted this remark in an address by General Calles: "We must enter and take possession of the mind of childhood, the mind of youth", and I also commended the Mexicans for encouraging universal public education. I had not seen General Calles entire address, only the extract I quoted. It seems that in another part of the address General Calles used terms that were very critical of church education, which I had not seen. There was no criticism of my approval of public education, only of my having quoted with approval one portion of the address in which in another portion General Calles used expressions which offended Catholics. At that time Article Three had not been introduced. It was only when the amendment to this Article was introduced, approved by Calles and Cárdenas and unanimously ratified by the Mexican Congress, that the storm of opposition broke. Naturally the closing of church schools and the expulsion of some priests aroused Catholics in Mexico and in the United States. It was then, misunderstanding my address, that some Catholics at home criticized me.

The whole question is not new here. The Juarez forces were as antagonistic to Church rule as is Calles. In fact, it was largely due to the Catholic hostility to Juarez, who had confiscated church property, that Maximilian, "His Catholic Majesty", was invited to become Emperor of Mexico. The Catholic leaders executed Hidalgo, a priest, when he fought against oppressive rule. You will be interested in an authentic story connected with that action. Early in Ambassador Morrow's term, when the churches were all closed, a conference was held at which Ambassador Morrow, our friend Father Burke of Washington, D.C., and General Calles, then President of Mexico, were present. The object was to secure the opening of the churches. Father Burke said he wished to remind General Calles that the Catholics were among the earliest patriots in Mexico and in fact led for independence. As proof he said that Hidalgo, who first rung the bell for liberty, was a priest.

"Yes", said General Calles, "I know he was a priest, but the authorities of your church excommunicated him because he led for independence, and were responsible for

his

his death, being shot in sight of the church which had decreed his excommunication".

"But", answered Father Burke, "he was excommunicated from the church, not for his participation in the Hidalgo revolution, but because he was the father of children, and no priest could lawfully have a family".

General Calles responded: "If the church in that period had turned out every priest who was the father of children, there would have been few left to officiate in the churches."

The subject was then changed and the big question of reopening the closed churches was taken up. Father Burke pressed upon President Calles the importance of permitting the churches to be reopened, contending that the closing of the churches had been ordered by the Mexican Government.

"Why does the Church insist upon keeping them closed?" asked General Calles. "The Mexican Government has never forbidden priests to officiate or closed the churches, as you seem to think. They can be opened tomorrow if priests will obey the Mexican law requiring members of all professions, including the clergy, to register. The trouble is that your highest authority, the Pope, has forbidden the priests to register and it is, therefore, the Church that is responsible for the lack of religious ceremonies in Mexico, and not the Government".

There seemed to be an impasse. As the result of this conversation a way out was found, by which the Archbishop registered the priests and religious services were resumed in the churches. It was a compromise. The priests did not personally register, but the Government permitted their superior prelate to put their names on the Mexican books. Afterwards they officiated in the churches, but restrictive regulations forbade them to officiate in any church outside the one for which they were registered. Other laws fixed the number of priests or other ministers who could officiate. All churches became Government property. In some States the number of priests was fixed at so few as to deny sufficient priests to minister to the people. In Mexico City 25 or 28 priests (3 Protestants preaching in English) were authorized. In some States the number was larger than in others, depending upon the authorities in each State. In some States no preachers or priests could register or officiate. The Governor of Tabasco is quoted as saying that "there is neither a priest nor a saloon in Tabasco".

Due to the agitation over the amendment to Article

Three

Three, two States are said recently to have driven out the priests and no church services are held in those States. Until the Government's policy is accepted in those States, the churches will probably be closed. As you are doubtless aware, the present acute situation exists chiefly because of the educational policy, as exemplified by insistence upon the amendment to Article Three. The Government demands exclusive control of all primary and elementary education, and compels all religious schools to be closed. The Catholic Church denies the right of the State to control education. It insists that the child belongs to the parent who cannot be denied the right to send children to a church school, as he could do in the United States. The fact that no church school is permitted to operate denies parents what they regard as a natural right. This policy is resented by many, and not all of them are Catholics. It is more deeply resented by the priests who feel that the education of children is an important function of the Catholic Church.

The basis of the trouble here is education. In the five hundred years since Cortez helped Malinche conquer Mexico, the masses of the people (the Indians) have never been educated. Only a comparative few have been admitted to the schools, mainly conducted by priests, nuns, ministers. Without such schools, even the few would not have enjoyed educational advantages. The Revolution began by driving out Díaz, who started as a patriot and ended up as the "step-mother of Mexicans and the mother of foreigners"; it was born in hostility to caste and class rule dominated by a group called "Científicos"; its object was to give to the Indians and mestizos land, liberty, education - three things they had never enjoyed. Of course the objectives of the Revolution have met with the opposition of the "Científicos" and the wealthy and the high church authorities. General Calles links together "the capitalists and the clergy" as opponents of the contest for exclusive control by the State of primary and elementary education and to require all private, as well as public, schools to impart "socialistic education".

Nobody in authority has defined "socialistic education". Last summer there were protest parades over the publication that the Minister of Education, Mr. Bassols, had resolved to require sexual education in the primary schools. Mothers and fathers raised indignant objections to such instruction of young children. Mr. Bassols denied it had ever been contemplated in private or elementary schools. However, the belief that it was on the program was widespread. While I was in the United States, the President bowed to the storm of protests and shifted Mr. Bassols from the Department of Education to the Ministry of Gobernacion.

Later

Later he went to the United States and is completely out of the picture. Well informed men are of the opinion that the general public thinks that "socialistic education" may embrace sexual education and some are opposing the amendment to Article Three because they think there is no difference between "socialistic" and "sexual" education. However that may be, there is deep seated opposition to the proposal. In some instances soldiers and police were called upon to disperse the massed protestants who gathered. Quite a number of schools were closed because the pupils went on strike against "socialistic education". These strikes seem to be over now, but they may flare up again.

The head and front of the demand for "socialistic education" is General Calles, the big man of Mexico. President Rodríguez and President-elect Cárdenas publicly agree and favor the amendment to the Constitution. Some people think that President Rodríguez would have preferred that the issue should not have been raised now, just as he was ending his term with general popular approval. There are those who say Cárdenas was not keen to have it precipitated just on the eve of his succession. However, you can hear almost anything. Others hold that Cárdenas is in hearty agreement with Calles and both wish to end church education and secure ratification of the amendment by the States so Cárdenas may put the new system into effect immediately upon taking office. "The conflict had to come", said a Mexican official to me, "and the sooner the better".

The bottom of the whole trouble is that the Revolutionary Party believes that unless Catholics are ousted from teaching the youth, the next generation will be trained to hate the principles of the revolution (land, liberty and education for the Indians) and will restore the Old Order to power. The Church leaders believe that under the guise of "socialistic education" the leaders of the Revolutionary Party wish to destroy all religion and make this an atheistic country. Both sides are absolutely certain they are right, and therefore the conflict is regarded as vital. The party in power denies it is going to teach hostility to religion, only to church establishments. They say that since the days of Hidalgo and Juarez, the higher ups in the Catholic Church have been hand in glove with the rich and powerful who monopolized all the fruits of toil, dooming the Indians and mestizos to grinding poverty and conditions little if any better than slavery. They say they fought Madero, Carranza, Obregón, Calles - all revolutionary leaders, and Revolutionary leaders say it is undeniable that Catholic leaders backed Díaz and Huerta. The passions of those days still burn. Therefore the opposition to the "clergy and the capitalists".

A few

A few days ago the Senators and Members of the House of Deputies journeyed to Cuernavaca to assure General Calles of their support. In the course of his address, "the Chief", as members of the National Revolutionary Party call General Calles, made an address which you or T.R. would call "a fighting speech". He declared that he had "agreed with the majority of the points made and to the punishment of bishops and priests of the country as being necessary, since these are the direct cause of these activities; especially since they are organizing and preparing a movement which has already named its leaders, and asked the cooperation of the Jesuits to serve as advisers". He declared "this will provoke a crisis". He said that the Committee on Public Safety "must not commit injustices, there must not be strong feeling, all personal feelings must be suppressed from action, and be free from prejudices". He favored removing all functionaries not in harmony with the revolutionary spirit. He expressed pleasure that "the laboring and peasant classes of the Republic had resolved to support the National Congress and the Executive". He added: "This is significant and important for it clears the path for carrying out those vital reforms which mean so much to the life of the Revolution".

Comparatively few of the masses here read newspapers. With a population of a million people in Mexico City, the largest circulation enjoyed by any daily is something over 60,000. Therefore, in order to impress its views people organize parades or strikes and march by the Palace or in the Zocalo. Sometimes it is advertised as "a silent protest". Such demonstrations influence public opinion. Mass action is always impressive. The opponents of "socialistic education", having struck and paraded, its advocates and defenders of the educational policy of the National Revolutionary Party is to make its counter demonstration on Sunday. Its organizers expect it to be so much bigger than any yet staged by opponents as to demonstrate that public opinion supports "socialistic education". All the labor organizations, including those who have not worked together, have organized "A National Committee of Defense for Socialistic Education" and expect to have 150,000 men in the parade, including agraristas from the rural sections as well as city workers. The National Revolutionary Party has called on "revolutionary ladies" to participate in the manifestation. All government employees are expected to take part.

The Army, with its over 50,000 men and over 300 Generals, seems to be behind the Government. There are only two Generals who are accredited with being out of sympathy with the policy of General Calles, although there may be more who are quiet. Inasmuch as there is prohibition of the sale

of arms and munitions, any opposition would be at a great disadvantage in case of any conflict. As long as the Army is loyal to the Government, it will be very difficult to organize any effective opposition, even though there may be thousands who would like to make their opposition felt.

A few days ago it was reported that Archbishop Díaz, of this city, had been ordered to leave the country because he had fomented the strikes and other opposition to "socialistic education". This turned out to be untrue. I had several talks with the Archbishop before I went home this summer. He is a large man, with a strong and benignant face, and I was strongly drawn to him. Those who know him best esteem him highly, and say he would never be guilty of inciting violence. In a statement to the press he says, "We are ignorant of all acts of sedition which may be blamed to us". He adds: "The National Episcopate does not authorize Catholics to defend the rights of the Church in its name by use of arms or by a political party of a religious character, but on the other hand, makes known to them the grave obligation which they have as citizens to defend all their national rights by all means which are licit and legal, so that the principles of justice and morality will always be preserved."

If each party could make concessions, the Catholic Church agreeing that the State should have exclusive control of primary and elementary education, and the Government giving the people the fullest right to open and observe religious services in as many churches as the people could maintain, the day of universal education and freedom of religion would bless this republic. It will come some day, and it is a matter of sorrow that before this condition is reached, there must continue to be division and bitterness. Of one thing I am assured: The Government intends at all hazard to control education and impart to the youth what it calls "the principles of the Revolution".

I have never discussed religion or socialistic education with any of the high Government officials. General Calles once told Ambassador Morrow that he did not wish the American Ambassador to take up with him anything concerning the policy of Mexico touching religion. From all appearances that seems to be the policy of his successors, and I have not volunteered to discuss any action relating to religion or the amendment to Article Three, and no official has so much as touched upon these controversial matters in my many interviews.

This

This letter is much too long, but I thought it well to send you such information as would throw light upon a situation here which baffles full understanding.

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniel

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*File
Personal file*

México, November 6, 1934.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

With relation to the criticisms made by certain Catholic papers and organizations about my speech to the members of the Seminar, composed of Americans who were here in July, I had a letter to-day from Hon. Ernest Gruening, who was here at the time, in which Mr. Gruening said:

"I noted with surprise that you had been made the target of a barrage--apparently carefully timed--because of your alleged support of attacks on the Catholic Church. I was even more surprised when I realized from reading the newspaper accounts that the basis for this charge was contained in the words of greeting which you addressed to the Seminar last July. I had the good fortune and the pleasure to be present on this occasion, and if you should desire it, (should the need arise) I should be most happy to testify that nothing seemed more remote from the purport and obvious purpose of that address than the intent with which you were charged. Not that I think you will need any such assistance, but should you do so, I should be most happy to serve."

By to-day's pouch I am forwarding to the State Department a despatch containing the substance of recent informal talks with Dr. Puig, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and with General Calles, head of the National

Revolutionary

The President,
The White House.

Revolutionary Party, who is credited with leadership in the proposed amendment to the Constitution introduced recently in Congress, calling for "socialistic education". As these interviews throw light upon a delicate situation, I thought you would be interested in reading them.

With warm regards,

Faithfully yours,

Josephus Daniels

Mexico, November 5, 1934

No.

Subject: Reporting Conversation of Ambassador Daniels
with General Calles on Friday, November 2, 1934.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

On Thursday, after I had concluded the official discussions with the Minister for Foreign Affairs at the usual weekly conference, we fell into an informal conversation about the agitation over the amendment to Article Three of the Constitution, which gives exclusive control of primary and elementary education to the State; requires "socialistic education"; prohibits church schools; and requires private schools to accept the curriculum adopted by the Government. During the conversation, I referred to the resolution proposed in the Mexican Congress to expel from the Republic all the Archbishops and Bishops, and also mentioned that certain States were reported to have closed churches and expelled priests. I told Doctor Puig that these reports received world-wide publication. It was
evident

copied
No.

evident that some of the extreme remarks and actions to which I alluded had disturbed Doctor Puig, not alone because he could not approve of them, but also because he thinks the economic reforms should be paramount. "The people must eat", he said.

He told me that he had not seen President-elect Cárdenas since the last of June and that his advice had not been asked about the educational and religious policies about which there had been recent agitation. And he said he had volunteered no advice. The reason he had not asked for any conference with the incoming President was because he did not wish to seem to ask for anything for himself or appear to be a receptive candidate for any post in the new administration. He said: "General Cárdenas is a very honest and straightforward man who earnestly desires the welfare of the workers. His heart is in improving their condition and in advancing education. For that reason he will stand for 'socialistic education' and like measures".

From the early agitation of the new educational policies, and the opposition to them, I have wished to register my hope that Mexico's course would be such as not to disturb pleasant relations or to jeopardize the prestige it has gained in recent years. I said as much to Doctor Puig. He understood, and added that the agreement made with the Church in 1926 had been a mistake and he thought General Calles was also of that opinion. I then told him that I had considered talking over the situation with General Calles.

"Why don't you do it?" he said. "The last time I saw him he sent a message of regards to you. He holds you in high esteem. I can make an engagement for you to go to Cuernavaca to see him".

I agreed and it was arranged that I should go on Friday morning. I went at the appointed time and had an interesting conversation with General Calles at his home. I asked Mr. Schott, Second Secretary of the Embassy, to go with me and act as interpreter. Upon his return to the Embassy, Mr. Schott wrote a memorandum of the conversation, which I am enclosing herewith.

The purpose of my visit to General Calles was, without any official request, to present to him my belief that anything that savored of denying the right to worship was a backward step fraught with loss of prestige to his country. I could not make any official representations to the Government about its internal policy when no Americans are directly involved. I was advertent also to the fact that General Calles had let Ambassadors Morrow and Clark know that he did not wish them to bring up Mexico's religious situation in any diplomatic discussions. This was made known to them after the arrangement by which the priests were registered and returned to holding services in the Catholic churches, an arrangement which General Calles says they violated within three months.

I found in my last conversation, before Friday's visit, with General Calles that he was warm in his support of the New Deal and in support of President Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, and in wishing the strengthening in Pan American cooperation. At that time he thought Europe was decadent and the hope of the solution of world problems lay in American cooperative effort. His opinion, expressed then, is unchanged. We at first discussed the terrible plight of Europe, and then I brought up the matters which prompted me to go to Cuernavaca. My hope was to convince him that the economic reforms and international

under-

understanding were endangered by the belief that Mexico was denying religious freedom. I found that he believes that unless the party of which he is the head has exclusive direction of education, the clergy is so bent upon directing the mind of youth, in order that they may obtain political power and overthrow the Revolutionary Party and its policies, that they will practice sedition to entrench the Catholic Church in power. In his review of conditions in the past he said that the Catholic Church was so resolved to regain power that it "assassinated Obregón". He denies that there is any denial of the right to worship, but only a determination that the clergy cannot obtain political power. As Mr. Schott has correctly summarized the conversation, I need not enlarge upon it.

On the other side, the clergy believe that the Government is the foe of religion and is bent upon replacing Christianity with materialism and irreligion. These two opposing views, honestly held by many on each side, make almost an impasse. The Government's position is backed by most of the workers and the Army. "I am a Catholic" said a Mexican General to me the other day, "but I am also a Mexican and stand for 'socialistic education'". As long as the workers and the Revolutionary leaders and the Army are united, they are able to carry out their program.

Since it was obvious from General Calles' attitude during the entire conversation that he had very definite and inflexible views on the question of religion and education, I feel that it would be inadvisable for me to take any action on this subject except to keep the Department advised of developments.

Respectfully

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Respectfully yours,

Josephus Daniels.

Enclosure:

Mr. Schott's Memorandum of Conversation between General Calles and Ambassador Daniels on November 2, 1934.

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JD:VK

(In duplicate to the Department)

Enclosure to Despatch No. of November 5, 1934,
from the Embassy at Mexico City.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

The Ambassador

México, November 2, 1934.

With General Calles.

The Ambassador called upon General Calles, who is called the "Jefe Máximo de la Revolución", at his home in Cuernavaca, at 10:40 a.m. to-day, by appointment, and asked me to accompany him to act as interpreter, since General Calles speaks no English.

The Ambassador began the conversation by saying that, as he had not seen the General for some time, he wished to pay his respects and to learn the General's reaction to the present unsettled world conditions, as described in a recent statement by Foreign Minister Pierre Laval, who said: "Civilization has gone to pot; we have slipped back to the Dark Ages". The Ambassador said that he wished to learn at first hand the General's philosophy in these drifting days when the world seemed to be unsettled. He added that he hoped General Calles was very well.

The General said that he had not felt well for the past two days, but that he hoped soon again to be quite fit. He considered the picture of the world to-day as being very dark. The gold-standard countries, particularly Belgium and Switzerland, had come under the financial control of France and their maintenance of the gold standard would harm them commercially and lead to an unfavorable balance of trade. Europe was confronted with difficulties on all sides and he believed a conflagration might be started anywhere, at the slightest provocation.

In this continent, the Ambassador said, where conditions were relatively better, both he and the General had agreed, in an interview last year, that the Pan American countries should cooperate for the good of the world.

The General agreed, and added that this idea had caused his great interest in the Montevideo Conference, where he had hoped the material and spiritual relations of the countries of this hemisphere would be improved. Already, he found, trade relations of the United States with Latin American countries had improved, and better results had been obtained at Montevideo than had been hoped for before the Conference met.

The Ambassador then referred to a report in this morning's newspapers wherein John B. Glenn, New York Agent of the Banco Nacional de México, was quoted as having said before the Foreign Trade Association at New York, yesterday:

"The

"The stability of the present government of Mexico is unquestioned. The condition of the treasury is excellent. The government budget is balanced, and aside from the foreign debt service which has not yet been normalized but on which the government is studying a plan to present to the bondholders, as per the assurance given by the President in his message to congress on September 1st of this year, Mexico is one of the few nations that is keeping up its current debt payments."

The General remarked that Mexico's economic condition was most favorable and that her currency condition was quite safe.

The Ambassador said that, in the United States, the banking situation had undergone a change since the beginning of the Roosevelt administration which had gone a long way to protect the public financially, and to improve the lot of the people.

The General replied that, although President Roosevelt had made great strides in this connection, he had not achieved the full harvest for which he had planted; that the bankers afforded him the greatest obstacle to the development of his ideas; and that his greatest support was labor, which support he would have to retain.

The Ambassador said that, nevertheless, it had become more difficult in the United States in the Roosevelt administration for power to become concentrated in a few hands.

The General remarked that such a situation was reached more easily in Mexico.

In the United States a few years ago, the Ambassador said, the tangible units of Government consisted of a jail and a town hall, and public welfare was given little attention. Now, he continued, the amount spent for public education alone exceeded all else in the public budget, including armament.

The General replied that Mexico had adopted the same course and would appropriate annually greater sums for educational purposes. The large sums being spent generally on armament were considered by him an economic mistake and a danger to peace.

The Ambassador then asked in a general way as to the present extent of the school system and as to how great a percentage of Mexican children were receiving education, and whether the State could provide schools for all the children if private and parochial schools were closed.

The General replied that, off hand, he did not know the statistics, which could be obtained from the Ministry of Education, but that, while the number of schools still was inadequate, it was hoped eventually to have one school for every twenty pupils.

The Ambassador then asked how present school attendance compared

compared with that of the time when it was controlled by the religious bodies.

The General replied that education of a sort was widespread in those days, but that it left the people in ignorance, as a consequence of which many millions of Mexicans were now living in primitive conditions. The object of the Catholic Church, he added, was to keep the masses in ignorance and to dominate the country through an alliance with capitalism, which it had done for the better part of four centuries.

In line with the educational reform legislation recently passed by Congress, the Ambassador asked what would be the educational program of the Government. (He referred to the Amendment of Article Three of the Constitution, requiring "socialistic education".)

The General replied that no religion would be taught in the schools; that the school would combine general education with technical training; that definite, natural, and scientific knowledge would be imparted, to replace the obscure and non-technical education previously given by the Catholic clergy. As an example, he stated that most of the peasants believed a certain Saint produced the rain and they were eternally hunting up images before which to pray for rain. He also said the peasants were taught to believe that earthquakes were sent by God to punish people for their sins. In the future, children would be taught that rain and earthquakes were phenomena of nature.

The Ambassador asked what was meant by "socialistic education". He said he had heard no authoritative definition thereof.

The General said that its object was to teach children to live in collective units of society where the good of others would be considered superior to personal good and advantage. The reports of the methods of teaching so-called sexual education in Mexico - such as undressing children of both sexes in mixed children's gatherings, forcing children to witness childbirths and the reproduction acts of animals - were branded by the General as utter falsehoods. He continued by saying that such sexual education as would be taught was but an exposition of natural phenomena suitable to the age of the person and designed to offset ignorance of life and the vicious stories. He said, further, that a complete program for such education had been worked out in the State of Sonora, which program would serve as an example for the rest of the country.

The Ambassador then suggested that if the Government considered primary and elementary education to be its exclusive function, would it not be wise to make known in Mexico and abroad that freedom of worship would be guaranteed in Mexico.

The General said there was no restraint upon faith or worship, but that the clergy was restrained from teaching because its teaching resulted in attempts to undermine the principles for which the Revolution was fought and to defeat the Government's policies. The clerics would risk the

guilt

guilt of sedition to accomplish their ends.

The Ambassador then inquired if the idea of not imparting religious education meant an interference with religion, and if it were not the fear of such school policy to which the Catholic clergy objected.

The General replied that the State had absolutely no intention of interfering with religion as such, but was determined to break the control of the Church over the minds of Mexican youth, and the dominion which the former had held over the people, to the latter's detriment, for nearly four hundred years. He asserted that the Church would oppose the existence of any school over which it did not exercise control, call it by any name - socialistic, communistic, Nazist, Fascist, or what not.

The Ambassador said that in the United States, while there was compulsory education, parents were privileged to send their children to any sort of school they chose, and asked why a like policy would not work as well in Mexico as it did in the United States.

The General replied: "Let me tell you a story". Thereupon he undertook to tell what had happened in Mexico during the centuries in which the clergy controlled education - the people were left in ignorance and in poverty, and if the clerics again controlled the schools, they would teach that the principles of the Revolution were wrong and, through the children of the country, and then the parents, seek to control the State.

The Ambassador then said that he was interested in knowing what would be the fate of private schools in Mexico under the new educational plan.

General Calles replied that all education in Mexico would be controlled by the State, which would make every effort to employ only teachers who were efficient and competent. Private schools would be permitted to function but only under strict Government control and surveillance. This he considered to be the only method of preventing Catholic influence from again creeping in.

It had been reported to him, the Ambassador said, that, at least in certain parts of the country, priests had been expelled, and inquired if the General did not believe this action might have an adverse effect on public opinion in the United States which now was so favorable to Mexico.

The General believed that such would be the case but that the Mexican Government would have to endure this reaction. Already, he said, from reports received from the United States, and from reading newspapers published there by the Catholic press, a great amount of propaganda against the Mexican Government, which extended most unjustly to the Ambassador, was being made, and he referred to the visit to Washington of Monseñor Ruiz y Flores, the expelled Apostolic Delegate. This, he declared, was part of a great plot organized in Mexico by Roman Catholic priests (than whom, he emphatically stated, there were no worse subversive agents in the world), whose program was similar to that which they had attempted to carry out in

1926 - sedition, armed rebellion, even assassination. The situation at present, he said, was not as difficult as was that in 1926, when the Catholic Churches were abandoned, a commercial boycott was carried out, an armed rebellion was organized, and General Obregón was assassinated. He repeated: "The priests assassinated General Obregón".

The entire Catholic program failed, General Calles continued, and the Government emerged completely victorious. Thereafter, however, the latter chose to be conciliatory and came to an agreement with the Church, by virtue of which the latter agreed to eschew politics. At that time, the General said, he received a letter from the Archbishop of Mexico asking him to become the leader of the Catholics in Mexico, for which the Church would make him the greatest man in America. The General ignored the letter.

Within three months, the General went on, the Church began to break the agreement, to conspire against the Government, and to attack the Revolutionary leaders. Of this conspiracy, which had continued to date, Ambassador Morrow was the first victim.

Now, the General said, the Government was fully aware that the same tactics as in 1926 had been planned - sedition, armed rebellion, and assassination. The Catholic plot again would fail, the General concluded, because the Government was determined to break the temporal power of the Church in Mexico. Only to-day had he received a letter from a Catholic priest in Mexico, addressed to Monseñor Ruiz y Flores, deploring the failure of the opposition movement in the University "because of the defection of some of the authorities". Of what, the General inquired, did the University have to complain? The Government had given it a large subsidy and autonomy, and had not affected it by the program of educational reform. However, the Church had fomented this agitation, using University youths, along with women and children, elements which the Government could not well attack, to further its object of defeating the Government and of maintaining temporal power in Mexico. The Church has shown its line of attack and the Government would follow it there to the end.

The Ambassador referred to a proposal recently made before the Mexican Senate, to petition the President to expel all Catholic Archbishops, Bishops, and priests from the country, and asked if this might not discriminate against some innocent parties.

To this General Calles replied that the higher Church dignitaries were known to act in concert under orders from the Vatican, and that none amongst them was innocent. The Mexican priests, he declared, were mostly ignorant persons who blindly obeyed their superiors. This was difficult for people in the United States to understand, because the priests there were of a much higher order. He warned, however, that should the Catholic Church in the United States for any reason oppose the Government there, the latter's problem would be the same as was the present one in Mexico. The Mexican Government, the General added, did not wish to be vindictive, nor was it acting with passion. The whole case against the clergy for its sedi-

tious

tious acts, as was correctly reported by the Mexican press, had been assigned to the Federal Attorney General, Portes Gil, for investigation and prosecution.

The Ambassador commented on the possible adverse effect throughout the world which the expulsion from Mexico of high ecclesiastical authorities might have on public opinion, to the injury of Mexico.

General Calles replied that this also probably would eventuate, but, since the Government had attempted to explain its position anent the Church in 1926 not only to the people of the United States and all America, but of Spain, France, Italy, and the world in general as well, which attempt had been circumvented by the Church, he considered that the actions of the Government would have to stand, even if undefended before the world.

The Ambassador inquired how the people themselves would accept the new order of things.

The General stated that a majority of the people, primarily excepting a few hundred old women, were in favor of it; that they soon would be accustomed to not having priests lead all social and cultural activity; and that Sunday religious services would be replaced by cultural services, by social entertainment, esthetic performances and lectures. Further, he said that temperance would be encouraged, without, however, using radical methods.

The trend of the Ambassador's questions and remarks, after the discussion of world conditions, was that of a belief in the policy of the United States regarding education and religion, and of a fear that the effect of expelling priests from and closing churches in Mexico would tend to impair the good relations between the two neighboring countries.

The trend of the General's answers and remarks was that of Mexico's necessity for following the course which her long experience demanded as necessary for insuring the education of the people, freeing them from dogma and superstition, and bettering the economic conditions of the country. He insisted time and again that the clergy would not desist from efforts to organize its followers for purposes of political control, led by the Roman Catholic priests who were pastmasters at political intrigue, and that the Church, in order to recapture its former political power would resort to the same methods which it had employed in the past. He said that similar conditions did not exist in the United States, where clerical domination had never been experienced.

The interview lasted an hour and a half.

No attempt has been made to quote directly the remarks of either the Ambassador or General Calles, who elucidated on these questions and answers. This memorandum is designed to give a summary of the conversation as accurately as memory permitted.

W. W. Schott,
Second Secretary of Embassy.

Paula
Mexico (S) 2

México, December 1, 1934.

PERSONAL.

Dear Mr. President:

Your message of greeting and good wishes to General Cárdenas on his inauguration yesterday was greatly appreciated. In addition to your direct message, I conveyed to him in person your good wishes, and expressed the hope that the perfectly beautiful day of his induction into office would prove a good omen. I also added that you and your countrymen wished prosperity and peace for Mexico and the strengthening of friendship between the government and peoples of the two neighboring republics. In his inaugural address, with respect to foreign relations, President Cárdenas said:

"Mexico will continue to preserve its policy of cordiality and good understanding, continuing as up to the present time to maintain herself within the strict canons of international law and to make stronger the bonds of friendship which unite her with the other nations of the world. The dearest desire that we can cherish is that we may be understood in our quality of a young people who propose to put an end to the survival of a regime of exploitation, and who is establishing the basis of a more just and humane sociology in which the miseries of our laboring classes, and especially of the indigenous classes, may be remedied."

In company with the score of Special Ambassadors, appointed by their governments to attend the inaugural, I called at the National Palace on Friday, shortly after the inauguration ceremonies, when Dr. Belaunde, Dean of the Special Ambassadors, read an address of felicitation to the new President and in the course of his reply, President

Cárdenas

The President,

The White House.

Cárdenas said:

"The standards in international policies which my honorable predecessor maintained will continue to be observed in their entirety, and regarding the friendliness of those relations, my government will earnestly second all that which tends to strengthen them. ... My desire is that of guiding Mexico along the road of constant progress, and one of the means for effecting it is undoubtedly that of a perfect accord with all the peoples of the earth."

The full text of the inaugural address is being sent to the State Department in to-day's pouch.

The arrangement of the inauguration, so far as the great body of the people is concerned, was better than ours, but has no such impressive background as our Capitol affords. It was held in the National Stadium where 28,000 people were seated. There were thousands, who could not gain admission to the Stadium, in the streets adjacent to it. They came from all parts of the republic, particularly from Michoacan (the native State of the new President), Tabasco, governed by Garrido Canabal (who was named Secretary of Agriculture in the Cabinet), and among the throng were several hundred youths from Tabasco wearing red shirts. This delegation was the most enthusiastic of all.

The Cabinet is composed entirely, or almost so, of men who were conspicuous in the revolution or their sons, like Governor Calles, of Sonora, who is the son of General Calles, whose counsel is said to be seen in the selection of at least half of the Cabinet. Of the Cabinet Members, the leaders have been noted for their advocacy of policies which the more conservative people here call radical. These policies include exclusive control of all primary and elementary education by the State; an agrarian policy looking to donating land to tillers of the soil; minimum wages for laborers; the British and American owners of oil fields (they own ninety per cent of those) fear they are to be deprived of some of their holdings because the Government claims their titles are defective; and foreign holders of large properties fear that "Mexico for the Mexicans" may work to their injury; and the problem about the Catholic Church which has given trouble here since in the days of Juárez all church property was nationalized, but under Díaz those Constitutional provisions were disregarded, and the Catholic Church returned to practi-

cal control of education, with schools by other churches, while efficient or diffused public education was negligible. The Catholic leaders stood by Díaz and by Huerta and opposed all the leaders of the Revolution from Carranza to Calles. The bitterness of those old clashes, particularly in the Cristero rebellion of 1926 and the Escobar rebellion and the assassination of General Obregón in 1928, for which the Revolutionary leaders held leaders of the Catholic Church responsible, still rankle. The Catholic leaders believe the Government is anti-religious and that if priests are not allowed to give religious instruction in their schools this country will become atheistic. The Revolutionary leaders hold that Catholic priests are determined to undermine Revolutionary doctrines and their giving instruction to children would result in returning Mexico to the old order when the masses were illiterate and very poor, and had no voice in their government. Herein lies the impasse.

You will recall that all the Catholic churches here were closed for more than a year prior to Ambassador Morrow's coming because the priests refused to obey the law requiring them to register. A truce was then arranged under the terms of which the Archbishop registered the priests. The churches were opened, each State fixing the number of priests who could officiate. Not long ago Dr. Puig told me that he was of the opinion that this compromise agreement was a mistake.

The recent trouble here revolves around the new amendment to the Constitution requiring "socialistic education" and preventing religious instruction in any school. This naturally runs counter to the Catholic's belief that religious education of children is essential in the schools. This difference has created a situation that has brought about some distressing incidents. In some States churches have been closed and priests expelled. Two men and a child were killed this week in Huixtla, in the State of Chiapas, when they sought to prevent the taking of statues of saints out of their church and the burning of these statues by men in the confidence of Governor Grajales. The taking or burning of church property is in violation of the rules of the Secretary of the Treasury, which Department has charge of all churches as the property of the nation. Last week a priest killed a woman who had gone to his village to teach and also killed the man and his wife in whose home the teacher was living. It is believed the priest had lost his mind, due to brooding over the taking over of education from his direction and giving it to the teachers appointed by the State authorities.

It

It is my opinion that if the Government were wise, if it is determined, as is evident, to take exclusive charge of education, it would make public guarantees of freedom of religious worship and neither reduce the number of priests nor permit the closing of all churches in any State, as has been done in some. The reason given for reducing or expelling priests is the allegation that they engage in politics and fight the policies of the government. In some cases this is probably more of an excuse than a reason, though in the past there has undoubtedly been political activity by some church authorities. Now that the Government has secured the ratification of the amendment to Article Three (requiring socialistic education), there are those who believe a wiser and more moderate policy will be followed. It is to be hoped that they are right, for unless the people have opportunity to worship according to their desires, there will be resentment, even if smouldering, which bodes no good.

Archbishop Díaz of this city is held in high regard by all and I believe his chief desire lies along spiritual lines. His statements urge people to engage in no violence. I have found him broad and wise in my conversations with him.

The Indian influence is pronounced in the Cárdenas Cabinet, probably more so than in any previous government. The future of Mexico rests upon giving the Indians, who constitute three fourths of the population, a better chance than they have ever enjoyed.

I thought the above might interest you, following the change of administration. Of course I have furnished the State Department full accounts of the new President and such information about the new Cabinet as could be secured yesterday and to-day.

With affectionate regards,

Faithfully yours,

Josepans Daniel

PST: Mexico

March 1, 1935.

Dear Chief:-

It is literally true that I cannot even give thought to summer plans and I think you can so inform the Foreign Office. I have always wanted to visit Mexico but this particular year it is possible that the Session of the Congress will last into the summer and, in any event, I shall probably be so much in need of complete relaxation after adjournment that I shall seek absolute quiet by going on board ship again and avoiding, if possible, all visits and official ceremonies.

The Senate, as you know by this time, is a complete and absurd mess. The big Work Relief Bill is only one item. They will get into similar absurdities and ill-considered positions on the N.R.A. extension legislation, on social insurance, on aviation, on shipping, on bonus, and probably a half a dozen other choice subjects. I am saying very little, keeping my temper and letting them literally stew in their own juice. I think it is the best policy for a while, and, incidentally, I hope that the Longs and others will stub their toes! This is, of course, a very difficult year, for we are past the emergency legislation and seeking to improve or make permanent many things which could not possibly have succeeded two years ago.

As ever yours,

Honorable Josephus Daniels,
American Embassy,
Mexico.

~~AIR MAIL~~ BY POUCH

PSF Mexico



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, February 19, 1935.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

It is gratifying that my suggestion of your holding in abeyance any decision about coming to Mexico until the atmosphere clears meets with your approval. In connection with the expectation of your coming, raised by the information conveyed to President Cárdenas by former-President Rodríguez after his visit to the White House, the Minister for Foreign Affairs requested me to call at the Foreign Office yesterday morning. When I arrived he conveyed a message from President Cárdenas hoping you would honor the country by coming here, and adding that he wished me to ascertain your intention. He will be glad to send you a formal invitation, if it is agreeable.

I am enclosing a copy of my despatch to the State Department, giving the conversation between Mr. Portes Gil and myself. You will observe that I indicated you would probably not make any plans for the summer until you knew when Congress would adjourn, and that nobody would know the date of adjournment until late in the spring or early in the summer. I did this to convey the idea that no early decision need be expected. I hope this meets with your approval.

There is one phase of the matter that has occurred to me. It is that the Government's show of interest at this time may be prompted by the belief that your coming would be helpful to the Government officials. It undoubtedly would, but it might be interpreted as implying that you gave your countenance or acceptance of the policies which have caused controversy in the United States. You know that such interpretation might give excuse for hostile criticism by some of the ardent Catholics who are behind the Borah resolution. By all means I would wish nothing of that sort. If any official is to receive their criticism, let it fall on me.

By

The President,

The White House.

By this I do not mean to imply that the invitation is prompted by desire of the Government to make capital out of a courtesy visit by the President of the United States. By no means. The President and leaders and the people hold you in high esteem and would at any time hail your visit, independent of any advantage that would come to Mexico or its public officials. Naturally, however, they do not overlook the benefit which such show of friendliness to Mexico would impart to the Cárdenas administration. It is equally true that it might enable critics to say your visit was indicative of your approval of the policies so strongly condemned at home, some of which are most deplorable, both from our point of view and in the long run to the highest interest of Mexico.

Please let me know your decision and what answer I shall make to the Foreign Minister.

Hurrah for the Supreme Court! I telegraphed congratulations to Homer. I would have sent one to each of the other four judges who concurred if I had deemed it proper. I also wanted to send this telegram to McReynolds: "Mene, mene tekal upharsin". Personally I like him but share Wilson's disappointment in him. You know Wilson appointed him because though an Assistant Attorney General he prosecuted the American Tobacco combine, having much to do with convicting it as a violator of the anti-trust laws, and he refused to concur in Wickersham's sham settlement. Wilson thought that made him a Progressive, but since he has been on the Court he has been the most reactionary of the reactionaries. One of these days it may be necessary to take action against the four big tobacco companies which have co-operated to starve the tobacco growers until you forced increased prices through the A.A.A. The people have never benefitted from the so-called dissolution of the trust, though Uncle Sam does get more revenue.

Affectionately yours, ,

Josephus Daniels

P.S. I am hoping to come home for May if Boss Cordell Hull will give me leave. At that time I will go over the whole situation here and give you the background.

JD

The Foreign Minister went on to say that, upon his return from Washington, former-President Rodríguez, who took lunch at the White House, had informed President Cárdenas that President Roosevelt told him that he wished to come to Mexico and had spoken of entering the country by way of Laredo, visiting Mexico City, and probably going to Guadalajara, and proceeding to Acapulco where he would take a ship and return to the United States by way of the Panama Canal.

The Minister conveyed his own sincere hope, with that of his President, that the suggested plan would be carried out. He was enthusiastic in declaring that President Roosevelt would receive a notable and friendly welcome from the whole Mexican people and from its public officials. He said President Cárdenas would meet President Roosevelt at Laredo, if the plan outlined by General Rodríguez materializes, and escort him to the Mexican capital. He asked me if I had any information about the plans of President Roosevelt.

I stated to the Minister that when I was in Washington in May of 1934, I had been informed by the President that he hoped to go to the Pacific Coast in the summer of 1935, and wished to go by the southern route. If so, he would be glad for arrangements to be made by which at some city on the border a meeting could be arranged so that he and the President of Mexico might exchange greetings, each President crossing over into the country of the other.

I told the Minister that, while I had no recent information from President Roosevelt, his movements would undoubtedly be affected by the time Congress remained in session and he might not be able to accept any invitation to leave Washington until he knew when Congress would adjourn.

"About

"About what time will Congress adjourn?" the Minister asked.

I replied "that is in the lap of the gods"; that not even Congressmen could predict until late in the spring when the business of the session would be completed. I said that usually a session of Congress did not adjourn until June, and it was sometimes in session later in the summer; that sometimes the hot weather of late spring or early summer affected the time of adjournment.

I can assure you that the Government here, backed by the people, would rejoice to welcome President Roosevelt and the reception accorded him would be without precedent. He is held in high esteem in Mexico and his "Good Neighbor" policy has given gratification to the Government and to the people. I may be permitted to express the hope that I may convey to the Foreign Minister assurance that the plan referred to by former-President Rodriguez may be carried out.

Respectfully yours,

Josephus Daniels.

A true copy of
the signed original.

B. S. A.

800.1 (Roosevelt)

JD:VK

(In duplicate to Department)

*file
personal
ad.*

*PSF
Mexico*

Mexico, April 1, 1935.

Dear Franklin:

As to what goes on north of the Rio Grande, I am like Will Rogers: "All I know is what I see in the papers." I was glad to see that you could get away from Washington after a hard winter for a few days of fishing and sailing the warmer waters. If our country did not now have too much territory and enough troubles, I would wish that a Monroe Doctrine had been in existence before Great Britain obtained possession of delightful islands near our coast. Our experience with the Philippines, Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands has made me a convert to the idea that our country ought never to have sought expansion except of contiguous territory on our continent. I even doubt the purchase of Alaska. I was Chief Clerk in the Interior Department in the second Cleveland administration, when he sent "Paramount" Blount to Honolulu and then hauled down the flag which had been raised by the preceding administration above the palace when we "took" Hawaii. I realize the strategical value of these islands now, but I was an enthusiastic supporter of Grover when he hauled down the flag. I learned then how the slogan "We hauled down the American flag" stirred the American people and could feel their resentment and repudiation of what I regarded as Cleveland's act of justice. When later I went to Hawaii I learned the secret of the organized so-called revolution by which a few Americans, some in this country and some in Honolulu, took the country from its own people. It is a dangerous thing to haul down the American flag, even if it floats where it was hoisted by force. The hardest thing to fight is a slogan! I hope no such revolution will come from your agreeing to hauling down the flag in the Philippines. You could not do the righteous act with such little protest, however, but for the fact that the sugar growers of our country resent the advantages that the sugar growers in the

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

the Philippines enjoy. They have company in those whose pockets are touched by Philippine competition. Before that selfish intent converted them to the old doctrine I preached in 1900: "Down with Imperialism", - the sugar-growing sections were strong for "Manifest Destiny" and "Benevolent Assimilation". Their change of front is another proof that "the jingle of the guinea heals the hurt that honor feels".

I started this letter merely as an aftermath to your sea trip that carried you into the British domain, to relate a good story told here a few weeks ago. Admiral Best, in command of British ships on this side of the ocean, with his officers, left the flag-ship YORK at Veracruz and came up here for a visit to the Mexican Minister and for recreation in this interesting country. I had met him at Rosyth when I was there in 1919, on the way to see the interned German fleet at Scapa Flow. He met you when you were in Europe during or just after the World War, but I guess you do not recall what was a casual meeting. My wife and I were invited to meet the Admiral at a dinner given by the British Minister. At the dinner he told this story:

Some years ago, when British and American ships were in the same port (it was during the visit of the Prince of Wales to South America), I gave a dinner to the American naval officers on an evening when the Prince was being entertained ashore. They were a fine lot and we had a good time. Of course champagne and drinks of all kinds were served. The American officers, not accustomed to intoxicants on their ships since your order (General Order 99) abolishing the wine mess, drank copiously, one of them imbibing rather more than he could carry steadily. When the other officers took their leave, this officer elected to stay longer and continued to attack the flowing bowl. Finally when he departed, he was so unsteady on his legs that a young officer proffered his support. When your Captain was about to descend to his launch, his eye fell upon a rum-head.

"What ish that?" he asked, pointing to the rum-head.

He

He was told that it was employed to keep the water and wines, etc., for the officers and crew.

"Damn good thing, too," he said, as if it were an entirely new idea to him.

"What is that - those words painted on the outside?"

He was told that the words were "God Save the King!"

"What ish the big idea?" the American Captain asked. He was told that it was displayed so the officers and men would always be kept in mind of their duty of loyalty to His Majesty.

"Damn good idea," declared the Captain. "A damn good idea."

He looked again at the rum-head and the lettering and then turned to the British officers and announced:

"When I get back to my ship I am going to get a barrel and have it filled with lime juice, and have printed on the outside in big letters: 'God Damn Josephus'."

You may or may not recognize the Captain. If you do, as Commander-in-Chief, imitate Nelson and do not see the signal. At least, we both know that he was one of the not inconsiderable number who never liked General Order Number 99. And yet I dare say most of them would not have that once-maligned Order annulled, with a return to the wine mess which was responsible for not a few naval officers' becoming slaves to drink.

In the midst of many serious problems, I am sending this in the hope it will recall the happy days of 1913-20 with the Navy, and give you a good laugh.

Affectionately,

Josephus Daniels

PF

Mexico, June 20, 1935.

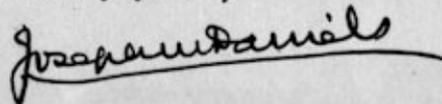
Dear Franklin:

Yesterday I sent you a copy of a note I had written to Secretary Hull with reference to the break between Cárdenas and Calles.

Yesterday I had a long talk with Mr. Smithers, a former partner of Calles and a close friend, who brought me a message from General Calles which may be significant. I am enclosing a copy of my letter of today's date to Secretary Hull for your perusal.

I was impressed with a statement Mr. Smithers made about President Cárdenas, which I omitted in my letter to Secretary Hull. "At first", said Mr. Smithers, "I thought President Cárdenas was pursuing the course he did because of pressure brought to bear by those near him. But I was mistaken. I am now convinced that he is guided by his convictions and makes his own program. It is because he believed in what he is doing that he is so determined." This coming from one who is opposed to labor and radical (so-called) policies of the President bears out the general opinion that President Cárdenas is sincerely devoted to improving the condition of the worker and will do so at any hazard. The fact that General Calles and Mr. Smithers do not think his plan is workable does not militate against belief in his sincerity and his resolution.

Faithfully yours,



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

Mexico, June 20, 1935.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

"General Calles, just before he left the city, requested me to call to see you and give you the inside of the situation that resulted in the request for the resignation of the Cabinet", said Mr. James Smithers, when he called to see me at the Chancery yesterday. He also added: "General Calles wishes you to know that things in Mexico look black."

Mr. Smithers lived in Sonora and had business relations - I think partnership - with General Calles before the General became President of the Republic. Their relations have been close, Mr. Smithers seeing Calles often and is believed to have his confidence. This was certainly true a year ago, and there seems to have been no change in their relations. In my early conversations with General Calles, the interpretation was by Mr. Smithers.

Continuing a long rehearsal of the incidents that led up to the break between General Calles and President Carreras, Mr. Smithers said: "General Calles feels that he has been double-crossed with music."

That was a new expression to me and I must have shown my lack of familiarity with it, for Mr. Smithers asked:

"Do you understand?"

I replied in the negative, saying that I was familiar with the saying that a man had been double-crossed, but did not quite understand the meaning of "with music". Mr. Smithers informed me that it meant that the man who did the double-crossing did it with so many professions of friend-

ship

The Honorable
Cordell Hall,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

ship and assurances of comradeship that he hoped the double-crossing would not be as painful as it was carried out with courtesy. "It is an old Spanish saying", he added.

Mr. Smithers recited many incidents which he thought justified Calles in thinking he had been "double-crossed with music". The substance of his long and detailed story was that General Calles volunteered no advice to the President, but only offered suggestions as to policy when requested to do so, and then only in the hope that he might prevent any division in the party or weakening of the administration. His whole point of view was that all the blame for the open break was due to the failure of President Cárdenas to deal frankly with General Calles. For example, he said that some days before the public statements President Cárdenas visited General Calles at his home in Cuernavaca, they took a long walk during the course of which they discussed what the course of the Government should be, General Calles pointing out that the "marathon of strikes" was endangering stability; that some of the strikes were without justification; and that the President should use all his powers to put a stop to them, mentioning particularly the telephone and tramways strikes. In this conversation President Cárdenas seemed to agree with General Calles who was led to believe that the President was in full accord. Throughout it all Cárdenas was a "Yes man". Mr. Smithers said in the course of the conversation, "I was trying to help in the Huasteca situation". I did not ask him in what capacity or in what way.

The gravamen of President Cárdenas' offending, as told in a long story of interviews between General Ramos, President of the National Revolutionary Party, as a sort of go-between, was that Cárdenas talked one way to Ramos and another way to General Calles, leaving the impression that General Ramos was not speaking truthfully. When Calles became convinced that Cárdenas was in this way double-crossing him and that General Ramos was telling the truth, he lost confidence in Cárdenas because he thought he was seeking to supplant Ramos, a devoted friend of Calles, and replace him as head of the party with a strong partisan of his own. This story, long and more or less involved, was the basis for the "double-crossing with music."

I gathered from Mr. Smithers that he is not in sympathy with the President and that months ago he sought to convince General Calles that Cárdenas was going to assume full leadership and not give heed to the advice of General Calles. "But", he said, "General Calles would not believe this, saying that he and Cárdenas had been close friends

for

for many years; that Calles had promoted Cárdenas and favored his election to the Presidency; and could not believe Cárdenas wished any separation. He did not believe it until he told General Ramos that he wished his (General Ramos') resignation and that unless Calles could support his program they could not work together."

According to Mr. Smithers, before Calles left the capital, there was a conference of his friends. Some counselled open and immediate opposition to the Cárdenas administration, a number being armed and ready for revolution. General Calles told them to put up their guns and not think of any hostile action; that his chief concern was the stability of Mexico and that any division or revolutionary action would harm the country.

Concluding his statement, Mr. Smithers said General Calles feared the President's land and labor program would offend the United States; that the drift toward socialism in Mexico would have repercussions in the United States; and that General Calles did not believe that the United States would quietly permit policies injurious to it to take place so near its border.

Smithers indicated, without quoting General Calles, that protests from the United States would allow the carrying out of the Cárdenas program. I made no comment, and, after thanking Mr. Smithers for calling, the interview ended. He said he would call again and keep me posted concerning the situation as it developed.

In view of the long interview between General Calles and Mr. Smithers and the fact that my former conversations with General Calles have been interpreted by Mr. Smithers, I have thought what he said, particularly since he informed me that he had come at the direction of General Calles to say that "things look black", I am sending this statement by one who has long been a close friend of General Calles. He was careful not to directly quote General Calles except in two particulars: 1. "Things look black" and 2. "The United States could not be quiet while its interests were endangered by a country so near it."

These statements indicate that General Calles does not think Cárdenas can succeed, and second he believes that his policies will not be approved by our Government. There was no suggestion of how the United States would indicate its disapproval of the policies of President Cárdenas. I was rather surprised at such idea of General

Calles,

Calles, if Mr. Smithers correctly quoted him, in view of my last conversation with him, as covered in my despatch No. 1910, of November 5, 1934. At that time I was urging General Calles to use his influence to guarantee perfect religious freedom in every part of Mexico, and pointing out that failure to do so would cause Mexico's prestige to be injured in the United States and in other countries. To that suggestion General Calles made this answer: "I believe such would be the case, but the Mexican Government would have to endure this reaction. The Government is determined to break the temporal power of the Church in Mexico." During the conversation he declared that "the priests assassinated General Obregón" and that the Catholics had "inaugurated a propaganda against the Mexican Government similar in spirit to the armed rebellion which they organized in 1926."

With my sincere regards,

Faithfully yours,

JD

JD:EH

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*PSF.
Meyner*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1935.

My dear Mr. President:

In the belief that the information contained in it will be of interest to you, I am enclosing herewith a memorandum of a conversation I had this morning with the Mexican Ambassador. I think you will wish to read it before you talk with the House delegation which may come to see you with regard to the resolution on the Mexican religious question.

I had, this afternoon, a long talk with Father Burke and told him of the information the Mexican Ambassador had given me with regard to the religious situation. I also suggested that it might be useful to him to see Father Serié before he left Washington. Father Burke

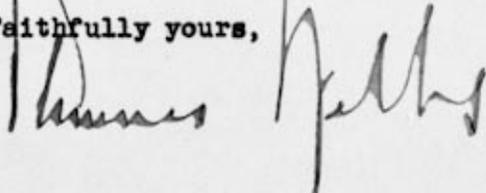
The President,
The White House.

seemed to be decidedly encouraged by the information I gave him and said to me that he would recommend to the Vatican that if a solution of the religious question could be reached between the Mexican Government and the Mexican bishops, or any one of them, it would be by far the wiser policy for the Vatican to further this move. He has apparently abandoned his insistence that an Italian Nuncio be appointed.

Father Burke also told me that Cardinal Hayes had recently expressed to him his keen regret that you had not seen fit to intervene in the matter of religious freedom in Mexico, and that in order to correct this misapprehension on the Cardinal's part, Father Burke had written him a confidential letter in which he told the Cardinal of all that you had done and of the abiding interest which you had in the solution of this problem. He told me that he had this morning received a reply from the

Cardinal saying that he regretted his misapprehension of the facts and expressing his appreciation of your attitude. Father Burke deprecated, in the strongest terms, the most recent letter addressed to you by the Knights of Columbus and told me that he would do everything within his power to be of help in preventing any further outbursts of this character.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Thomas Kelly". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "T" and a long, sweeping tail on the "y".

Enclosure.

PSF Mexico

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Conversation

June 25, 1935.

The Mexican Ambassador, who returned to Washington yesterday after a months' absence in Mexico, came in to see me this morning. Dr. Castillo Najera told me in some detail of his conferences with President Cárdenas, with General Calles, and with Dr. Portes Gil, until recently Foreign Secretary in the Cárdenas cabinet and now newly elected President of the National Revolutionary Party.

The Ambassador said that General Calles was, at least temporarily and probably definitely, out of the Mexican political picture. He had spent the day with Calles at the latter's house in Cuernavaca on June 11, the day before General Calles's sensational statements criticising the Cárdenas Government were made public. Calles had stated that he desired to make it clear that he believed the course of the Government was wrong and that he refused to accept any responsibility for the policy pursued. He told the Ambassador that he would go to his ranch for a couple of months to await developments and that if no crisis ensued, he would leave the Republic and would remain abroad, probably in Europe.

He further said that he would not return to Mexico unless he were called upon to return by the Government of Mexico. The Ambassador said that he found General Calles more vehement against the Catholic Church and more opposed to any arrangement between the Mexican Government and the Catholic Church than at any time in the past.

The Ambassador said that he had discussed the religious question at great length upon several occasions with Portes Gil and once with President Cárdenas. The only commitment that Cárdenas made with regard to religious policy was that he would favor the reopening of the churches and the right to worship in accordance with state laws provided "the political situation made it possible."

Portes Gil, the Ambassador says, has more influence with Cárdenas at the present time than any other member of the National Revolutionary Party. According to the Ambassador, the former desires a reasonable solution of the religious question and is a firm believer in a policy of moderation. As an evidence of this, the Ambassador reports that the replacement as Secretary of Agriculture of Señor Garrido Canabal of Tabasco, the most rabid anti-Catholic in Mexican public life, by Governor Cedillo of San Luis Potosí, nationally known for the favor he has shown the Catholic Church during the heat of the persecution, was due to the influence exerted by Dr. Portes Gil.

The Ambassador claims that this is the first concrete evidence of the desire of the Cárdenas Government to adopt a liberal policy towards the Mexican Catholics. The Ambassador was further told on the long distance telephone this morning by Dr. Portes Gil that the churches are now being reopened in the State of Colima and that the churches will also be reopened in the near future in the State of Querétaro. In Mexico City with the full knowledge of the Government many more priests are officiating than are permitted under law. There are no restrictions being placed upon orderly demonstrations by Catholics. It is the intention of the Mexican Government gradually to further this policy in all of the Mexican states although in the State of Sonora where Calles's son, Rodolfo Calles will continue as Governor until the end of next month no change will probably take place until late in the summer. In the State of Tabasco where Garrido Canabal is still in control a considerably longer period will elapse before anything approaching the right to worship can be obtained.

The Ambassador gave me clearly to understand that Portes Gil favored the appointment by the Vatican of Archbishop Diaz as Papal Nuncio in the place of Monsignor Ruiz y Flores now a refugee in San Antonio, Texas, and that if this appointment were made it would probably be

possible to work out some satisfactory agreement regarding the right of Catholic priests to officiate in Mexico. I understood that there had been already an exchange of views between Archbishop Diaz and Portes Gil. (Statements published this afternoon by the Universal Service quoting Archbishop Diaz as saying that the moment now seemed propitious for the reaching of an understanding between church and state would seem to confirm this).

The Ambassador told me that Portes Gil had further said to him that an understanding would be possible provided that an understanding were reached between Mexicans but that if foreign pressure was brought to bear, either from Rome, through the Catholic Church in the United States, or through the Church in any other country, an understanding would be delayed if not rendered impossible.

The Ambassador believes that the political situation in Mexico will be determined before September 1, next. He feels that with the probable removal of General Calles from the scene the danger now will lie in the possibility that the extreme radical groups formerly opposed to Calles will consolidate and either oppose the Cárdenas Government or force it to travel along an extreme radical road. He classified General Cárdenas as a man of integrity and of honest intentions but without experience and as "extremely ingenuous in politics". He gave

me clearly to understand that Cárdenas for the time being at least would be guided by the new group within the National Revolutionary power which has seized control. He maintains that the elimination of General Calles of whom he is personally fond is a good thing for Mexico inasmuch as the situation during recent years amounted practically to a dictatorship and that if the dictator had been assassinated or had suddenly died Mexico would probably have been plunged again into civil war.

I told the Ambassador that I appreciated very deeply the very frank statement he had made to me of his trip to Mexico and of conditions as he saw them. I said that of course, as the President had stated to him, the distress caused many of our American citizens by the condition of Catholics in Mexico created a very serious problem for us here; that I was delighted to hear of the more moderate policy undertaken by his Government with regard to the Church and that I trusted that an improvement in conditions would make it possible for the Mexican Government rapidly to undertake an even more moderate policy.

I asked the Ambassador if he did not now feel authorized to have a confidential conversation with Father Burke and I again told him that in order to avoid publicity I would be very glad to invite them to my own

house for such a conversation. The Ambassador said, however, that he would prefer not to see Father Burke at this time and gave as his particular reason for objecting to such an interview the fact that Mr. Montavon, Father Burke's secretary, had published a few years ago some pamphlets in which he attacked the Mexican Government very violently.

The Ambassador said, however, that he had talked yesterday with Father Serié, a Salesian father of Argentine birth who has spent most of his life in Rome and who has recently visited Mexico ostensibly to study leprosy in Mexico. Father Serié is now on his way back to Rome and told the Ambassador that he undoubtedly would be called to the Vatican to give an account of his trip to Mexico and that he would take the opportunity of indicating his urgent hope that the Vatican would select Archbishop Diaz as the new Nuncio in Mexico. The Ambassador is quite sure that the recent visit of Father Serié to Mexico was by instruction of the Vatican and that the Holy See will undoubtedly be guided by the recommendations which Father Serié may make.

PSF Mexico

file

EMERGENCY OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
México, July 5, 1935.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

The latter part of June I sent you a copy of a letter containing an interview with Mr. James Smithers, former partner and long time associate of General Calles.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter containing the substance of an interview with Mr. Smithers held this week.

I regard this as, perhaps, important because if anyone knows the real attitude of General Calles, the opinion here is that Mr. Smithers is more certain to know it than anyone else. He is not in politics and is wholly devoted to the personal and political fortunes of General Calles.

With my affectionate regards,

Faithfully yours,

Josephus Daniels

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

PERSONAL.

México, July 5, 1935.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I wrote you last month, shortly after the change in the Cabinet, the substance of a conversation with Mr. James Smithers, a former partner and close friend of General Calles. At that time he said he would call again and keep me posted as to the attitude of General Calles with reference to the new situation in Mexico. He had just returned from Cullacuan, where he spent several days with the former President.

"General Calles is in excellent health", he said, "and though not a few politicians and generals who are ready to follow his lead come to see him, he refuses to talk with them about the future of the Government or his own future course, except to tell them that he had no purpose in giving advice to President Cárdenas when requested."

Mr. Smithers represents General Calles as saying to him that when he retired from the Presidency (he could easily have continued in office, regardless of the limitation of his term, as had Diaz and others of his predecessors) that he determined then that the future of Mexico depended upon ending personal Government and substituting institutional Government. "I would be untrue to my whole career and my principles if I should be the man to encourage a return to personal rule." General Calles is quoted as saying: "General Cárdenas has been elected President for a given term. He is entitled to fill out his term and nothing should prevent that unless he should fail to give good Government and insure stability. My advice was requested to help insure stability which was threatened by a marathon of strikes. I hope for the best and certainly will encourage no resistance to the President."

Mr.

The Honorable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Smithers represents General Calles as saying that after his long fight against personal rule in Mexico, future generations would condemn him if he should be the man to restore it, seeing he has no personal ambition.

I told Mr. Smithers that, when President Wilson was criticized about a policy he thoroughly believed in, he would say: "I pray for the verdict of posterity" and told him that General Calles' statement indicated that he had the same attitude.

Mr. Smithers says General Calles is very well and happy, with no intention to take a hand in the political situation, much less to do anything that would create a political uprising or revolution. He said General Calles asked him to call to see me and present his regards.

In the course of the conversation, Mr. Smithers was critical of some of the men who are regarded as very close to Calles and were dropped from the new Cabinet because the President thought they were more friendly to Calles than to himself. Mr. Smithers represents General Calles as seeing nothing in the sky that portends trouble and that is also his opinion. There is plenty of gossip of possible trouble here and there that may come to a head in an election in Nuevo León, where the son of General Calles is the candidate of the National Revolutionary Party for Governor. He has the regular nomination, given in a hot contest last month. His opponents charged fraud and tried to induce the National Revolutionary Party to deny party regularity to young Calles. Mr. Portes Gil, head of the Party, held that Calles was the nominee of the P. N. R. and he is their regular candidate. His opponent, who claimed that he was cheated out of the nomination, is the opposition candidate in the regular election. The outcome is said to be uncertain. There is gossip that if trouble comes it will grow out of the bitter contest in that State, Guajuato, and perhaps other States.

I have no reason to doubt that the attitude of General Calles is correctly stated by Mr. Smithers. However, there are those who believe he is playing a waiting game and would take advantage of any mistake of Cardenas to regain control. The preponderating sentiment, however, is that Calles is definitely out and has no desire to control, at least for the present.

With sentiments of esteem and high regard,

Faithfully yours,

JD

P 4

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mexico, July 19, 1935.

Dear Franklin:

As you will no doubt recall, when I was Secretary of the Navy (1913-21) I took occasion to impress upon naval officers that more was required in reporting an important incident than the formal simple statement in the severest terms under 1, 2, 3, etc., as was the custom. I suggested that, in addition to the bare details, it would be better if the officer would give the background and color in the official reports, so that the full picture of the event would be portrayed.

More than once I have advised members of the staff of the Embassy to re-write an important report to the end that the account should be told with some literary style, and, if the incident had action, to indicate its character by recording it in words that convey the background as well as the plain recital.

I have no doubt, if you have perused any of the dry reports I sometimes send the Department, you have felt to say: "I wish the writer had some style so that I would not have to wade through an uninteresting recital of an event that must have been relieved by something more than weary and dull facts." If so, I beg to call your attention to a report dug up and furnished me by Counselor Norweb that seems to me to afford a model of a report for all diplomats. It is an extract from despatch No. 66 of February 6, 1878, written by the Honorable James Russell Lowell, United States Minister to Spain. If you have not read it, you will find that it has a flavor all its own. It is as follows:

One of the devices of Fourcarde (to smuggle in oil) is so ingenious and amusing as to be worth recounting. The Frenchman's object was to smuggle petroleum into Madrid without paying the octroi. To this end he established his storehouse in the suburbs

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

suburbs and then hiring all the leaner and least mammalian women that he could find, he made good all their physical defects with tin cases filled with petroleum, thus giving them what Dr. Johnson would have called the pectoral proportions of June. Doubtless he blasphemed the unwise parsimony of nature in denying to women in general the multitudinous breasts displayed by certain Hindu idols. For some time these seemingly milky mothers passed without question into the unsuspecting city and supplied thousands of households with cheap enlightenment. Meanwhile Mr. Fourcarde's pockets swelled in exact proportion to the Quaker breastworks of the improvised wet nurses. Could he only have been more moderate! Could he only have bethought him in time of the ne quid nimis. But one fatal day he sent in a damsel whose contours aroused in one of the guardians at the gates the same emotions as those of Mariternes in the bosom of the carrier. With the playful gallantry of a superior he tapped the object of his admiration and - it tinkled. He had "struck oil" unawares. Love shook its wings and fled; duty entered frowning; and Mr. Fourcarde's perambulating wells suddenly went dry.

I am sure those who must read official reports would rejoice if all diplomats possessed something of the style of Lowell - were after him, even if a long way after. At any rate, I think you will enjoy Lowell's pen picture of the "tinkling contours" of the Spanish damsels.

Faithfully yours,

José A. Sánchez

*Mrs. Roosevelt would have a laugh if you
show the Lowell report to her - (D)*

"his personal"

México, July 23, 1935.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

I read the statement in the New York Times of the call upon you by a delegation of Congressmen who presented a petition for an inquiry into the religious situation in Mexico and affirming "the rights of conscience". I thought the statement you authorized the committee to publish was excellent and I hope it will be satisfactory to the reasonable people who, like both of us, are disturbed that any country should limit or deny religious liberty. It may interest you to know that no mention of the call upon you or of your statement has been printed in any Mexican paper.

As I have written you, I have unofficially urged General Calles, President Cárdenas and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who have been in office since I have been in Mexico that failure to grant full right to worship in any part of this republic would cost the country the prestige which it naturally desired to obtain and hold. General Calles, who was engaged in defeating the Cristo revolution in 1928, and thinks the priests are still in politics, replied to me that if Mexico's policy caused loss of prestige "we will have to stand it". President Cárdenas, Dr. Puig, Mr. Portes Gil and the present Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Geniceros, have not been so inflexible and have said there must be no persecution in Mexico and indicated a moderating policy. However, all of them are inflexible as to upholding the law

denying

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

denying any school under the auspices of any religious body. The latest fight of the Catholics was based on opposition to the amendment of the Constitution, ratified by every Mexican state, giving the exclusive control of education to the State, licensing private schools only when they agree to teach "socialistic education" as defined by the Department of Education. There is no hope of changing the educational policy, and the Catholics in Mexico City, where the churches are open as they have been since 1928, are mainly concerned to secure the right to carry on their schools by priests and nuns. This is the big trouble, and I see no way to change it. The Government, backed by the Constitution, holds that education is the exclusive function of government and no school under any church auspices can operate.

My thought has been to quietly convince the authorities that the first thing to do is to permit churches to be opened and priests to officiate in those states where churches are now closed. That is the most important step, and I was glad you confined your statement to "freedom of religious worship".

The lion in the path is that in every stage of the revolution since 1910 the high officials of the Catholic church are said to have been against the Revolutionary Party and its social aims, and have been behind the Cristero and other revolutions looking to the overthrow of the Revolutionary Party. Some of the leaders who are resolved to give the workers a fairer chance regard the clergy as their most dangerous enemies. I think they are making a great mistake, seeing that the Catholic Church, with no wealth or power, could not seriously contest with the Revolutionary Party, even if the hierarchy wished to secure a return of their old dominant influences. But, inasmuch as the Catholic hierarchy in all the past has been dominant and in concert with the Government when the mass of the people was in squalor and in ignorance, it is not easy to convince the Government that this is a new day and that no church ought to be held responsible for past actions.

I hope your wise and moderating influence will calm our Catholic friends in Congress and that there will be no political repercussions that will give trouble next year. I have sought in every unofficial way, and sometimes near-official, to show how deeply you feel about

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the situation and will continue to do so as occasion offers. My own position is unchanged since my talk with you at the White House.

Affectionately yours,

Joseph Daniels

P. S. In view of the talk about changing the Constitution, you may recall two stories about John Marshall, one of his statements: "The acme of judicial distinction is the ability to look a lawyer in the face for two hours and not hear a damn word he says", and the other the story that the Judges had a sort of club where they ate, the rule being that they not drink anything except when it rained. After the Louisiana Purchase, having a thirst, they decided that though it was not raining on the Atlantic Seaboard, it must be raining on the Mississippi, which had come under their jurisdiction, and the Judges unanimously decided "It is raining" and imbibed.

Certainly he never heard "a damn word" that Jefferson said. It would have been better for the country if he had listened to the sage of Monticello.

*I am glad you are "forgetting" it out on this
eve of it takes all summer*

PSF: Mexico

file



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, August 2, 1935.

PERSONAL.

Dear Franklin:

A committee composed of William Franklin Sands (a Catholic who teaches Public Relations at Georgetown University); Dr. Philip Marshall Brown (Protestant) of Princeton, who was Minister to two Central American countries under your Republican predecessors; and Carl Sherman (Hebrew) who was Attorney General of New York when Al Smith was Governor, has been here some weeks. This committee was sent down by the Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities to make a survey of the religious situation in Mexico. I arranged for Mr. Sands (who was at one time in our diplomatic service and stationed here in the last days of Díaz) to see the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. He talked with him and other officials of the Mexican Government. The committee was in touch with leading Catholics and others and I gave them all the information I possessed.

They are to make a report to the Committee on Religious Rights and to discuss the Mexican religious situation at a Round Table Conference at Williamstown (Mass) this month. Dr. Ramón Beteta, a Mexican, has been invited to speak there at the same time. I do not know whether he has accepted.

Their report is not ready, but Mr. Sands, the Catholic member, in a letter to Colonel Callahan stated: "What I want you to know is: That Government officials assured me that Daniels has never let up for a minute stressing

the

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

the importance of a solution to this religious problem. ... President Cardenas told Daniels that he could not change the law but there would be no religious persecution".

Yesterday Mr. Edward Reed, Chief of the Mexican Division of the State Department, sent a confidential copy of the rough draft of Mr. Sands' report. Accompanying the draft Mr. Reed sent a confidential memorandum in which he says:

"Concerning Mr. Daniels, Mr. Sands expressed the opinion that our Ambassador has been most unjustly maligned. Mexican Foreign Officials told him that Mr. Daniels had gone far beyond what might reasonably have been expected of him in trying to bring about an adjustment of the religious controversy. Mr. Sands was sure that these statements were correct and he wished to do something about the matter in justice to Mr. Daniels. Mr. Daniels, however, had insisted that he keep silent on the subject of his activities unless authorized by the Secretary of State to make a statement in regard to them. Incidentally, Mr. Sands indicated that he was familiar with the purport of Ambassador Daniels' recent conversation on religious matters with President Cardenas."

I do not know what will be the final report of this committee, but I surmise it will stress the deplorable situation in Tabasco, Veracruz and other States where there has been bitter conflict between Catholics and Revolutionary leaders. In the meantime I thought you would like to read the impression of the Catholic member of the committee.

With my affectionate regards,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

y

Mexico, August 26, 1935.

~~CONFIDENTIAL.~~

Dear Franklin:

You know I have been concerned lest the attitude of some Catholics in the United States, feeling that their co-religionists were persecuted in Mexico, would seek to organize opposition to you in the next election. The fact that Borah introduced the resolution calling for investigation, and they believe the administration is not in sympathy with it, has caused severe criticism by some of the clergy in the United States and also on the part of some members of the Knights of Columbus. The recent speech of Al Smith at a meeting of the Knights of Columbus at New York, in which he condemned religious persecution, saying that it was more terrible in Mexico than in Germany, added to my apprehension.

A few days ago Frank Tannenbaum, who has spent much time here and written several books that pleased the liberals and revolutionists here, came in to see me. He said he had been so disturbed because of a fear that attempts would be made to organize the Catholics to oppose you in 1936, that he had stopped off here on his way to South America to see some of his old friends in the hope of inducing them to permit freedom of worship in every State in Mexico. He thinks reactionaries would provide funds for such organizations. He said he felt impelled to his course here because of his deep interest in the approval of the New Deal next year and because of his desire to see Mexico liberal in religion as well as in agrarian and other progressive policies.

This morning he came to see me - said he had just come from an hour's conversation with President Cárdenas and detailed what had been said. I asked him to make me a memorandum of the talk. He dictated the enclosed,

which

The President,
The White House.

which I am enclosing for your eye alone. It may assuage a delicate situation and Mr. Tannenbaum feels that it will. Of course I have spoken of this to nobody else.

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. FRANK TANNENBAUM
AND PRESIDENT LAZARO GARDENAS.

(Dictated to a stenographer at the Embassy, at the request of Ambassador Daniels)

I have been interested in Mexico since 1922 and have written two books about it, which have been well received by the Mexican Government and people, and have been translated into Spanish, with the result that I have a great many friends in Mexico in important positions.

I am on my way to South America for a period of six months, but felt, because of the agitation in the United States against Mexico on account of the religious issue, that I had a matter of personal conscience to perform. I have been so closely in sympathy with the Mexican Government's efforts for social reform that I felt it incumbent upon me to at least discuss the possible repercussions of their contemporary religious policy, not only upon themselves but upon the entire range of liberal opinion in the United States, and indirectly its possible effect upon the politics of the United States, and by implication the effect of such a change of American opinion on the Mexican-American relations and general continental policy. I have talked to a number of friends here about it, trying to make them see that religious persecution in Mexico tended to crystallize Catholic opinion in the United States, not merely against Mexico but against everybody in the United States who directly or indirectly was friendly to Mexico, carrying with it possibilities of serious political consequence.

This morning I had an hour's talk with President Lázaro Cárdenas, arranged by him through mutual friends. I found him a completely sincere and intelligent human being. Fortunately he had read my books about Mexico and so our conversation was completely informal and completely friendly despite the fact that I had never met him before.

I said to him in substance that it was very difficult for Mexico to maintain before American public opinion a position of liberality and progressiveness as long as it was possible to say that there were places in Mexico where it was impossible for pious and innocent persons to go to church and pray to God according to their consciences; that this single fact made it impossible for the friends of Mexico to counteract the unkindly propaganda against Mexico which has developed on account of the religious controversy; that the Catholics in the United States were in a position to make serious political use of Mexico's religious problem, and that Mexico's internal religious policy might in the long run endanger liberalism and liberal

politics

politics in the United States, which by implication would have serious consequences for Mexico itself; that I should be glad to cancel my trip to South America and return to the United States if he would permit me to take back a message to the effect that churches would be open in Mexico in all the States within six months; that I understood the difficulties politically of the situation, but that the issue had an international aspect which people in Mexico were not aware of.

In substance he replied, that for various political considerations he could make no definite commitment, but that he would take all I had said into consideration and that he would so conduct the government that these serious grievances would be mitigated to the effect that the Mexican internal religious policy will not be a cause for attack against the liberal policies of the President of the United States.

The conversation was carried on in the very friendliest terms and when I left he said that if ever I saw the President of the United States he would be happy to have me carry a personal and warm greeting of respect and consideration.

Perhaps I need not add that I have done all this on my own account without consultation with anybody and on my own resources, and that I have discussed this matter only with three other people except the President of Mexico and all those are very close to him and important people in the Government, to wit, Francisco J. Mújica, Narciso Bassols, and Emilio Portes Gil.

México, D.F. August 26, 1935.

(Dictated but not revised by Mr. Tannenbaum.)

FT:VK

PS I
Mexico

file

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
México, November 18, 1935

PERSONAL AND
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Franklin:

replying to one from

I have just read your letter to Mr. Martin H. Carmody, head of the Knights of Columbus, which was couched in terms more offensive than I supposed the head of any important organization would employ. When I finished reading your answer aloud to my wife, we both said "Bravo". It was complete and effective - "a hit, a palpable hit", and left Mr. Carmody not an inch of ground to stand upon. A friend of mine writes me that in a radio address in New York the Secretary of the Knights of Columbus demanded, in addition to what was printed in the papers quoting the address, that the embargo on arms should be lifted so that Catholics could arm themselves for war in Mexico. When I was at home last summer, talking with a Catholic Bishop, the prelate said that it was a shame that our government put an embargo on arms so that no effective resistance could be made by the Catholics in Mexico. These gentlemen are laboring under the erroneous impression that such an embargo exists by direction of the American government, whereas the only deterrent for individuals or would-be revolutionists here in obtaining arms is the vigilance of the Mexican government against the importation of arms. They evidently think the Wilson and Coolidge embargoes, limited as to time, in special emergencies still exist. In spite of the efforts of the Mexican government, some arms have been smuggled into Mexico and it is believed were used by opponents of the government in the recent disturbances in Sonora.

Last summer a committee of Americans - Dr. Brown, a Protestant, of Princeton, who was in the diplomatic service in one of the Central American countries under Coolidge; Mr. Carl Sherman, a Jew, who was Attorney General during Governor Smith's term of office; and Mr. William Franklin

Sands,

The President,
The White House.

Sands, a Catholic, who teaches in Georgetown University, - called, or calling themselves, the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, spent several weeks in Mexico. Upon their return they made a report to those responsible for their mission, in which they reached the conclusion that they were confirmed in the opinion that the Government desires "not merely the correction of alleged abuses in any Church but the extirpation of all religion in the country".

I do not think that sweeping conclusion is justified by the situation here, though the action of a number of States in closing all churches is as indefensible as it is indicative of the continued fight upon the Roman Catholic Church by some of the revolutionists. Since that time churches have been opened in Querétaro and services have been renewed in other States. The fight is not against religion as such; it is more a hang-over of the fight between the revolutionists and Catholic priests which blazed out in the revolution of 1910 and afterwards. Mr. Sands was here in August 1929 and upon his return to the United States wrote a long letter to Col. Patrick H. Callahan giving his impressions. In the course of the letter Mr. Sands says: "Archbishop Díaz was asked if it is true that 'the Church' in Mexico is in politics. He answered: 'In politics? I am in politics up to my neck and intend to stay there! How do you suppose we are to get anti-religious laws repealed except by politics?'"

Catholic church leaders to-day deny they are in politics, and, even when admitting that this is true, the Government officials say that they are ready to return to their old activities if they were not restrained by the Government's measures.

Several individuals have been here this year to investigate the religious situation, among them Dr. McFarland, who wrote a book that has been widely circulated. I do not think he can be relied upon, and Mr. Hull could give you some information showing him guilty of an effort to involve the State Department and the Embassy here in his flagrant use of material I am sure consisting of forged documents.

In one respect the letter of Mr. Sands, written in 1929, shows he was something of a prophet. He wrote:

"The revolutionary government has developed a program of education with particular attention to the Indian. The Church and State struggle will concentrate on educational work in the future."

That

That is the nub of the present conflict. When Article 3 of the Constitution was adopted last year (every State ratified it) it was decreed that there should be no schools controlled by religious organizations, and that every school should impart "socialistic education". All private schools must employ a large proportion of Mexican teachers and must impart "socialistic education". The Catholics, who had largely directed education in Mexico, declared war on the new school system, asserting that it was atheistic. That war has gone on since. Only last week five public school teachers were murdered in the State of Puebla and early in the month several Mayors in the North were murdered by those who opposed "socialistic education". The Government believes this is the method of militant Catholics to try to prevent this character of public education. Certainly the Catholics are in opposition to the public educational policy and the Government is determined at any cost to carry it out.

The Government, as I have unofficially pointed out to leaders in the administration, is following an antiquated policy, born out of past differences, when it denies full liberty as to churches and priests and preachers. This policy, pursued in a number of States, stands in the way of national prestige. Some of them see this. Some, like Calles, see the religious situation as injuring the standing of the country, but say "we will have to endure it because the priests if unrestrained would again dominate politics". President Cárdenas, while unwilling to suggest any change in the laws, is believed to be desirous of a better situation by which religious practices will not be restricted or unduly limited. But if so, the school question is the lion in the path. The Catholic Church puts the right to have schools conducted by priests of equal importance with free church worship. This is the impasse. I do not know how long it will last. I have done all I can to point out that religious freedom is essential to a modern free government and must come. I shall, wholly unofficially, seek to impress upon those with whom I am in contact, that upon their own initiative Mexico should have churches open and priests and preachers functioning without restraint in every part of the republic. I am sure this will come, and that its forerunner is an educated population. Thirty years ago eighty per cent of the people in Mexico were illiterate. That proportion has been decreased to fifty per cent. Another generation will see a large majority able to read and write. With knowledge will come a demand for religious liberty and freedom from any connection between Church and State.

Mexico is more super-national than most countries even in an age when super-nationalism is a world curse. Our

example

example and such expressions and quotations as contained in your letter, and the diffusion of knowledge will tend toward preventing restrictions upon religious freedom. Outside attempts to investigate or dictate will harden ancient conflicts and delay the coming of the better day. I hope our Catholic friends will see that the high ideals of our government cannot be imparted or advanced by outside pressure. The improvement must come from within.

Nothing distresses me here more than the attitude of residents here of so-called Christian countries. Very few of them go to church or seem at all interested in religion. There are two English speaking Protestant churches here - one Episcopal and one Union composed of all denominations except the Episcopalians. With an English speaking population of several thousand, a mere handful attend these two churches. I doubt if on an average as many as one hundred attend the services of both those churches. Our example is not helpful.

With my affectionate regards to you and Mrs. Roosevelt, in which my wife joins, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Daniels

P.S. The papers here all printed your letter to Mr. Carmody. I am enclosing a clipping from EXCELSIOR so you can see how they handled the letter.

JD

TODO MUN DES EN ABIS

TEXTO DE LA CARTA DEL PRESIDENTE ROOSEVELT AL CABALLERO CARMODY

**El Presidente de los Estados Unidos Declara que los
Ciudadanos de Aquel País no han Formula-
do Ninguna Queja Contra México**

NUEVA YORK, noviembre 17. (AP).—El texto de la carta del Presidente Franklin D. Roosevelt para el Supremo Caballero Martín H. Carmody, de los Caballeros de Colón, dice así:

"Mi querido Carmody:

"He recibido su carta de fecha 25 de octubre.

"Sin entrar en comentarios respecto de los términos de su comunicación, a la que acuso recibo, y sin referirme a la exactitud de las afirmaciones o conclusiones que expone usted, le informaré una vez más acerca de la actitud de esta administración en el asunto de la política desarrollada por el Gobierno de México, hacia las actividades religiosas en dicha república.

"Este Gobierno desea el derecho de los ciudadanos norteamericanos residentes o de paso en países extranjeros, para dedicarse a sus cultos libremente o llevar a cabo servicios religiosos dentro de sus casas o dentro de los edificios adecuados para tal objeto. Durante el año pasado, no se ha formulado ante este Gobierno una sola queja de parte de algún ciudadano estadounidense de que se le hayan negado esas libertades en México.

"Respecto de los derechos de que disfrutaban los ciudadanos mexicanos, la política de esta administración ha consistido en abstenerse de intervenir en asuntos tan directos del Gobierno mexicano. Yo seguiré desarrollando esa política de no intervención.

"Aunque este Gobierno no pretende emprender ninguna actuación exacta de cuáles puedan ser las circunstancias de esos asuntos domésticos de otros gobiernos, esta política de no intervención no puede, sin embargo, interpretarse como indiferencia de nuestra parte. Repito lo que expresé públicamente en San Diego, el 2 de octubre retroproximo:

"Nuestra determinación nacional de mantenernos libres de guerras no puede impedirnos sentir profunda inquietud cuando los ideales y principios que hemos abrigado, se ven en peligro. En los Estados Unidos, consideramos como axiomático que todas las personas disfruten del libre ejercicio de su religión de acuerdo con los dictados de su conciencia. Durante siglo y medio, nuestra bandera ha sido el símbolo de los principios de la libertad de conciencia, de la libertad religiosa y de la igualdad ante la ley; y estos conceptos están profundamente arraigados en nuestro carácter nacional.

"Es cierto que otras naciones pueden, y lo hacen, aplicar reglamentos contrarios a la conciencia y a la conducta. Es cierto que procedimientos que pueden ser seguidos bajo banderas que no sean la nuestra, están fuera de nuestra jurisdicción. Sin embargo, en nuestro fuero interno jamás podemos mostrarnos indiferentes y afirmamos para nosotros mismos completa libertad para abarcar, profesar y observar los principios por los cuales nuestra bandera ha sido desde hace tiempo el elevado símbolo. Como lo dijo muy bien James Madison: "tenemos por una verdad fundamental e inalienable, que la religión y la manera de observarse sólo puede ser dirigida por la razón y la convicción, no por la fuerza ni por la violencia".

"Yo repito a usted esta declaración.

"Puesto que usted se ha referido en su carta a que acuso recibo, a la política desarrollada en asuntos como éstos a anteriores administraciones y ha hablado concretamente del gobierno del Presidente Teodoro Roosevelt, no estaría por demás llamar su atención hacia la declaración del ex Presidente Teodoro Roosevelt, contenida en el mensaje anual que envió al Congreso el 6 de diciembre de 1904:

"... Ordinariamente es mucho más prudente y más útil para nosotros, interesarnos en procurar nuestro mejoramiento moral y material, aquí en la patria, que interesarnos en tratar de mejorar el estado de cosas en otras naciones. Tenemos bastantes pecados nuestros que combatir y en circunstancias ordinarias podemos hacer más por el mejoramiento general de la Humanidad, esforzándonos en cuerpo y alma en poner un hasta aquí a la corrupción cívica, a la anarquía brutal y a los prejuicios violentos de raza, aquí en el país, que aprobando iniciativas acerca de los males en otras partes."

"Tanto usted como yo abominamos, según creo, la intolerancia religiosa, ya se practique en nuestro país o en el extranjero. Sin embargo, por lo que a mí se refiere, no permitiré que este Gobierno emprenda una política de intromisión en los asuntos domésticos de gobiernos extranjeros, con lo cual peligraría el mantenimiento de las condiciones pacíficas.

"Suyo, afectísimo. Firmado: FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT."

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Mexico

10-19-35

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPHUS DANIELS, AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO MEXICO, AS ACTING DEAN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS, DELIVERED IN THE CITY OF GUANAJUATO, ON OCTOBER 19, 1935, BEFORE THE GUANAJUATO STATE LEGISLATURE, CALLED IN SOLEMN SESSION IN HONOR OF THE VISIT OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

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I am commissioned by my colleagues to express to this distinguished body their sincere appreciation of the high honor the legislative body of this historic state has extended to the members of the Diplomatic Corps from all continents visiting your city. Today, when we were presented with the keys of your industrial city of León, your Governor paid us the compliment of journeying to that city to extend welcome to the State of Guanajuato. At that place and in your capital city we have tasted the quality of your hospitality which has a flavour all its own. We departed from León shod in the manifested appreciation of the friendly people of that industrial city. Travelling through fertile fields in the harvest season, we arrived here to find ourselves the guests of a solemn session of the Chamber of Deputies, rich with noble traditions. The diplomats of Mexico are grateful to President Cárdenas, whose courtesy makes possible our visit to this prosperous commonwealth, with the opportunity of seeing for ourselves the people in their homes and learning of their achievements and aspirations and problems.

We are not unfamiliar with the rich history and honorable deeds of your people in this and other generations. We look forward on the morrow to visiting your notable public buildings and temples, among the most magnificent in Mexico.

The romantic story of "Pipila" (José Barajas) is a world classic, ranking with that of the American youth who regretted he had only one life to give to his country, and with the British men of valor famed in the lines:

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

I recall the thrill when a long time ago I was lifted up by reading the story of that Mexican from the Mellado mine who, in a moment of supreme crisis for a cause, in which he had dedicated "all he was and all he hoped to be," made possible the taking of the city by the army of Hidalgo by courage beyond our appraisalment.

Therefore, coming here for the first time and recalling the deeds of José Barajas and his great leader, Hidalgo, who sprang from your soil, fertile in patriotic sons, I feel like saying as the Almighty admonished Moses on the "Mountain of God" (Horeb):

"Put off thy shoes from off thy feet
for the place whereon thou standest
is holy ground."

I also

I also recall the story - true or apocryphal it is not for me to say - that the miners of another generation in this State gave what was known as the Piedra de Mano, that is, a piece of ore of the size of a man's hand, to the support of their faith. If silver was as valuable then as now, they were generous beyond compare. If the temple they erected was indeed mortared with a mixture of wine and silver, as traditionally asserted, it is a story of devotion to principle which gives distinction to the people of that generation. It is the everlasting glory of this State that it gave to Mexico the patriot-priest Hidalgo. With my colleagues, I have looked forward to coming to the State where Hidalgo sounded, at 11 o'clock on the night of September 15, 1810, the grito which roused the people of Mexico even as the shot fired at Lexington was heard around the world. The music of that bell sounded over hill and dale to the remotest corner of Mexico, calling patriots to fight for Independence. Its echoes are still heard wherever men look out of darkened windows and long for liberty.

I have descended into the dark prison where Hidalgo's body was confined. His immortal spirit soared beyond lock and bars. I have stood on the spot where the fateful shots ended his noble life and I have seen the monument at Cuahuahua erected by a grateful people to prove that his noble deeds "blossom in their dust." Let us pause to pay tribute to Washington, Bolívar, Hidalgo - three illustrious American names that were not born to die, whose deeds seem to be fresh in this hour as we contemplate that Guanajuato contributed one of the trinity of great names to the Pan American gallery of heroes.

As we come to this Mexican cradle of liberty it is apparent to all that the world is in turmoil. Unrest rides upon the waves of the seas of economic life and upon governments. Systems long venerated are questioned on all sides and those not buttressed on justice are tumbling to their fall. In their bewilderment some so-called statesmen are drifting who ought to be leading and they are depressed by the fear that civilization may not endure.

Their apprehension is not justified. In his inaugural address President Roosevelt showed the spirit which should actuate all world leaders in this day of change. "First of all," he said, "let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself - nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance." And he showed his faith by laying down a principle for all nations when he said: "Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase for evanescent profit. These dark days will be worth all they cost if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men."

New and untried policies are clamoring for adoption. In this stress and strain, in the ebb and flow of passions and opinions, there are those who fear for the future of

popular governments. Indeed; not a few leaders, and aspiring leaders, feeling their old cherished and archaic foundations crumbling under them, are gripped with fear to the innermost depths of their being. They are, like Hamlet, crying out in their pessimism:

"The time is out of joint;
O, cursed spite, that ever I was born
To set it right."

I come with no message of hopelessness and despair, even though dark clouds obscure the distant horizon. I truly believe that we are to be congratulated that we live in an age of questioning, in an age of change, for I believe the watchword of the period is:

"Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin forever,
Down the ringing grooves of change."

There was a time when the strong could over-power the weak without protest. Today such conduct evokes world-wide disapproval. After the fevers which now afflict parts of the world, let us hope and believe that reasonableness will prevail and peace and happiness be the portion of many nations.

In Pan America we hold to the immortal truth that all governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." We have not always lived up to that ideal, but it is the goal before every free nation. Let us here and now consecrate ourselves to that immortal principle, holding fast our faith in government controlled by the will of the people. If black clouds obscure the clear view of the days ahead; if obstacles seem to block the way to progress, peace and justice - if these lions in the path threaten our advance, let us not fail to rejoice that we live in a period when more than ever before nations and individuals are awake to a consciousness of the rights of man, including the inalienable rights of the humblest and most neglected who live on the earth.

Let us not regret that we live in these days of tension and crisis; rather, may these difficulties give us strength in the struggle for the attainment of the principle that governments must find ways to measure up to their opportunities and privileges and duties in an inconstant world.

I dare to believe that the clouds which obscure the sun will disappear and that we shall emerge from this difficult period purified, as by fire, with a better conception of the duties of government toward the forgotten man and a stronger determination to see that his right to live and work and secure just reward for his labor are respected and satisfied.

Let there be no place in the heart of any leader for pessimism. The optimist is the only man who survives. He alone can remove obstacles. His confidence that soon a better day will dawn for the world will be rewarded.

I and my colleagues, and you, members of Congress, and you gentlemen who occupy places of responsibility - all of us should rejoice at the opportunity which has been given us to aid in making the world a better place in which to live so that the morrow may be better for all men than all the yesterdays of history.

I pledge my own faith and I feel sure that my country, under the "New Deal," which discovers and exalts the forgotten man; and Mexico with her social reforms; and all other countries travelling on the same high road, will attain unto the full measure of liberty and justice for all mankind. I am glad we live in a challenging age rather than in times of dalliance. This day tests men and gives opportunity for demonstrating the stuff of which they are made. I truly believe that, in spite of fear and doubts,

"We are living, we are dwelling,
In a grand and awful time,
In an age on ages telling
To be living is sublime!"