

● PSF

Great Britain: Robert W. Bingham

173 F: Bingham

[Eva [Lana]]

August 29, 1934.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I was so happy to hear from you and to know that you had enjoyed your stay in Paris, although I was sure you would. What is more, I know you gave a lot of pleasure to many other people.

I am happy, too, to know from the papers that the President is with you at Hyde Park. I know what that means, both to you and to him. Do give my love to him and to Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt.

Aleen and I left here on the 3rd of August on the "Empress of Australia" and went to Norway, winding up at Copenhagen. We had two dear old friends from Louisville with us, Mr. and Mrs. Cox. I had ten days with them, but had to leave them at Copenhagen and come back to London for the sessions of the International Wheat Commission. I took a plane from Copenhagen at 3:15 in the afternoon, and arrived in London at nine o'clock the same evening. We stopped for a few minutes at Hamburg---the first time I had been in Germany since before the war---and it gave me a peculiar sensation. Nothing happened except that passengers on the plane and the pilots were not allowed to even go into the little station. We were allowed to get out of the plane and walk a few feet away from it so that we could smoke.

The sessions of the Wheat Committee were long and trying. For over a week we had to put in about ten hours a day, but I believe we accomplished something worth while, which was largely due to the fine work done by Mr. MacMurray, who is now our Minister at Riga, and who is Vice-Chairman of the Commission.

When the Wheat Commission sessions were over---  
Aleen still being away---I went up to Wales for two  
days for a little rest and change. As it happened,  
the Princess Victoria, the King's sister, was staying  
at the same place. I had not met her before, but she  
sent a message to me asking me to come to her, which,  
of course, I did at once. She told me she wanted  
especially to tell me how really delighted the King  
and Queen had been to have the opportunity to meet  
you, and how much they admired you, and went on to tell  
me that the whole Royal family had the greatest admira-  
tion and respect for the President.

I hope and expect that I can go home shortly  
before Christmas, and when I know when I shall reach  
New York, I shall write you in advance, because I do  
want to see you very much.

I know Aleen would want to join me in sending  
our love to you.

As ever,

Affectionately yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

PSF: Bingham

October 1, 1934.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am enclosing a letter to the President, which I want to reach him personally. Ulster's problems resemble our own, and it is possible that something of real value might come out of a study of their experiences over the last fourteen years.

I had a very happy experience at Barnstaple in Devon on September 21st. I am sending you a copy of the local newspaper which gives a full account of it. I must say I never met with such kindness and hospitality in my life.

I am also sending you a copy of a charming letter which I have just received from Mr. Stanley Baldwin. I have always respected him, and now I have come to like and trust him.

Aleen and I hope now to sail on the Manhattan on December 15th, and we should land in New York some time on the 22nd, and we shall be going on to Louisville the afternoon of the 23rd. At any rate, we certainly ought to be in by the morning of the 23rd, and I hope you will be in New York City at that time, so that I can go to see you.

I know Aleen would want to join me in sending our love to you.

As always,

Sincerely your friend,

Robert W. Bingham

PSF: Bingham

*file  
personal*

October 16, 1934.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When you have the opportunity I should be glad if you would tell the President the following:

Ulric Bell, whom he knows well, is the head of my Courier-Journal Bureau at Washington, and is a devoted friend and admirer of the President. Recently Jouett Shouse, who was hired to try to defeat the President's nomination, and who has now been hired to try to hinder the work he is doing for our country, approached Ulric Bell and offered him \$18,000 a year to do publicity work for the gang Shouse represents. Ulric gets \$6000 from the Courier-Journal. Of course, he instantly turned the offer down and told me about it merely as a matter of news, adding that no amount of money would have induced him to take the job.

Of course, this is wholly confidential, but I think it would please the President to know it.

Alenand I send our love to you.

Affectionately your friend,

*Robert W. Bingham*

## A POLICY FOR THE NATION

MR. LL. GEORGE AT BANGOR

### REORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Lloyd George last night, on his seventy-second birthday, outlined his proposals for national development in a speech in the Drill Hall, Bangor.

The speech also was broadcast to an open space outside capable of holding a further 5,000. Special trains were run to bring people from various parts of Wales.

Mr. Lloyd George said:—  
I am not here to-night to launch a party campaign. I am neither a party leader nor have I any desire to become one. I have had enough of that misery. Whatever happens, I have no intention of manoeuvring, or of being manoeuvred into it again. I am here as a British citizen who has had considerable experience in government to make an appeal to the nation for a great effort—an effort corresponding to the magnitude of the problem—to extricate the country, and as far as we can the world, from a crisis which has afflicted them for years. It has already overwhelmed millions of human beings in this and in every land in misery and despair.

I had the supreme responsibility for directing the affairs of this country and the Empire in the greatest emergency through which they have ever passed. As long therefore as I remain in public life I feel that it is not so much my right as my duty to make such contribution as is in my power in the way of suggestion, counsel, and stimulation towards solving our national distresses and difficulties. Whether the advice I tender be accepted or not is the responsibility of others.

#### UNITY FOR ACTION

Although my appeal to-night will be entirely non-party I am far from deprecating the party system. Party has undoubtedly helped to make the working of democratic institutions effective and powerful.

But when the country is in a critical situation, party strife is apt to distract attention from the things that matter, and to divide the nation when united effort is essential. The present crisis is not only national, but international. Party conflicts are therefore inapplicable to such a situation. If it is at all possible, then every endeavour should be made to achieve cooperation. But national unity must not be used as an excuse for complacency or for shirking. The very meaning of the word cooperation implies working together—not slacking together.

If a Government fails to do its full duty in the face of serious national difficulties, then it ceases to be entitled to the allegiance of the nation or of any party in the nation. It ceases to be a National Government. I propose therefore to do my best as an old servant of the people to rouse them to the peril of delaying bold action in the face of our international and economic difficulties. I shall do my utmost to secure national unity—but only in and for action. If it becomes clear that we cannot expect any adequate response from men in authority, or that we cannot hope to secure energetic and courageous effort on the right lines, and in due measure, then a party struggle is the truest patriotism. In that event I shall do all I can to help those who mean to tackle the whole situation with vision and with vigour.

### SUPREME PARADOX OVER-ABUNDANCE AND POVERTY

I will start by laying down a thoroughly commonplace proposition, which is so obvious that a great many people pass it by without

attitude towards unemployment. Well, I agree with *The Times*. We are always hearing the same predictions about the impending trade recovery which will gradually liquidate this mass of unemployment. We have listened to these forecasts for years. There has been a slow but appreciable recovery from the dreadful slump of 1932. But the figures for total unemployment are still higher than they were last May. And our adverse trade balance in 1934 is the highest on record in peace time. We shall not get a trade boom by merely waiting for it; nor will it come merely by a prearranged acclamation of its appearance on the horizon. The priests of Babel tried that expedient many centuries ago, and its failure there is one of the great fiascos of history. The long drought did not come to an end because of loud and continuous incantations by false prophets in the high places. You must put things right before you can expect them to go right. Wait and see a hopeless policy even when it is varied by occasional spurts of activity by Governments. These spurts of energetic action have never been sufficient or sustained.

#### OBSTACLES TO TRADE

Let me give you two or three figures which will illustrate what I mean.

During the past 14 years the figures of unemployment have gone up and down, but they have never been less than 1,000,000. The average for the 14 years since 1920 has been 1,598,647. In 1928, when there was a boom in world trade, the monthly average of the unemployed in this country was nearly 1,200,000. For 14 years we have only in one year got the average register as low as 1,100,000. Where do we stand to-day when trade has been recovering here and elsewhere for two years? The numbers of the unemployed are still double that figure.

What is the actual position to-day in spite of a heralded recovery? As far as international trade—upon which we depend more than any other great country—is concerned, it is infinitely less than we have ever known it to be. Since 1931 restrictions, multilateral tariffs have been raised; every conceivable obstacle to human ingenuity can devise has been placed in the way of trading between nation and nation. We have ourselves taken a hand in that process. The result has been shattering to international trade.

Take the figures published by the League of Nations. In 1929 the total international trade of the world was \$68,000,000,000. In 1933 it was only \$24,000,000,000. 1934 shows no real improvement. It is just a third of what it was five years ago. Businesses which depend upon exports—like cotton, shipping, coal—are in a deplorable condition. Since 1921 we have spent £1,150,000,000 on maintaining our workmen in enforced idleness. The most alarming aspect is the fact that the average number of the workless has been much higher in the last five years than during the first nine. Are you sure that the average during the next five years will be much lower? If not, surely we ought to come to real grips with this evil without loss of time.

I trust sincerely that in striving to deal with the situation we shall not waste time and effort before acting in determining ultimate principles. For myself, I am not so concerned about "isms" here and there, whether it be Individualism, Capitalism, or Socialism, Fascism, or Communism, or even the old "isms" of Conservatism or Liberalism. I hope action is not going to be postponed until we have settled questions of dogma in dispute between rival doctrinaires.

These things matter little in comparison with getting things done. We should take practical steps to cope with pressing difficulties and do so immediately and adequately. But nothing is practical which falls short of the magnitude of the necessity. We must think in terms not of patching rotten apparel or stretching out insufficient garments, nor of mending a broken-down machine with little bits of string—a little subsidy here and a little spita there—we must start with the resolve of effecting a thorough overhaul, and, where necessary, of recasting, remodelling, and reconstructing.

### PEACE THE FIRST NEED COOPERATION WITH U.S.A.

I will deal first with the international situation. I can only do so briefly. There is the question of securing peace among the nations. That stands first and foremost among the problems of to-day and to-morrow. Whatever social and economic system you build up, however perfect

President Roosevelt gave Congress the other day, I would find work for the workless instead of doing, and I am as convinced as he is that it can be done. I agree with him that the dole is humiliating, and that the idleness which it implies deteriorates the stamina and destroys the spirit of the people who have to endure it over a long period. There are scores if not hundreds of thousands of young men who have left school for years, but who have never had a job of work in their lives. As President Roosevelt points out it is not altogether a material question, but a moral and spiritual problem of vital moment to the character of the nation.

Let me say here that American remedies are not necessarily applicable to this country. The conditions in that country are fundamentally different in some respects. Our remedies must have reference to our own conditions. I propose that where private enterprise has been proved to be palpably unable, under present conditions, and during the emergency, to solve our national difficulties and fulfil our national needs unaided by the State, the administrative and financial resources of the nation as a whole should be made responsible for setting on foot and supporting those developments in town and country which would bring into fruitful activity our unutilized labour, our idle capital, and our undeveloped resources and opportunities.

Something on these lines has been attempted here and there—in housing, in roads, and in other public works. But where this has been done it has been done sporadically, in isolated cases, and even then quite inadequately. It has been done without any survey of the problem as a whole or any concerted business plan and comprehensive plan to cope with it as a whole.

### A NATIONAL SURVEY PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

I propose that the task should be undertaken on a comprehensive survey and plan, which would have reference to the real needs of the nation, to the possibilities, the opportunities, and the resources of the country. In order to ensure that this object shall be achieved I propose that a permanent body shall be set up for the purpose of thinking out and preparing schemes of reconstruction which would be useful and necessary work. Not relief works merely to give employment, but undertakings of real utility which will equip, improve, and enrich our national assets.

You have—or perhaps I had better say had—a mythical body called the Economic General Staff, which was supposed to advise the Government on these important issues. It only exists either in name or in part at the will, impulse, or caprice of the Prime Minister. He probably consults one or more of its members before he delivers one of his enlightening speeches on our state prospects. The new body must be of a totally different character to that misty apparition. It ought to be a Statutory Council with an independent existence, with definite functions, and with power to act within the limits of those functions. You can call it what you will—a Development Council, or any other appropriate name. It should consist of persons drawn from industry, commerce, finance, workers, and economic thinkers. They must be men who will command the confidence of the nation for their ability, their integrity, and their knowledge and experience of the national activities. It is essential that the Council should be independent and stand completely apart from political interference in its actual operations, and that it should have at its disposal all the necessary means for carrying out its duties.

#### THE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS

- As to its functions. It should be the duty of the Board:—
- To take a survey of the industrial, agricultural, and financial resources and potentialities of this country with a view to reporting on practicable developments which would increase employment and enhance the national prosperity, wealth, and well-being.
  - To prepare and approve plans for industrial organization, land development, improvement of the nation's services, amenities and cultural and recreational facilities, and the better utilization of our resources, our credit, and our man-power.
  - In reviewing the possibilities of productive development the Council must take into account the immense opportunities afforded by our Colonial Empire.
  - It must consider the application of the national credit with a view to the proper financing of the programmes it decides to

ideas for which I claim no originality; they have been urged by many whom I have consulted and dealt with these subjects. To a certain extent these projects have been accepted in a general way even by the Government of the day as proposals which call for State action. The only difficulty so far has been in persuading Governments to undertake them on a scale which is adequate to the magnitude of the need. Scope, time, methods, and money are of the essence of any effective solution.

It is agreed that some of our most important staple industries require thorough reorganization, and that they cannot hope to achieve it without assistance from the State in the way of enabling legislation and of finance. It is generally agreed that there is a lamentable deficiency of decent houses, and that therefore a housing programme of considerable dimensions is imperative.

Most national people realize now that roads constructed for slow traffic are quite unsuited to the rapid locomotion of motor-cars, especially when the numbers of vehicles on the roads have multiplied beyond anything thought of by Telford and the great roadmakers of the past. Railways and canals also need development and improvement. In telephones we are still behind some other countries. The same thing applies to electricity. We are far short of some other countries in the use we make of this beneficent power.

This last dry season has revealed to us the dangerous deficiency of our water supply. And as for the land, there is no populous country in the world that makes less use of its soil to find employment for its people.

#### "PIFFLING WITH DISTRESS"

But it is essential that the schemes of work must be adequate to the vastness of the problem. There must be no more projects like that of the Depressed Area Act, which was really an insult to the intelligence of the House of Commons, £2,000,000 found to provide capital for a scheme which was mainly responsible for £100,000,000 a year in maintenance alone! This is piffling with distress. There must be a bigger, a wider outlook, more real comprehension of the facts, and a bolder spirit in confronting them.

It is of the very essence of my proposal that the scheme should correspond to the greatness of the problem, not only for finding work but for rectifying the evils which I have sketched on our roads. A slum clearance programme alone does not meet the housing needs of the nation. It is an important part of the question, but it is far from the greatest part of our housing difficulty. Apart from slums there is an appalling deficiency of healthy, comfortable, and accessible houses in both town and country. Judged by any acceptable standard of air, light, sanitation, or accessibility to work and to open spaces, that shortage runs into millions.

As to transport, our road system in towns and in the country needs reconstruction and reconstruction on an enormous scale. The poignant urgency of this problem is brought home to us day by day by the horrible casualties inflicted on our roads. Over 7,000 killed and a quarter of a million injured this last year. Since I urged a new road programme in this very hall in 1929 40,000 people have been killed by motors on our roads and over a million injured. Mr. Hore-Belisha is doing his best within the means at his disposal, but no one knows better than himself that beacons and broadcast cannot arrest this massacre unless our road system, which was planned for a slower and smaller traffic, is reconstructed altogether to meet the exigencies of this new locomotion. There is a fund which I initiated in 1909 for the purpose of meeting this very situation. Last year its revenue amounted to over £14,000,000. It is increasing rapidly owing to the growing number of vehicles licensed each year. That sum ought to be used as a security for loans to give us a safe road system.

### EMPLOYMENT ON THE LAND AN URGENT NEED

In agriculture the need is urgent. Take these figures. In Belgium over 19 per cent. of the occupied population gain their living by agriculture; in Holland, 20.6 per cent.; in Germany, 30.5 per cent.; in the United States a similar percentage in Denmark, 30.8 per cent.; in France, 18.3 per cent. The cooperation in England

it would contribute largely to quicken and accelerate the advent of prosperity. When prosperity returned, then no doubt more capital would be required for the ordinary operations and developments of business, and there would not, for a time, be the same surplus at the disposal of the Council for operating their schemes. On the other hand, the problem of unemployment, with which they would have to cope, would diminish considerably in its dimensions through workers being absorbed in ordinary industries. In due course good trade and prosperity would once more fill our coffers with the profits of industrial activity and equip the nation once more with enhanced resources to go full steam ahead with the programme of reconstruction without any danger of inflation.

#### FATUOUS DEBT SETTLEMENT

I have one more proposal to make about finances. It is always assumed, when one talks of the finances of the nation, that reference is made exclusively to that part which is controlled by the Treasury. The Treasury handles only a comparatively small percentage of the national money or credit, and in recent years most of our difficulties have arisen from the way in which our general monetary policy has been managed by the Bank of England. The Treasury has been the general guide. First, there was the fatuous settlement of the American debt in 1923, which was so intolerably oppressive that practically the same men who constituted the Government that made the arrangement have been forced to repudiate it in order to save the country from financial disaster. The burden was too heavy for us to drag along any further. No doubt the Government of the day was directly responsible for that mistake. But the Treasury was mainly responsible for the Bank of England that guided the Government. That advice cost us hundreds of millions before we decided to follow it no further.

In the second place there was the return to the Gold Standard in 1925 on a parity with the dollar. In this city I pointed out at the time that this operation must inflict a serious injury on our export trade—and that ultimately it would land us in serious difficulties. And so it did. The Bank of England was mainly responsible for that costly blunder. It was their advice that was taken. They took a purely City financier's view in the case both of the American debt and the Gold Standard.

#### THE CRASH OF 1931

Then came the great crash of 1931. Both in Wall Street and here that crisis was directly attributable to the wild gambling of high finance. In this country financiers were lured by the high rates paid by Germany on foreign advances. So the City speculated madly on these loans. They borrowed money on the Continent at low rates of interest on short-term advances and lent the money at extravagant rates on long terms to Germany. It was a reckless ramp. For a while they made large profits until Germany collapsed. Our creditors abroad being alarmed called up their money. We could not recover ours to pay them. There was a run on our gold.

The Bank of England had taken no effective steps to arrest the German ramp, nor to make provision against the contingency were so handsomely failed. When it came they were so handsomely cappr and entangled by the Gold Standard they had set up that they could not cope successfully with the panic. The result was that when we were caught the Bank lost its head. It made desperate and costly efforts to keep us on gold. Luckily this did not succeed, and when we were driven off gold we found that it was the best thing that had happened to our trade. The Bank had set our trade walking on gold stilts through the marts of the world. When we were thrown down we dropped on our feet and realized we could walk much better.

The advice and action of the Bank has been misleading, shortsighted, narrow, and mischievous on all these questions so vital to our credit and commerce. Its cumulative blunders have cost the nation during the last 12 years more than would have sufficed to put through a gigantic scheme of industrial, agricultural, and social reconstruction.

### CLOSER TOUCH WITH INDUSTRY BANK AS INDEPENDENT ADVISER

As at present constituted the Bank is not sufficiently in touch with the industries of the country. It is a close corporation, with its eyes too exclusively on City interests. When the

we cannot hope to secure energetic and courageous effort on the right lines, and in due measure, then a party struggle is the truest patriotism. In that event I shall do all I can to help those who mean to tackle the whole situation with vision and with vigour.

## SUPREME PARADOX OVER-ABUNDANCE AND POVERTY

I will start by laying down a thoroughly commonplace proposition, which is so obvious that a great many people pass it by without noticing it or realising fully what it imports. It is that the present confusion and depression are not attributable to, and cannot be explained by, the ordinary trade cycle. The whole economic system, which was not working too well before the War, has broken down at least temporarily—some would say permanently—under the strain of the calamity of a world war. The situation is therefore a new one. It has not happened before. Every political and economic observer of any consequence in the world now recognizes that basic truth.

There are millions of decent, hard-working people and their children in the richest countries in the world, including ours, who are living below the poverty-line at this moment. Why? Is it because of scarcity? No. It is because of over-abundance. That is the supreme paradox of our generation. We are producing too many and too much of the commodities that these poor people need, therefore they must go without. The prolonged flood of good things has created a drought.

There is too much corn, too much beef, mutton, bacon, butter, and in order to cure it millions of deserving people have to be kept on half rations. We are turning out too many clothes, too many boots, too little children in the distressed areas must go in rags and tatters until this over-production is stopped—of the very things for lack of which they are shivering in this damp climate. There is so much money in the City of London that the bankers are worried as to what to do with it. I read in a reputable financial paper that the last day of the year, on the Stock Exchange, there was a glut of money, and the remedy for this plethora of cash is that millions of workmen should spend less on food and clothes, for themselves, their wives and their children.

## MAMMON AND MARS

What a system! It looks like a cruel jest played by Mammon on the sons and daughters of men. As a matter of fact that golden idol did not plant it upon us as a joke, but as a system, for which he arrogantly demands obedience and worship. If you dare criticize him you are a blasphemer. Nevertheless, I declare that Mammon has shown himself in recent times to be nothing but an old fool, utterly unfit for his job, with his Gold Standard, his wild and blind gambling with the assets with which he is entrusted and his stupid rule that extraordinary supply can only be corrected by cutting down ordinary demand. He and Mars between them have made a horrible mess in this generation of the affairs of mankind. In 1914 the God of War sent the world reeling through the gates of Hell. The God of Money has since been completing the tragedy. It is time they were both certified as dangerous lunatics and put under lock and key.

President Roosevelt is discovering, the more he probes into the crisis and its causes, that there is need for a more complete change than he had at first contemplated. That is why he started with recovery, but is now proclaiming that a new order is necessary. That is why his neighbour across the frontiers, the Prime Minister of Canada, an out-and-out Conservative, has come to the same conclusion. He declared that the old economic order has gone never to return. That is a startling statement. The Archbishop of Canterbury in his New Year address expressed the same thought when he hoped that we should see this year a wider and juster distribution of the things which men need and which exist in ever-increasing abundance. But our Chancellor of the Exchequer proclaims that the Government do not intend to do any more in the way of remedies for unemployment than they have already indicated.

## FORECASTS OF TRADE RECOVERY HOPELESS POLICY OF "WAIT AND SEE"

I see that in an official document which has been circulated by the League of Nations the Government say that they are going to depend upon ordinary trade recovery to find work for the workless and that they have no confidence in public works as a means for accelerating that recovery. On your behalf I asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer about unemployment policy. He answered: "Our unemployment policy is to continue as it has been doing." Many young Conservatives in the House of Commons are thoroughly disatisfied with that position, and that wonderful organ of Conservative opinion, *The Times*, ventured to rebuke the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Government for that

It is in that spirit I put forward my proposals.

## PEACE THE FIRST NEED COOPERATION WITH U.S.A.

I will deal first with the international situation. I can only do so briefly. There is the question of securing peace among the nations. That stands first and foremost among the problems of to-day and to-morrow. Whatever social and economic system you build up, however perfect soever may be its design, and however excellent its materials, unless it is based on peace it will be founded on a quicksand and will come crashing to the ground. I rejoice in the settlement of the Saar and also of the Yugoslav-Hungarian dispute. They were both highly dangerous. We have every reason to be proud of the part played by Mr. Eden in removing the complications which had arisen over the deplorable assassination of King Alexander. I believe the situation is now ripe for another attempt at general appeasement.

I believe that with a strong policy, which means a bold, decisive, and firm lead by Great Britain, we can improve the precarious and perilous international situation. We must take a very definite and a much stronger line than we have hitherto done in recent years in ensuring an adjustment of the questions that threaten peace in the East and the West—notably on Disarmament and on the Chinese situation. The world is ready and eager for a settling up of international differences if Britain gives a clear lead and stands by it.

We have no special interest in the racial conflicts of Europe. That is in our favour. The United States of America feel confident, would cooperate with us in any action on broad lines, and the world cannot afford to disregard these two powerful communities. That applies not merely to the state of things in Europe, but in the Pacific, which from the point of view of trade development is more full of promise—and from the standpoint of war more full of menace—than even Europe. Fruitful action, especially in the East, involves, as the first condition of success, a complete understanding with America. I would immediately take steps to reach common agreement with that great country, and then act together, in a combined endeavour to secure the pacification of the world.

## SENSELESS TRADE WARFARE

In the second place there are the obstacles to world trade, commerce and shipping which have multiplied enormously in the last few years. The uncertainties are even worse. Tariff restrictions, quotas, and currencies are the weapons of this senseless warfare and the result is devastating. Now that we have got our tariffs set up I would use them ruthlessly and to the full as a means of inducing a removal of, or at least a reduction in, the difficulties of trading with other countries. Our bargaining resources, apart from tariffs, are considerable. We have had arrangements which afford a little amelioration here and a little relaxation of conditions in another place, but the results are trivial compared with the immensity of the difficulties and with what is possible of achievement if we act on bigger and bolder lines.

We must insist upon the Governments of the world facing a situation which is damaging to all countries alike. But we must demonstrate our own readiness to show an example. If we are able to settle the international differences which endanger the peace of the world our task in adjusting questions of trade will be easier. Once we establish the will for peace and confidence in peace, all the other things will be added into us—disarmament, military and economic. In that atmosphere of good will it will become easier, if not to abolish, at least to abate, tariffs, restrictions, quotas, and also to stabilize currencies. We need a firmer and stronger handling of foreign affairs in both diplomacy and trade.

But even if nations came to a satisfactory agreement they would probably require some time to adjust themselves to the new conditions thus created. There will therefore still be on our hands for some time a mass of unemployment, which will have to be dealt with by other methods. I would go so far as to say that, even if you restored, or at least approached, pre-war conditions in respect of tariffs, you would still have in this country, for reasons obvious to all who study the facts, a considerable surplus of workers who could not be absorbed in industry without special measures.

## TWO PROBLEMS

We are therefore confronted with two problems. First of all, there is what I call the temporary unemployment due to abnormal conditions which have been accentuated since 1911, and which must in the most favourable circumstances take a long time to liquidate. You have beyond that the problem of the permanent surplus of workers which cannot be absorbed by the normal labour demand under the existing economic system of this country. That surplus was a million and a quarter even during the trade boom of 1928.

How do you propose to deal with this twofold problem? I give exactly the same answer as

economic developments which would increase employment and enhance the national prosperity, wealth, and well-being.

(b) To prepare and approve plans for industrial organization, land development, improvement of the nation's services, amenities, and cultural and recreational facilities, and the better utilization of our resources, our credit, and our man-power.

(c) In reviewing the possibilities of productive development the Council must take into account the immense opportunities afforded by our Colonial Empire.

(d) To consider the application of the national credit with the most proper financing of the programmes it decides to carry out, and to direct the credit to the enterprises it plans.

## PERMANENT RECONSTRUCTION

The functions of the council would cover the duty of research into all fields of industrial activity, and of putting forward recommendations to enable any important branch of industry, such as coal, cotton, iron and steel, shipping, agriculture, to reorganize itself where the authority and the financial guarantee or credit of the State may be needed to ensure proper measures being taken. The council would similarly include recommendations on such issues as raising of the school age, lowering the age at which workers may retire on a pension, shortening hours of work. In fact, the measures I advocate, although to meet an emergency, would be far more than mere emergency works to relieve distress. They would ensure a permanent reconstruction of such branches of our economic and industrial system as are at present defective, and the setting up of machinery which will render possible a more efficient control and guidance of our national development.

The council would, in short, be a board to consider and prepare definite plans of action and propose methods by which they are to be carried out and financed. It would be there to get things done, but done in pursuance of carefully thought-out recommendations. The finance and executive machinery I shall outline later on. The council would naturally work in close cooperation with the existing Departments of State and would make plans for coordinating their operations where more than one of them was involved in some new development scheme.

When the council has reached conclusions its recommendations should be passed on to the Government as definite plans of action. The final responsibility must rest with the Government of the day. I do not propose that we should be ruled by boards. This country is a democratic country, and the final authority in all these matters must be Parliament, and the Cabinet is the body which defines and declares the will of the people as expressed by Parliament. That would not mean that every scheme in all its details would require Parliamentary sanction. Too much time would be lost in discussing such detailed schemes. Parliament would legislate general conditions, and the ultimate power would always be vested in it for accepting or disapproving the policy and, what is still more important, for sanctioning and voting the finance.

## A CABINET OF FIVE NO DEPARTMENTAL WORK

As to the Cabinet I propose a complete change in its constitution. I would restore the principle of the old War Cabinet, which was the most effective committee of action on a great scale which this country has ever seen. The ordinary Cabinet consists of about 20 men, all of whom are immersed in the details of administration of gigantic departments committed to their charge. They can spare neither the time nor the energy to give the necessary thought and consideration to vast policy programmes affecting every aspect of the national life, or to confer with their colleagues upon them.

The Cabinet, certainly in an emergency like this, should consist of a small body—not more than five—of the ablest men available, who would be free from the absorbing cares of departmental work. They would be able thus to sit continuously, to consider day by day the wide and comprehensive questions of policy at home and abroad, which cannot be, and as a fact are not, adequately examined by Cabinets constituted as they are to-day.

The schemes must be based on the two-fold character of the problem. The first is the finding of temporary work for those who are thrown out of employment owing to the world collapse from which we hope, in due course, it will gradually recover. The second is to find permanent employment for that surplus of labour for whom, under the present system and the present organization of our resources, no work is being found, even in times of general prosperity. We must cease to contemplate with composure the prospect of a minimum of a million and a quarter of our workers standing idle in the market place.

## SCHEMES OF WORK

I may be asked what schemes of work I have in mind which would come within the conditions I have laid down. I have many a time indicated them, and I will once more give an outline of my ideas on the subject. I can only give the barest outline in the course of this speech. I hope to develop my proposals on each topic in a series of speeches which I intend to deliver. They are

a bare road system.

## EMPLOYMENT ON THE LAND AN URGENT NEED

In agriculture the need is urgent. Take these figures. In Belgium over 19 per cent. of the occupied population gain their living by agriculture; in Holland, 20.6 per cent.; in Germany, 30.5 per cent.; in the United States a similar percentage; in Denmark, 34.8 per cent.; in France, 38.3 per cent. The proportion in England and Wales is about 10 per cent. We have to aim to double our agricultural population on the soil and a smaller proportion of our nation engaged in agriculture than Belgium, which has a denser population to the square mile than England and Wales. And yet we are keeping over 2,000,000 of our workers in miserable idleness because we cannot find anything useful for them to do.

If Germany or the United States of America had only 7 per cent. of their population on the soil the problem of unemployment could and would easily be solved by their Governments. Why, then, should we hesitate? We have about the best soil in the world; we have the best and most accessible markets; we are compelled now to buy from abroad hundreds of millions worth of produce, most of which could be raised in this country. We could increase the food supplies demanded by our people if we only gave wages instead of doles and thus increased their purchasing powers. With a good marketing system our produce could be sold at low prices to the consumer, while giving a good margin of profit to the producer and better wages to his workmen.

The Government recently appointed Commissioners to examine into the question of the depressed areas; there is one remarkable feature in all their reports. Conducting a separate inquiry, making separate reports, they all agreed that the land provides the best opportunity for finding alternative employment for our surplus workers.

But it is no use talking about settling a few thousands on the land. We had over 2,000,000 agricultural workers of all kinds when we had about half our present population to feed. We have now about 1,000,000 on the soil. Since I first published my land proposals a few years ago, the richest nations have diminished in England and Wales alone by 115,000, or 14 per cent. Their numbers are still going down. Let us get back to the 2,000,000. Remedies which fall short of what is needful for effecting a cure are not only disappointing; they are futile, costly, and may prove fatal. They very nearly were fatal to us in the War.

## FINANCE THE REAL TEST

The real test of whether we mean business is not will be finance. When we went to war we did not allow considerations of cost to interfere with the attainment of our aims. We incurred an expenditure of £10,000,000,000, and without it we could not have won. Surely we are still about the richest nation on earth. No one contemplates expending money on that gigantic scale; it is quite unnecessary. But while we spent thousands of millions on the devastation of war we cannot shrink from the responsibility of finding a few hundreds of millions to repair the desolation and the misery which have ensued. We spent thousands of millions on destruction; surely we can find enough to rebuild. At the end of our programme we shall have real assets to show for our investment of capital.

As to the methods of financing, I propose that the Council should make a careful estimate and forecast not merely of the cost of their undertakings but of the capital available in the course of the year for the carrying out of their schemes. There are huge sums of money lying idle because our industries cannot absorb the whole of our savings. The Council should follow the example of the Treasury, which makes a forecast of the probable revenue that will accrue in the course of the year. The Council in preparing the capital estimate would have to confer with and consult all those who are best able to advise them on this subject, including the great banking institutions of the country.

## TWO BUDGETS A YEAR A GREAT PROSPERITY LOAN

My financial proposals would involve something in the nature of two Budgets in each year—one Budget dealing with the ordinary revenue and expenditure of the year; the other a Budget for capital expenditure. The amount spent in each year would be limited by the capital which could be raised without injury to the ordinary operations of trade.

The enterprises, whatever they are, must be within our means at that time. We must embark on no schemes which are beyond our financial capacity, or the expense of which in a given year would overstrain our credit to the extent of doing any harm to the sound business we are already transacting, and which still finds work for the majority of our people—even in the worst times.

I believe a great Prosperity Loan would be subscribed and over-subscribed by an eager and enthusiastic public. The mere fact of launching

such a loan would have sufficed to put through a gigantic scheme of industrial, agricultural, and social reconstruction.

## CLOSER TOUCH WITH INDUSTRY

## BANK AS INDEPENDENT ADVISER

As at present constituted the Bank is not sufficiently in touch with the industries of the country. It is a close corporation, with its eyes too exclusively on City interests. When the business direction and control of the money policy of the country is so essential to the industries and business of the nation; when it is proved that the present direction has landed us so often since the War in blunders and disasters which gravely jeopardized our trade and credit; then it is time that steps should be taken to bring the Bank into closer touch with the business activities of the country. I am entirely in agreement here with the remarkable speech delivered the other day by Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Conservative member for an important industrial constituency in the North. He does not suggest that the Bank of England should become a Government Department like the Treasury; nor do I. It must be in a position where it can give independent advice. But it must be also independent of the City of London and in closer contact with the industries and the commerce of the nation. The directorate of the Bank must be chosen on this basis and by methods that will guarantee such a composition.

I am opposed to proposals for the nationalization of our joint stock banks. It is neither necessary nor desirable. I would seek their cooperation in the carrying out of these schemes; and utilize their marvellous organization to the full in their operation.

## EXECUTION OF SCHEMES

Having determined the plans and arranged the finance, who is to see that the schemes are carried into execution? There are three methods. One is to leave them to be carried through by the various Departments respectively concerned with their subject matter. The second is to set up new Departments *ad hoc* to execute the various programmes during the period of emergency. That would be following the War precedent. The third would be for existing Departments to set up special boards like those recently created by the Board of Agriculture, to bring the different enterprises instigated by the Minister. Personally I would favour a combination of these three latter methods. Where the undertakings are likely to be on a considerable scale I should like to see special Ministries set up temporarily. In other cases the execution and control would be left to the Departments assisted by boards of experts.

I have given but a general outline of my proposals. That is all that is possible in the course of a single speech. I hope to enter more fully into details on the various topics in later speeches. All I shall add now is that proposals on these lines can be put through if we have the vision, the courage, and the enterprise which the people who dwell in these islands have never failed to display, whenever they realized the need for a manifestation of these qualities, in order to save their country from any peril. If we were to face the problem in that indomitable spirit without loss of time you would be surprised at the change that will come over the affairs of this country. It would put new hope and new life into business in every branch of activity.

## EVERY MAN EMPLOYED

These proposals touch industry in every aspect. I confidently believe that if we act promptly on the lines I have sketched, then by the spring of next year the dark cloud of unemployment and consequent distress and despair will have disappeared from our skies. Every employable man on the register would be working at some task, which when finished would leave a more efficient, healthier, and more prosperous country. Money then, instead of being a gambler, will become a producer; instead of getting in the way of the trader and tripping the cultivator by its vagaries and eccentricities, it will become a steady and a reliable servant to both, and instead of being a glut in the market it will be a gladness in the home.

The National Government claim that they have re-established national credit. Personally, I never thought that it was in any real jeopardy, because the essential wealth of this country is so great. But if it has been re-established, then let us remember that credit, unless it is used, is as barren as the talent wrapped in napkin. Let us use credit to produce value, and convert value into human happiness.

Healthy, comfortable homes are value; good roads for transit and traffic are value—they save life, limb, and time. Cheap and abundant electricity and water supply are value; well-drained, well-cultivated fields are value. Well-equipped farms and farm buildings are value; waste converted into a forest is value; a well-developed Empire, producing what we need and purchasing what we can supply, is value; a well-educated, well-fed, well-housed, industrious, healthy, and contented people, leading the world in the paths of freedom, good will, and progress, are the greatest value of all.

Joseph Chamberlain

PSF Bingham

FEBRUARY 4, 1935

## otations

### United Fruit Earned \$4.11 Share in 1934

Net Income of \$12,049,299  
the Largest for Any Year  
Since 1930

Net income of the United Fruit Co., for 1934 was the largest for any year since 1930, amounting to \$12,049,299 after all charges, equal to \$4.11 a share on the 2,925,000 shares of stock, the annual report issued today disclosed. This compares with a net income in 1933 of \$9,240,942, or \$3.15 a share. After dividend payments of \$5,717,985 in 1934 there remained a surplus of \$3,331,315, as compared with dividend payments of \$5,811,980 in 1933 and surplus of \$3,428,962.

During the year the company greatly improved its financial condition. Current assets on Dec. 31, last, amounted to \$55,989,473, including \$40,957,542 of cash and Government securities, of which \$13,880,023 represented book value of U. S. Government securities, against a market value of \$14,102,025. Current liabilities totalled \$10,628,568, indicating a net working capital of \$45,360,904. At the end of 1933, current assets were \$48,915,650, including \$27,480,531 of cash and \$9,638,276 (book value) of Government securities. Current liabilities were \$8,987,988, leaving net working capital of \$39,948,561.

Francis R. Hart, president, in his remarks to stockholders says that despite the unsettled conditions in the sugar market, the company harvested a crop of 1,288,227 bags of sugar, the third largest crop and the lowest crop cost in its history. During the year 49,879,345 stems of bananas were shipped from tropical divisions, as compared with 46,181,163 stems in 1933.

The Revere Sugar Refinery melted 381,279,871 pounds of raw sugar during 1934, an average of 1,417,397 pounds per working day, as compared with 351,819,495 pounds in 1933, an average of 1,528,592 pounds per working day. Deliveries of refined sugar to customers amounted to 369,434,167 pounds, compared with 352,423,777 pounds the preceding year.

The company's Great White Fleet carried 47,082 passengers last year and 875,867 tons of general cargo. The fleet comprises ninety-two owned ships and six ships chartered from other companies aggregating 444,000 tons.

PSF: Bingham

Exhibit

February 6, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR AMBASSADOR BINGHAM:

Felix Frankfurter writes me as follows and I hope that it may be helpful in the matter of the Professorship about which you wrote me:

"If there is still time for a suggestion regarding the Harmsworth Professorship then I should like to make a proposal which, though novel, may have some sense to it. I propose Lewis Einstein, who, though not an academician is a real historian. He has, I believe, written more important books on American history than have all but a handful of the most distinguished of American historians. Though a professional diplomat he has been all his life a gentleman scholar. His "Tudor Ideals", "Roosevelt, his Mind in Action" and "Divided Loyalties" -- to mention only some of his writings -- bear witness to his qualities. And I have heard Mr. Justice Holmes, during the last twenty-five years, frequently refer with the highest regard to Einstein's scholarship. And it is not uncommon in England to take a scholarly man from the world of affairs for academic posts. Recently Arthur Salter was made a professor of government at Oxford. I have no doubt that Einstein could amply fulfil the academic duties of his post.

And on the representative side he would admirably fill the bill. He is at home in the social and political life of England -- he has a house in London -- but unlike not a few of our countrymen he is totally devoid of snobbery, or that sense of inferiority which makes some people whom you and I know feel they are breathing better air when they are in Mayfair. In other words Einstein is civilized and tactful, and

appreciative and understanding of the English, but he still remains a robust American. And I think he would be intelligent and sympathetic in his interpretation of the democratic forces of our country and of the social purposes that lie behind them. Einstein really has an uncommon combination of qualifications. He is a scholar, well versed in the affairs of the world, can write and speak admirably, has a liberal outlook, and has money. In the words of Heine, "Mein Liebchen was willst Du noch mehr."

TSF Bingham

personal  
file

April 30, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

I am really delighted that you like the rod and reel and enjoyed using them.

I don't know just what happened, but I did not receive heretofore your note in regard to looking up certain naval historical records. Immediately upon receipt of your letter I arranged for Capt. Howard to go over and take it up with Admiral Dickens, who is Chief of Naval Intelligence and whom I know rather well personally. By the way, he is a grand-son of Charles Dickens. The Admiral was very much interested and sent for the librarian at once, and he is now going through the records, and I expect to get photostatic copies made of them and send them over to you as soon as they are ready.

I don't know Rudyard Kipling, but I have been elected an Honorary Vice-President of the Kipling Society, and have some touch with him, and I should be glad to transmit any message to him you wished to send him.

I am glad that you will see Sir Josiah Stamp, as he is very influential here, and, while he has criticized some of your program, he has not been stupid or malicious

about it, and he is so intelligent I think he would see  
the light if he had a chance to talk to you.

With many thanks for your letter,

Very sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

*as  
1/17/35  
-5 P  
file  
personal*

May 10, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

I was distressed when I heard that former Governor Beckham had concluded that he could not become a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Kentucky, and I know it was due to Mrs. Beckham's physical and mental condition following the death of her son.

Every effort is now being made to work out a solution of the difficult situation there.

I have just heard today that Judge Dawson, of the Western Federal District of Kentucky, is again talking of resigning to take on a position with an insurance company with which he has been flirting for some time. In the event of a vacancy there I should like to have the opportunity to give you what I know about the person or persons whose qualifications I think would qualify them for appointment.

I venture to suggest for your consideration the appointment of Gov. Beckham as a member of the Board of National Welfare Pension Board. If appointed, he would fill the position honorably and ably.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

*Beckham*

*Miss P.*

*file*

May 10, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

Wide-spread publicity was given here to the statements of certain officers before the House Committee on Military Affairs outlining the plans for the seizure of British Islands and air bases contra Canada. The statement caused wide-spread discussion and resentment here. Your statement, however, on the subject, cleared up the whole situation entirely and restored our relations with the British government and the British people to the proper friendly basis.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Taft*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

File  
Personal

June 1, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

At a recent function at Buckingham Palace, the King sent for me and told me that he wanted to tell me how greatly he appreciated your personal letter to him, and that he was happy to feel that you and he were friends, and both striving to maintain peace in the world, and to lead the British and American peoples along the pathway of progress and prosperity. There is no question about the spontaneous enthusiasm displayed by all classes of people here towards the King and Queen during the Jubilee celebrations. It was more than a tribute to the head of the state because it was an expression as well of gratitude and affection to a friend who had wisely and conscientiously and ably served them all.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF Bingham

file

June 28, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a letter from Admiral Dickens which I have just received. It would appear that they have now supplied all the information which they could obtain.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W Bingham

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

Naval Staff,  
Intelligence Division,  
ADMIRALTY, S.W.1.

26th June, 1935.

Dear Ambassador,

Your letter of the 24th June has given my staff and myself much pleasure. We deeply appreciate your thanks for the little we have done and are extremely proud to have received a message from the President of the United States. That is a unique honour.

Perhaps you would be kind enough to mention this when you again write to him.

Your letter crossed one from me to Captain Howard enclosing further particulars of the campaign. I am afraid that covers all the matter we can find on the subject, but if at any future time further discoveries are made, we will let you know.

With many thanks,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

A. C. Dickens

His Excellency the Hon. Robert Worth Bingham.

PSF: Bingham

X

July 11, 1935.

Dear Bob:-

I am delighted to have your interesting letter of June twenty-eighth. I agree with you that the British will probably not do much conversing with us until after their general election and that they are beginning to realize that a greater friendliness to us would not hurt them.

Many years ago I came to the reluctant conclusion that it is a mistake to make advances to the British Government; practical results can be accomplished only when they make the advances themselves. They are a funny people and, though always polite, can be counted on when things are going well with them to show a national selfishness towards other nations which makes mutual helpfulness very difficult to accomplish. Their average conception of mutuality differs from mine.

Let me tell you a secret which is not to go beyond your own ears. Sir Josiah Stamp wrote Morgenthau and suggested that, as Leith-Ross will pass through Toronto on his way to China in August, Morgenthau should proceed to the border incognito and have a conference with Leith-Ross - informally, unofficially and wholly secret! I could not help remember that Leith-Ross is merely a financial adviser to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and that Morgenthau is the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. I could not

help wondering what Neville Chamberlain would say if George Harrison of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York were to write Chamberlain that George Haas, a financial adviser in our Treasury Department, was going to Belgium this summer and suggesting that Neville Chamberlain run over to Belgium to see George Haas! Can you imagine the expression on Neville Chamberlain's face? That is the kind of stupid thing that our British friends sometimes try to perpetrate on their American cousins!

I fear me that the British have, in the German Naval agreement, let themselves in for real resentment on the Continent, and also for much trouble to themselves in the days to come. I cannot forget that Germany's new Naval program, just announced, shows a number of submarines and other ships practically completed. In other words, Germany began to violate her Treaty obligations from two to three years ago. What is to prevent Germany from violating this new agreement and calmly announcing the violation after she has doubled her new allowance of submarines, cruisers, etc., etc.?

Most highly confidential -- will you try to keep your ear open for any suggestions that England and Germany have agreed on certain other important points not connected with or included in the Naval announcement?

A very wise old bird tells me that a number of important world forces, including the British, would much like to involve us in some way -- any way -- in the world's critical problems.

As ever yours,

Honorable Robert W. Bingham,  
American Embassy,  
London,  
England.

June 28, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

I think you will be interested to know that the speech which the Prince of Wales recently made at a meeting of the British Legion, in which he suggested an exchange of visits between German and British veterans and forgetting the past, was not only not suggested by the government, but, on the contrary, I am reliably informed the government addressed a strongly-worded communication of protest to him on the subject.

The British are tending more and more to the view that they must improve their relations with us. The situation in Europe itself is bad enough, though not so bad as it has been, but the Far East situation is so ominous that they are beginning to realize it is to their interest to cultivate better relations with us. This may be at the bottom of reports that Ramsay MacDonald is contemplating a visit to the United States in order to have a conference with you. You may already have information on this subject which has not reached us. So far, we have no official confirmation of these reports.

At the rate at which their minds are moving, it seems probable to me that they will make some proposals to us within the next few months, although probably not until after their general election. Meanwhile, I can only repeat what I have said to you before, that I am convinced we should leave them entirely alone until they are ready to come to us.

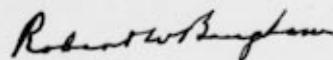
Their naval agreement with Germany may have been desirable from their standpoint, although the clause permitting Germany to build up to 100% of British submarine strength whenever Germany thought it desirable to do so, has been severely criticized by many influential people here. In addition, the method pursued, apart from the agreement itself, has undoubtedly aroused bitter resentment in France, and I think in Italy as well, because, after the Stresa meeting, both the French and the Italians claimed the naval conferences between the British and the Germans were to be merely exploratory, and that they were not informed of an actual agreement until it was an accomplished fact. The position taken by the Government, however, is that France missed several opportunities for an agreement with Germany on a much better basis than they finally had to submit to, which they think was a mistake, and they felt they had a chance of an agreement with Germany which they could

not afford to let pass, as the French had done.

Many influential people here, though, feel that no agreement with Germany is worth anything, because they do not believe Germany will keep any promise. I believe the whole purpose of the government now is to try to keep everything as quiet as possible until after their general election. Although some time ago the tide was running strongly against the present national government, I think that has turned, and indications now are that the present government will be returned. If and when this happens I think they are likely to reach out towards us, but, in the absence of some event which cannot now be foreseen, I doubt if we can accomplish anything on stabilization or otherwise until after the election.

It goes without saying that I shall be glad to communicate my views on the whole subject to you, either in writing or in person, whenever you think it desirable to do so.

Sincerely yours,



The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

*file  
personal*

August 22, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS LeHAND

Secretary Morgenthau has read the attached letter from Ambassador Bingham and is returning it as requested.

*N M Chaney.*

Private Secretary.

Aug. 13, '55.

Dear Mr. President:

Secretary Morgenthau has a copy of the records from the Federal District Court at Paducah showing Selden's Glenn's employment on the bridge job after his appointment as Collector, a recital of his activities and the allowance of a fee of \$24,000<sup>00</sup>. It does not show that he helped to unload on the State for \$600,000<sup>00</sup> a bridge which had been taken over a short time before for \$300,000<sup>00</sup>. A trusted friend of mine who is a friend of Fred Wallis is going to Paris, Ky. today to talk to Wallis in the hope of persuading him to come out for Chandler on Thursday when Chandler opens his second campaign there. Marvin McIntyre has a memorandum of what I believe

is worthy of your consideration  
in connection with the Kentucky  
situation. It made me really  
happy to see you again.

Very sincerely yours,  
Robert W. Bingham.

Evans Cottage, 54th St.,  
Virginia Beach,  
Virginia.

Telephone No. Virginia Beach 567.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

15 AUG 15 PM 3 10

OFFICE  
SECRETARY OF TREASURY

RSF: Bingham

December 6, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

I have just received your letter of November 23rd about the Rev. Endicott Peabody. I am very glad you wrote to me about him and I shall take this matter up at once in the hope of being able to help to carry out your wishes, and also to play some part in helping to bring about the granting of this honor to one of our countrymen who has achieved such notable distinction.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

London, December 24, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

I have not attempted to reply by letter to the questions with reference to the Italian situation in your recent letter because conditions were changing so rapidly from day to day I felt I could give you better information through my daily despatches.

I heard the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday, the 19th, in connection with Sir Samuel Hoare's resignation. The peace proposal he made was made with the full knowledge and approval of the entire Cabinet, with the possible exception of Anthony Eden. The British Government adopted this policy because they were convinced they were on the eve of a war with Italy, with no assurance of real support from any quarter. They believed the moment hostilities began between England and Italy, this would so play into Germany's hands the result might mean a general war in Europe. In addition, they were confident Japan would take advantage of the situation to

take/

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

take at least all North China. It was on the basis of these beliefs they made the peace proposal. They had expected to break the news of the proposal to the British public in their own way; but the leak came from Paris, as they might have known it would come, and such a storm of opposition arose they concluded that they would have to back down.

In my opinion, the only member of the Government who came out of this situation untarnished was Sir Samuel Hoare. His statement in the House of Commons was definite, sincere and strong. He made no attack on his colleagues and no effort to shift the blame but definitely refused to recant. Mr. Baldwin's statement was weak and unconvincing, and the fact that he and his colleagues made a scapegoat of Hoare has damaged Baldwin's prestige greatly. There is a widespread belief that Hoare will come back in some capacity, though not as Foreign Secretary, and that Baldwin will go, within the next year or two.

Eden's appointment has been well received, and it is generally believed that he was the only member of the Cabinet who took a position against the so-called Hoare-Laval peace proposals. In my own opinion, the

Government/

Government would be in a stronger position if they had taken the public into their confidence as to their reasons for making this proposal, and had supported Hoare instead of deserting him. Eden's appointment has, as I have stated, been well received and it is generally believed here that there is a better prospect now of actual collective action than has existed heretofore. The better informed people here regard Germany as the real menace but there is much pro-German sentiment in the country and widespread criticism of France, and some actual feel of antagonism and hostility. The Prince of Wales has become the German protagonist. Some months ago he proposed fraternizing between the British and German ex-Service men, which caused much criticism in many quarters and resulted in a statement by Hoare to the French Ambassador that he had made this proposal on his own initiative and not only without the knowledge of the Government, but that the Government had informed him of its disapproval. Quite recently, at a large public dinner, he made another pro-German statement, which was not well received by the audience and which was hushed up in the newspapers.

In/

In my opinion, the British Government will not attempt to press sanctions further, especially oil sanctions, without definite commitments of a military character, not only from France but from other members of the League.

Meanwhile, there is much apprehension that if and when things begin to go really badly for Italy, Mussolini will conclude that he cannot afford to lose to Abyssinia, and will provoke a war with England, on the theory that while he cannot afford to lose to Abyssinia he might maintain his position at the head of his own country if he loses to England.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Kingham*

*Webb Miller, head of United Press here, has just returned from Italian front and reports morale of Italian troops excellent, that they are only two, or three weeks behind their schedule, have vast reserves of camels in case oil sanctions are put into effect, are confident of success even if war with England results.*

*File.  
RSF: Bingham  
Drawer 2-36.*

March 21, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR L. H.

I think one matter should be made perfectly clear. If your friends make loans to you to be used for educational purposes, such as selling publications for public instruction through a non-partisan organization, all such loans to you should be kept separate and not put into your own personal bank account. This is of extreme importance. I note that the loan is called a contribution. For your own protection you should get this straightened out, and if it is a loan it should be made perfectly clear that it is not a contribution. As I understand it, the proceeds from sale of books or pamphlets would go into a fund from which loan or loans would be repaid. This also should be made clear.

ROBERT W. BINGHAM, President & Publisher

EMANUEL LEVI, Vice-President & General Manager

# The Courier-Journal THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE, KY.

March 19, 1936.

Dear Miss LeHand:

I am enclosing herewith the letter which the Ambassador would like for you to give to the President, and about which he telephoned you this morning.

Sincerely yours,

*Emily Overman*

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The Courier-Journal  
The Times Building  
Fifth and Broadway  
Louisville, Ky.

# The Courier-Journal THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE, KY.

March 19, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter which I sent to Louis Howe enclosing a check for \$10,000.00 as a contribution to an educational campaign which he described to me, and which I thought would be useful and constructive. Yesterday Marvin McIntyre called me up and asked me to write you a note in connection with it and later Louis Howe talked to me and said that my letter was not altogether satisfactory, and that he preferred to have a form of letter which would cover the contribution as a loan to a friend. I talked to Miss LeHand and asked her to see that you get this letter, and while she tells me your trip has been delayed a day, I do hope you will be able to get away tomorrow, and have a restful and helpful vacation.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

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

March 16, 1936.

My dear Mr. Howe:

I was very glad indeed to see you again, and to see how much you had improved in health. I only hope this improvement will continue, and I believe it will if you don't overwork yourself, as you have done for so many years.

I am very much interested in the educational campaign you discussed with me, and I am enclosing herewith a check for \$10,000.00 as a contribution to this cause.

With all good wishes and kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

Col. Louis M. Howe,  
Naval Hospital,  
Washington, D. C.

P.S.F. Bingham

May 4, 1936.

Dear Bob:-

It was sad, indeed, to have Louis taken from us and the end was very unexpected and sudden.

I am delighted that you are coming back the first of June and I think that if you can plan to be here through June and perhaps over the fourth of July before returning to London, you will be able to lay a lot of groundwork in the Associated Press organisation looking toward complete fairness by them.

I am writing Jesse Straus. Perhaps if he comes over after you get back to London it will avoid criticism. Thank you for letting me know about that aspect of things. Dodd's leave was arranged months ago and he is delivering a series of lectures for about two months before returning to Berlin.

As ever yours,

Honorable Robert W. Bingham,  
American Embassy,  
London,  
England.

PSF: Bingham

April 21, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I was very sorry indeed to hear of Louis Howe's death, as I know the loss of such an old and loyal friend must have distressed you.

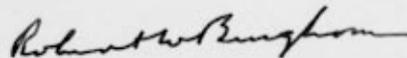
I have made arrangements to sail from Southampton on May 27th, arriving in New York on June first; of course, subject to no untoward development on this side, as I was advised by you. I should like to know if you have thought of any reason to change your mind about the desirability of my going over at that time. Of course, it goes without saying that I am eager to do anything you want me to do.

Ray Atherton has just returned from Paris, where he saw Jesse Straus. Straus asked him if I was going over at any time during the campaign, and Atherton replied that he had no knowledge of any definite arrangements, but had no doubt I would go if I was asked to do so. Straus then went on to say that he understood that the Ambassadors in Rome and Berlin had been asked to return, but, so far, he had had no information that he was wanted, and that he seemed to be the only one who had been left out. I mention this merely for your information and consideration.

I think there is nothing so important as your re-election, and, while I believe that is as assured as any future event can be, I believe nothing should be left undone which might in any way contribute to that result. However, in the present state of affairs in Europe, I am sure you will consider the possible reaction if too many of your representatives holding the most important posts should be away from Europe simultaneously.

The wish may be father to the thought, but as far as I can see now, I think it may be safer for me to leave here than for the Ambassadors to Germany and France to go away, and Breck Long may find himself in the same position I seem to be in now, in a comparatively short time.

Sincerely yours,



The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

*file  
journal*

*PSF; Bingham*

May 5, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I am looking forward with eager interest to sailing on the 27th, and to seeing you as soon after the first of June as may be convenient to you.

While everything seems to be going as well as we could hope, it is quite possible some desperate move may be made about the time of the Republican Convention, utilizing the Associated Press as a medium. My experience in dealing with this organization in the '32 campaign gives me hope that I can deal with it successfully again if the need should arise. At any rate, I do want to be on hand to watch every move by the Associated Press control, and to do anything else which you may think desirable. I can see nothing here to prevent my going away at that time.

I am looking forward with pleasure to having a talk with James tomorrow at twelve o'clock, and to having him and Mrs. Roosevelt for luncheon on Thursday.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

file  
personal

London, May 9, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

The "Good Neighbor" policy has already had a marked effect, even here, as displayed by the attitude of the representatives of the Central and South American countries in London. The new Minister for Cuba called on me recently and spoke warmly and enthusiastically on this subject, both in general and with specific reference to the effects of the Trade Agreement with Cuba. In addition, he later sent me a copy of a letter which he addressed to the TIMES on his own initiative, which I think you would be interested to see; hence I am enclosing it.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

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

With the compliments  
of

PEDRO MARTINEZ FRAGA

*E. E. Ministre Plénipotentiaire  
de la République de Cuba.*

LEGACIÓN DE CUBA  
GRAN BRETAÑA

U.S.A. AND CUBA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—In your very interesting leading article on "Pan-America" in *The Times* of to-day it is stated that President Roosevelt

has consistently refused to play the part of the policeman armed with a big stick, and where, as in Cuba, for example, conditions have arisen which seemed to invite or even to demand the intervention of the United States, he has endeavoured to secure the participation of the other American Governments.

May I beg leave to state,

to witness duty, not to show my wit:

Duty so great, which wit so poor as mine. . . .

that the above-mentioned reference to President Roosevelt's foreign policy in America is not correct because it ignores, or forgets, the most important phase of that policy's historical development?

The right of the United States to intervene in Cuba's affairs was established by the Treaty of Relations of May 22, 1903. That right was exercised once, in 1906, but Cuban and United States public opinion have been always clearly opposed to it.

After the revolution of 1933 and thanks to the good will prevailing between both countries and to President Roosevelt's happy "good neighbour foreign policy," a New Treaty of Relations, signed on May 29, 1934, and duly ratified on June 9 of the same year, not only declares that the Treaty of Relations of 1903

shall cease to be in force, and is abrogated, from the date on which the present Treaty goes into effect,

but clarifies, in its five articles, the status of the United States coaling and naval station (Guantanamo) in Cuba, and the mutual sanitary obligations of both countries. The new treaty puts an end to the right of intervention, and is, up to now, the foremost practical and historical evidence of the sincere foundations of President Roosevelt's foreign policy.

I am, &c.,

MARTINEZ FRAGA, Minister.  
Legación de Cuba, Gran Bretaña,  
London, April 24.

The Times  
April 28, 1936

PSF: Bingham

September 4, 1936

Dear Mr. President:

Following your request to me to return home for a few weeks prior to the election, I secured passage long ago on the Berengaria sailing on Sept. 23rd, expecting to sail from New York returning on Nov. 4th. It goes without saying that I want very much to do whatever you wish me to do, and I am retaining my space awaiting further instructions from you.

However, the situation in Spain, as you know, is very grave, and carries with it dangerous and menacing possibilities. In addition, there is grave reason to apprehend a blow-up in France. A weak France means a strong Germany. A serious outbreak there might mean immediate hostile action by Germany. This country cannot be defended from the Channel. England must fight to save the Channel ports, and France and Belgium must be England's front line.

The Government and the intelligent and well-informed people here realize this. It is quite true there has been much pro-German sentiment, but this has been steadily diminishing, and it is an attitude not shared by the people to whom I have referred above. There is a pro-German cabal led by Lord Lothian and

actively fostered by the Waldorf Astors. This carries with it the "Times", as the Waldorf Astors have more influence with Geoffrey Dawson than John Astor has, who is the real proprietor of the "Times".

Members of the Government and the best-informed and most influential people here are more anxious and apprehensive than I have ever seen them before. The whole situation leads me to the conclusion that I ought not to leave my post now, unless there is a decided change for the better in the near future, which does not seem probable.

I submit my opinion on this subject to you for your consideration, prepared, of course, to take whatever course you deem desirable.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

TELEGRAM

PSF: Bingham

The White House  
Washington

CABLEGRAM VIA STATE DEPARTMENT

September 14, 1936.

HONORABLE ROBERT W. BINGHAM  
AMERICAN EMBASSY  
LONDON  
ENGLAND

I HAVE YOUR LETTER OF SEPTEMBER FOURTH AND I THINK YOU  
ARE RIGHT IN VIEW OF GENERAL CONDITIONS IN EUROPE STOP  
ALL THINGS CONSIDERED IT IS BEST FOR YOU TO STAY IN  
LONDON        THINGS HERE ARE GOING ALL RIGHT

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



*file*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1936.

Dear Miss Le Hand:

I take pleasure in enclosing herewith a copy of a telegram, dated September 15, 1936, for the President, from Ambassador Bingham in London.

Sincerely yours,

*C. W. Gray*

C. W. Gray,  
Office of the Secretary.

Enclosure:  
Copy of telegram.

Miss Marguerite A. Le Hand,  
The White House.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

FROM

London

Dated September 15, 1936

Rec'd 8:30 a.m.

Secretary of State  
Washington

September 15, 1 p.m.

PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Many thanks for your message and your approval of my letter of September 4th. It cost me dearly to write it but am convinced it was right course to pursue. Have too much confidence in good sense and gratitude of great majority of our countrymen to have any doubts of election result. Thanks and regards.

BINGHAM

DDM:CS B

175F Bingham

file  
"Personal"

September 22, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

In 1923 I made a study of Consumers Cooperatives in Great Britain and northern Ireland, because I thought I might find an outlet for the producers cooperatives I had organized in the United States. As a result I acquired some knowledge then of consumers cooperatives and have kept in touch with the situation since. This gave me added interest in your Commission to consider the European consumers' cooperatives, and, of course, I tried to give them all the assistance possible. You will have the report of this Commission, which involves more recent and more detailed study than I have made, and will, of course, arrive at your own conclusions based on their report. However, I venture to express my own opinion that these consumers' cooperatives have contributed to better the condition, both socially and economically, of their members, both in Great Britain and on the Continent. From what I know of the subject, they are probably better managed and more widely distributed, in a sense, in Sweden, than elsewhere.

The one point to which I do wish to draw your attention is the fact that both in this country and throughout Europe, these organizations are mainly in

control of the Left groups and in some instances are the nucleus of actual radical party organizations.

I presume that you will not reach a conclusion in any event until after the election, and I feel strongly it will be a dangerous subject to deal with prior, at least, to that time.

I had a talk with Robin Hood just before he sailed. He is a sound man whom I have known for a long time, and so far as our discussion went, I share his views.

Just recently it has come to my ears that after Harry Hopkins made his London visit some time ago, he commented on the fact that in spite of my long-standing interest in social problems, I had not gone over with him the progress of the very important work he has so ably handled. This is true, but it came about in this way: I gave a luncheon for him to meet British officials dealing with allied questions, at which Mrs. Hopkins told me that her husband really ought to be on a holiday, and urged me, for his sake, apart from those consultations with British officials which were deemed absolutely necessary, that he should have as much respite from his work as possible. Consequently, I refrained from doing what, for instance, I felt free to do with Chester Davis and more recently

with Secretary Roper, namely, to talk with them at length  
myself and to ask them to address my whole staff.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

file  
"personal"  
no Mrs.

October 1, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a letter which I have just received from Leonard J. Reid, City Editor of the "Daily Telegraph", and also a copy of the article to which his letter refers.

After visiting the United States the first part of 1934, Reid published an article in the "Daily Telegraph" on March 4th, covering the first year of your Presidency, which was altogether the best article which has appeared in any British newspaper. He and McClure-Smith, about whom I have written you recently, are the best of the lot over here.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

*PS F. Bingham*

# The Daily Telegraph

TELEPHONE:  
METROPOLITAN 4214.  
" " 4215.

CITY OFFICE:  
265-273, SALISBURY HOUSE,  
LONDON WALL, E.C.2.

LJR/BB

28th September 1936.

His Excellency,  
The Hon. R. W. Bingham,  
American Ambassador,  
14 Princes Gate,  
S.W.7.

Dear Mr. Bingham,

I venture to draw to your attention an article which I wrote for the Daily Telegraph this morning. Of necessity it was hastily compiled, and therefore lays itself open to the more criticism.

The reason why I draw it to your attention is that, clumsily perhaps, but at any rate sincerely, I suggest that Mr. Roosevelt, with his dollar experiment, has proved to be a pioneer in world currency advance.

With kindest regards, and the hope that I may see you before long,

Yours sincerely,

*Leonard J. Reid*

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# BRITAIN'S SHARE IN CURRENCY 'NEW DEAL'

## Lessons of Sterling's Five Years of Freedom

By LEONARD J. REID  
 "Daily Telegraph" City Editor

THE decision of the gold bloc countries to re-adjust their currencies is being everywhere hailed as a promising step towards a general return by the principal countries of the world to a new and stable system based on gold.

So far as can be seen, the new French plan, if inaugurated wisely and worked efficiently in harmonious collaboration with the London and Washington Treasuries, may open up an opportunity not merely for currency stability, but for a diminution of the artificial obstacles now standing in the way of world commerce.

This latest development therefore will be widely regarded as an important step towards what is usually called "restabilisation." It takes place just five years after Britain was forced to abandon the Gold Standard. The question of our return to a Gold Standard therefore comes nearer and it becomes important for the British public to study the story of the past five years of the country's currency freedom.

The erroneous idea still persists that Britain abandoned the Gold Standard in 1931, not of necessity, but as a policy. The truth, of course, is that, fighting against a series of circumstances, which caused a wave of foreign distrust, the British Government held on until the last moment of the eleventh hour.

### FIVE YEARS' PROGRESS

To defend the Gold Standard the Government mobilised expensive foreign credits, which proved unavailing, and it was not until London's supply of gold was drained almost to its last drops that the inevitable decision to abandon the Gold Standard was reluctantly taken.

As everyone knows, the story of the past five years is one of steady and accelerated recovery in production, trade, employment, and general national well-being. Statistics illustrating every phase of this trend are readily available and familiar to the British public.

But if all these evidences of five-year progress were arrayed, it would still remain obscure to what extent the abandonment of the Gold Standard had contributed to produce the movement. Other factors would have to be weighed, such as the drastic balancing of the Budget, the restoration of actuarial soundness to the finance of unemployment relief, the renewal of the confidence of the man-in-the-street, and the effect of the initial impact of tariffs on a naturally expanding home market now, for the first time, largely reserved for the home producer.

It is, however, generally agreed that, contrary to expectation, the abandonment of the Gold Standard has played its part in the great national recovery.

### FORMER HANDICAPS

To-day it becomes desirable to consider in what way currency freedom has been helpful during the past five years; whether that help, although not capable of precise measurement, has been substantial; and in the light of the last quinquennium's experience, how much of that freedom Britain is willing to sacrifice in order to attempt to regain a new stability in international currencies.

To explain fully how this freedom has helped would require a detailed investigation of the workings of the old Gold

Standard. It is enough at this point to say that when the Gold Standard was in force our monetary authorities were compelled to be guided in their policy more by the requirements or possible developments of the international situation than by the needs of home industry and commerce. It is hardly too much to say that every increase in trade activity and Stock Exchange buoyancy had to be viewed with a suspicious eye, lest the seeds of inflation were being sown and incipient foreign distrust of London's position might lead to the foreigner removing his money and draining our gold resources.

Under the old Gold Standard, when our authorities saw that sort of position arising, they used the main weapon at their command—they raised the bank rate. This was taken as a danger-signal, and usually proved effective in curbing the expansion in speculative activity, but also had the inevitable consequence of curtailing production and the employment of the people. I am not implying any criticism of the authorities in this respect. History will show that they acted efficiently and conscientiously, according to the dictates of a system which was imposed upon them.

### WORLD TRADE HOPES

For the past five years they have been free from these dictates, and they have taken the fullest advantage of that freedom to establish a broad basis of credit, which has ensured cheap money and has played no small part in encouraging the revival of British economic activity.

Broadly, it may be said that the monetary policy of the past four years, which has been so helpful to the country, could probably not have been pursued unless Britain had left the Gold Standard. Let us accept it, then, as true that currency freedom has proved itself a very substantial benefit.

If we accept that the free pound has been advantageous to Britain we must equally accept the axiom that the restoration of stable conditions between the chief currencies is an essential prelude to world trade revival. To-day this country is mounting the crest of prosperity, but its speed of travel is due mainly to two factors—first, the boom in house construction; and secondly, the Government spending, chiefly on rearmament. Eventually the volume, both of building and of armament construction, must slacken considerably, and the initial stimulus of protective tariffs may weaken.

### TRUST IN GOLD

When that time comes it is essential for the employment of British workers that our staple export trades should have a substantial revival, and that new export trades should be built up. So vital is this that it would be worth our while as a nation to pay some considerable price for world conditions which would permit of this happening.

But what price are we prepared to pay? I do not believe that modern democracy would consent to return to a system where the livelihood of the people and the progress of social happiness and well-being are jeopardised by statutory necessities to defend arbitrarily fixed bank ratios, or traditionally accepted figures of gold surpluses.

The British public have been taught to concentrate on home interests, and although world trade will remain vital to them, they will demand that the financial

system is directed first and foremost to creating the best home conditions, after making full allowance for necessary participation in world co-operation.

So the leaders of the great monetary powers to-day are groping in search of the new system. As a standard by which currencies and values can be measured gold still holds the field. It is one of the surprises of the past five years that as Governments progressively deserted the gold standard so the human trust in gold increased. A decade ago many fancy substitutes for gold were discussed, but they have all been discredited. The population of the world will trust gold as a standard as they will never trust most scientific price-indices worked out by the most profound and impartial economists.

### STABILITY THE AIM

But if gold is to be the standard, that standard must be worked with greater elasticity than before. President Roosevelt was derided when, in 1933, he set out to establish what he called an "elastic dollar." He has proved in a very short period to be a pioneer in currency thought. Two years ago in Wall Street leading American financial authorities, eager adherents of the Gold Standard, told me that the next Gold Standard must be elastic. The whole world is thinking of that line now.

The goal to be aimed at now must be to set up machinery for securing reasonable stability between the principal currencies, but to eliminate the rigid applications of rule-of-thumb policy, which in the future, as in the past, must contribute to the accentuation of trade fluctuations.

A few years ago the possibility of achieving this object was ridiculed among the majority of British experts. Now the scene is changed. The first, and possibly the greatest, steps towards this desired goal have already been taken.

The agreement just announced between Paris, London and New York would not have been possible if Britain and America had not established very powerful Exchange Equalisation Funds. Now France is creating one for herself. The three Governments have agreed to work together to ensure reasonable stability, and to that end they will use the huge official funds now at their disposal.

### BRITAIN'S LEADERSHIP

They are entering together on an adventurous search for a stable system based on gold, which will be free from the grave discomforts imposed by the old Gold Standard in its most rigid form. Into this search they will carry the good wishes of the world.

It should not be beyond the power of human ingenuity to evolve the next necessary steps, and it is in the interests of this country that its Government should co-operate and even lead in the search for the eventual solution. It is a new and a thrilling thought that we are actually leading to-day.

Britain cannot afford to plunge blindly into new binding arrangements. By returning to gold in 1925 she led a crusade in the endeavour to save the stability of world currencies and trade. She failed mainly to give any durable help to the outside world and crippled herself in the attempt. It was an attempt which history may rate high in the field of international endeavour. But the failure taught lessons. The past five years of freedom have taught lessons. All of them must be carefully weighed in the balance.

[PSF: G. B.:  
Bingham]

file Personal

London.  
November 13, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I am sure you would be gratified if you could know how warmly and even enthusiastically your triumphant re-election has been received here. The British press service is so bad and so insufficient, so far as the United States is concerned, and there are so many blind bigots of Americans who come here, there was a belief in some quarters that Landon would win, and in others that it would be a close race. I think this had its effect on the government here, leading it to temporize until after the election. Unfortunately, this is customary with the British at any time, since it is their habit to temporize and try to compromise, and that is why they fumble and muddle so often.

I am glad to say I am on record not only verbally, but in writing, with the Prime Minister and Anthony Eden and other members of the government, and with influential people outside of the government, as to the result of the election, telling them months ago the issue of the election was certain; weeks before, that Landon would not carry as many as ten states, and three weeks before November 3rd, he would have less than eight states. I told them this because I wanted to give them a correct impression and because I

wanted them to conduct their negotiations with us on the basis of a certainty instead of an uncertainty.

I was told by Eden before the election that the Prime Minister would make a more definite statement on international trade than had yet been made, when he made his speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on November 9th. Shortly before the 9th, but after the election, Mr. Baldwin told me this himself, and further told me what he intended to say about the mad armament race in Europe. He spoke firmly and strongly about the latter, and did go further in committing his government to the principle of the restoration of international trade than any one has done heretofore.

However, he referred to the strictly bilateral agreement just completed with Italy, and predicted a successful result along the same lines for the negotiations pending with Argentina. With these two agreements in effect, I think they will consider themselves in a better position to trade with us. Their real difficulty lies in the fact that the government is too largely influenced by the City, and these money-changers are nearly, if not quite as blind, as our own.

Speaking generally, there is a wide-spread, persistent, increasing feeling here that it is to their interest to cultivate better relations with the United States. Unfortunately, so far this has taken the form of propaganda only, and has not yet reached a point where they are willing to make a fair and mutually profitable agreement with us, although it is probable they will come to that in time.

It is certainly a time when those of us who represent our country's interests here must keep our feet on the ground and our heads clear, because, while some of their propaganda is crude, much of it is subtle and cunning. They are still fumbling, with no really definite and capable leadership. Their aircraft program has broken down badly and has involved not only mismanagement, but some graft. While not panicky, they are jittery. I have known these people for many years, and I have never seen them as nervous as they are now.

What is really in the back of their minds is to try to work out something which will not cost them anything, or at least very little, by which they can tap American credit when the storm breaks upon them, which they all believe will come, and I think they will try to play the game along with

us until they become convinced it is quite hopeless. The sooner they reach this conclusion and make up their minds that they have no chance with us except in a fair, open and cooperative and mutually profitable undertaking, the better off they will be.

They have set the stage for Neville Chamberlain to succeed Mr. Baldwin, and if they carry this out they will be making a great mistake, in my opinion. I think their best choice will be Sir Samuel Hoare, and possibly even a better man, except he is too young, according to their habits, would be W. S. Morrison, who has recently succeeded Walter Elliott as Minister of Agriculture, Elliott remaining in the Cabinet as Minister for Scotland. At this time, however, all signs point to the election of Neville Chamberlain, who lives and breathes only in the atmosphere of the money-changers of the City.

Now another great cause of alarm and anxiety has come to them about the King. His conduct has caused widespread resentment, and the most loyal people here state unreservedly that he has damaged the prestige of the Monarchy itself, and they are very apprehensive of the results if he follows the course he has so far pursued.

On the whole case, however, they are more inclined now to treat with us intelligently and reasonably and fairly than they have been since I have been here as Ambassador, and within a reasonably short time it seems probable to me that you will be able to go as far with them as you think is consistent with our interests.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham.*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSE: Bingham

*File removed*

November 13, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I rejoice in your victory, which was never in doubt, and in its magnitude, which has had no equal in our history, and which is unlikely ever to have a parallel. I know it means only good, not only to our own country, but to the whole world. It renews and confirms my faith in our own countrymen, who have thus displayed not only their wisdom and intelligence, but their gratitude to the great and inspired leader who rescued them from the brink of chaos, and placed them firmly on the road to prosperity.

Moreover, I am sure its implications are much broader and deeper than the amazing rescuing from poverty and misery and impending chaos. The whole fabric of Democracy in the United States was on trial. The blind bigots who had controlled our government had undermined its very foundations, and the whole structure was crumbling when you were inaugurated. I believe you have made our institutions and our country safe and stable and happy for your grandchildren and for mine, and indeed for those who will come after them. I have no doubt yours is the supreme achievement since the union of states was formed.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 14, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

Please keep this in your safe. I suggest as representatives to the Coronation, Hon. James W. Gerard, Hon. Robert W. Bingham and Rear Admiral Rodman, U.S.N., Rtd.

For Secretary I see no reason to appoint a career Diplomat. It was not done at the Coronation of King George. Frankly, I think it would be a nice gesture, because of my personal acquaintance with the King and with his late Father, to send my boy James as Secretary to the Commission.

F. D. R.



be confined to three persons, with the addition of an officer of the Department of State as Secretary of the Mission.

I might mention at this time that the special Missions to the coronation of King George in 1911 were not expected to be accompanied by their wives, except where a Prince was a representative and his wife was connected with the Royal Family. When it was learned that Mrs. Hammond would accompany her husband, the records of this Department show that special arrangements had to be made to secure her a seat in Westminster Abbey. She was not, however, seated with her husband, and the British Ambassador at Washington explained that she could not be accorded official recognition by his Government.

Faithfully yours,

*Russell Moore*  
Acting Secretary.

Enclosure:  
From British Chargé  
d'Affaires, September 10.

No. 291

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
September 10th, 1936

Sir,

In accordance with instructions received from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs I have the honour to enclose a copy of a Proclamation by The King, my August Sovereign, in which the date of His Majesty's Coronation is fixed for the 18th May next.

I have also been instructed to state that it would be pleasing to The King to receive as his guest a Representative of the President of the United States of America and I have therefore the honour to enquire whether it would be convenient and agreeable to the President to be represented on the occasion. If so, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would be glad to learn in due course whom the President would propose to designate for the purpose in order that he may take The King's pleasure in regard to the arrangements to be made for his reception.

I have the honour to be  
with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,

(SGD) V. A. L. Mallet

The Honourable

Cordell Hull,

Secretary of State of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

H. M. CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

PSF Bingham

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Handwritten signature:*  
The Hon.  
Bingham

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 17, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

What do you think of  
the last page of this letter?  
Do you think R. W. B. should  
come home or not?

F. D. R.

PSF: Bingham

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 18, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Since it does not seem that the Ambassador has any urgent reason for coming here now, my thought is that he should be requested to defer his return until after the Coronation. Conditions are such as to make his presence in London desirable during the next few months. Aside from the fact that there might be unfavorable comment should Mr. Bingham leave immediately after the accession of a new King and before the Coronation, there is at least a possibility, although I do not believe that will be the case, that new questions pertaining to the Spanish War may come along, and much more important is the fact that we are now in the first stages of an effort to negotiate a trade agreement with the British, the failure of which would most seriously affect the entire program this Department is now trying to carry out. Furthermore, it is perfectly clear that in the Spring Mr. Bingham will be much better able to give you a picture of conditions on the other side than he could give you in January.

The President

The

The White House.

The attached memorandum shows what leave Mr. Bingham  
has taken during his period of service.

Yours very sincerely,

*Ronald M. Mone*

1 enclosure.

Left London December 15, 1933  
Returned to London March 2, 1934  
67 days home leave and in transit.

Left London August 3, 1934  
Returned to London August 15, 1934  
13 days simple leave.

Left London December 14, 1934  
Returned to London March 27, 1935.  
104 days home leave and in transit.

Left London July 31, 1935  
Returned to London September 19, 1935  
51 days home leave and in transit.

Left London January 18, 1936  
Returned to London April 3, 1936.  
77 days home leave and in transit.

Left London May 27, 1936  
Returned to London July 3, 1936  
38 days home leave and in transit.

Total 337 days home leave and in transit  
13 days simple leave.

December 4, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

The storm which we have been anticipating has broken here, and there is great turmoil and excitement, but one thing seems clear, and that is that neither the government nor the people will endorse the marriage which the King desires. It is difficult to forecast the outcome at this time, but I do not think this country will ever submit to his making Mrs. Simpson Queen.

Your going to South America and the speech you made at Buenos Aires have had an immense effect here, and I believe its effect has been felt throughout the world. Indeed, the thought that you have, in all probability, achieved peace and preserved Democratic institutions throughout the western hemisphere must have its effect everywhere. I know that it has had a profound influence here.

I have learned on what seems to be unimpeachable authority, that the War Department here bought a large number of machine guns from the Skoda Works, which was supplied to the Army. In addition, they tried to secure a large number of machine guns from the same company to be used against low-flying airplanes. At first, the Skoda people said they could not supply them within two years, but such enormous pressure

was brought to bear that it is believed a considerable quantity will be obtained in the near future.

Their own rearmament program has been badly managed, so far as aircraft, especially, is concerned. They have secured a license from the Skoda Company to manufacture a type of machine gun, and they have done well in mechanizing some of their military units. However, it appears that most of their new tanks are already antiquated and that they must begin over again. My information about the Skoda Company comes from my own son, who is in business here with a company which represents Skoda in Great Britain, and I know that to be accurate.

There is an able and well-informed American here named Wallace B. Phillips, who is the only American who has been permitted into an area at the mouth of the Thames estuary, which is about twenty miles long and ten miles wide. It is here that most of their experiments are carried on, and the area is so closely guarded it is almost impossible for any one to get into it. Phillips has been manufacturing bombs for the government, and was taken into this area to conduct tests. I dined with him night before last and he told me that in this area they have laid out

Piccadilly Circus on an exact scale, including all the underground pipes, wires, conduits, sewers and subways; that he was taken down to try out his bombs in order to find out how deep their effective penetration was.

They set out some time ago to supply forty-five million gas masks, and an organization was created in various counties to arrange for educating the populace on the use of the gas masks. Sir William Bromley-Davenport, who is Lord Lieut. of Cheshire, and a friend of mine, told me that he was the head of the organization in his county.

Several months ago the government gave an order for fifteen million gas masks at practically cost plus basis. But to date, Phillips tells me, they had not accomplished the production, and the total amount so far delivered is fifteen, by one of the numerous factories which have undertaken this work. In addition, Phillips tells me that the government has ordered from the Boeing Company, and another whose name he could not give me, one thousand American airplanes without engines; that these are to be delivered at Vancouver unassembled, assembled there, delivered here and supplied with British engines, the Government's purpose being, if this fact becomes known, to claim that the planes are of Canadian manufacture.

I hope that you will approve of my sailing on December 30th, in which event I should hope to see you the 7th or 8th of January. However, with the advent of a German army in Spain and the conflict between the King and the people here, it may seem unwise to you, as well as to myself, to go away.

With my warm regards to you and Mrs. Roosevelt, and best wishes for you both and for all the family for Christmas and the New Year,

Very sincerely,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

P.F.

LONDON, December 18, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I was distressed to hear of the death of your old friend Gus because I know you will miss him with all of his devotion and loyalty.

The British have passed through their crisis successfully and I have no doubt they are better off for the present and for the future than they could have hoped to be with the former King. Mr. Baldwin handled the difficult situation admirably and has regained much, if not all, of the prestige he has lost in the last year. There was a real danger in the situation due to the possibility of a "King's Party" against the Government. This was fomented by the two press lords, Rothermere and Beaverbrook, who, as you know, are the Hearsts of this country. However, fortunately, their influence here is about as small as Hearst's is in our country. On the other hand, I have it on definite and unimpeachable authority that a group was forming in the

The President,

War

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

War Office under the leadership of Duff Cooper, the head of the War Office, and that about fifty War Office officials had joined. The movement was spreading but to his credit, be it said, it was stopped by the former King himself. It means, however, that they will probably get rid of Duff Cooper in the near future.

Sir George Paish, whom you know, is at the Brevoort House in New York and is eager to see you. He tells me that he is going to Ottawa to urge Mackenzie King to refused to renew the Ottawa Agreement. He believes, further, that if Mr. Baldwin retires after the Coronation and is succeeded by Neville Chamberlain the latter will be unable to hold the Conservative majority in the House of Commons and that another general election is likely to occur next Autumn.

Some time ago a group of members of the House of Commons called on me and told me they had formed an organization to promote a better understanding with the United States and to show personal courtesies to visiting Americans, especially Government officials and members of our Congress. They stated that they wished to give a dinner for me at the House of Commons, which was done last Tuesday night. Sir Austen Chamberlain presided and the Prime Minister proposed a toast to me, which was seconded by Mr. Attlee, the leader of the Opposition.

The

The Liberal Party was also represented. In the course of his speech, Mr. Baldwin referred to his first visit to the United States, forty-six years ago, but the significant statement that he made was that on his second visit he had secured a debt settlement with the United States which he wished to state emphatically he had never regretted for one moment. Both in official and unofficial circles there is an ever-increasing desire to cultivate better relations with the United States and they are becoming more and more anxious about the debt situation. When approached on this subject, I have persistently stated that I am not authorized to discuss this matter officially or unofficially. I merely refer officials to the repeated statements by the United States Government that debtors will be given an opportunity to discuss the matter with the United States Government when they desire to do so. The real basis of this movement, which has been accumulating here for some time, is their desire to regain access to American credit in view of the dangers which menace them. As an indication of their present attitude on general principles, -- we were having a great deal of trouble for a long period with their rubber control, headed by a pig-headed man named Sir John Campbell. I had Ray Atherton take a representative of the Foreign Office with him and he had a

last

last interview with Campbell, which was in September. Growing out of Campbell's conduct at this time and later, the Foreign Office has undertaken to have him removed and has informed me this will be done.

Their frame of mine towards a trade agreement has improved and Walter Runciman has asked me to see him today, which I shall do.

I hope now to see you on the seventh or eighth of January when I can give you a fuller report of the situation here.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

P.S. Since writing the above, I have seen Walter Runciman and had a long and on the whole satisfactory talk with him. He said that in the preliminary discussions on the subject of a trade agreement which had taken place our technical representatives--of whom he had no criticism, but who were ardent as their own representatives are--had begun on a basis which was in violation of the British obligations under the Ottawa Agreement. He said, however, that he believed that it would be possible to work out such an agreement as you and Mackenzie King had effected as between the United States and Canada and that he hoped this could and would be done.

I enclose two clippings, one from THE TIMES referring to the dinner at the House of Commons, and the other from THE SPECTATOR, which is doubtless the most influential of the weeklies here, referring to the war debts.

Extract from  
Spectator  
LONDON

18 DEC. 1936

Transatlantic

2416  
The dinner attended by the Prime Minister and the American Ambassador at the House of Commons on Tuesday to consider how mutual understanding between this country and the United States could be further fostered is of admirable omen. The two countries are as capable of misunderstanding one another in lesser matters as they are certain of finding unity in fundamentals, and the former tendency can do a quite disproportionate amount of damage to the good relations which should subsist between them. As Mr. Bingham has more than once pointed out, this country needs to cultivate acquaintance with the west and south of the United States as well as the more familiar eastern seaboard—from which alone nine-tenths of the news of America in British newspapers appears to emanate. It is, moreover, a profound mistake to imagine that America has forgotten the War Debts as we here find it convenient to forget them. The token payments should never have been suspended. They cost us little, and did at least indicate recognition of a principle which it is neither just nor expedient to repudiate. France is despatching a special envoy to Washington to discuss the resumption of her own debt-payments to the United States. It would make an admirable impression if we did the same, and will make a singularly bad impression if we hold back where France goes forward.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS-CUTTING BUREAU  
110, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

Extract from

# THE TIMES

LONDON.

Date 16 DEC. 1936

## ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION

### OBJECT OF NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS COMMITTEE

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Sir Austen Chamberlain presided at a small informal dinner at the House of Commons last night when it was decided to form an American Committee of the House of Commons to study North American problems, to discuss them with distinguished American visitors to this country, and to further cooperation between the two great democracies in every useful way. The principal guests were the Prime Minister and the American Ambassador.

The PRIME MINISTER proposed the health of the American Ambassador, and referred to the time when just after leaving Cambridge he first visited America 46 years ago. He travelled over a great part of the country, a land where a visitor was received with exquisite courtesy. After tracing the history of Anglo-American relations from that time to the present day, Mr. Baldwin spoke of their common heritage, the democratic system. It was perhaps the most difficult of all systems to work, but it provided the greatest happiness to the people who lived in the countries which enjoyed it. Uninformed criticism on either side of the Atlantic was useless, and might in fact do each country a great deal of harm. It was better that they should both pull together for the ideals which they held and treasured.

Mr. ATLEE, who supported the toast, endorsed the Prime Minister's sentiments with regard to democracy. Both races possessed in common that spirit of toleration which was so essential in the present age, and they both acted on instinct instead of relying on deadly logic.

The AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, in reply, said he regarded the evening as one of great importance, and he hoped and believed that the new committee would do useful work and would be of great benefit. When Englishmen visited America they were apt to go only to certain large centres, such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, whereas to obtain a true picture of the great country he represented visitors should be encouraged to travel into the country, especially to the Middle West, in order to appreciate the heart of American character and life. He agreed with all that the Prime Minister had said as to the democratic system. It brought with it order, freedom, and justice.

SIR PERCY HARRIS proposed the health of the chairman, to which SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN replied.

file.  
private

Jan. 5, '37.

Dear Mr. President:-

England turns the corner of the new year congratulating herself upon the manner, economically and politically, in which she has come through 1936; and the outlook for 1937 is bright for the prosperity of the Empire, <sup>provided war is avoided,</sup> and not unfavorable for the maintenance of peace in Europe. Meanwhile England is pushing her re-armament program as fast as she can, for she is confronted by two mighty autocracies -- Russia and Germany, the latter in treaty understanding with Japan, the great autocracy of the Far East. While Belgium and France under ordinary circumstances may be considered as democratic allies of England, the internal position of these two countries makes the value of their assistance problematical. In spite of the terms of the Anglo-Italian declaration published today, Italy remains unreliable.

I venture to recall that since the Spring of 1934 it has been my thesis that events must eventually force the British to come to us, and I believe we should realize that we are now actually in the midst of a British drive

wildering or confusion that cannot yet be explained.  
drive, the object of which is to persuade the United States, as the great democratic country of the West, that the frontier of democracy lies somewhere in the North Sea; that England, the outpost of democracy in Europe, is a small island containing over forty-five million people without raw materials and dependent upon the United States and the British Dominions for war materials and foodstuffs.

The methods of British propaganda are not hidden. Outstanding figures in politics and finance are constantly visiting the United States. Committees exist in Parliament today to study cooperation with the United States and to influence American visitors in this country. Parliamentary groups are planning visits, not only to the Eastern States, but through the middle West as well. A press meeting at the English-speaking Union has been called for next week to examine monthly, weekly, and even daily exchanges of information by publications and broadcasts for the better understanding between the two countries. Official orders have been given in the British Army and Navy that good relations with their American opposite numbers at home and abroad must be established and maintained. Similarly, the attitude of government officials in their daily contacts with the Embassy and the public and private hospitality in England is marked with a progressive and almost be-

wildering

wildering friendliness that cannot pass unnoticed.

Furthermore, a large part of the foreign news appearing in the United States press, not only about England but concerning Europe generally, is sent by American correspondents stationed in London. These men are largely dependent upon English sources for much of their interpretative comment. This reporting of foreign news interpreted by British sources is bound to have an effect on American thought, as is also the foreign interpretative broadcasts, which, for reasons of language, generally emanate from British sources.

Due in large measure to the Buenos Aires Conference, it is increasingly clear to the United States how far we are prepared to go to cooperate for peace in the Western Hemisphere, but I feel that we should be equally clear in our minds as to how far we are prepared to go in working for peace outside of North and South America. Our recent neutrality legislation clearly indicates the trend of American thoughts and fears.

If, in the light of our increasing experiences, our neutrality legislation may be passed in a form that is not mandatory but leaving the discretionary power in the hands of the President and the Secretary of State, I feel we shall have indicated as great a contribution to peace in Europe as we can envisage  
without

without raising false hopes on this side of the Atlantic. For the rest, our contributions to peace must be in the economic field as has been so frequently indicated by the Administration.

I find a tendency here to claim that the position of the world today is so abnormal one cannot attempt to correct it by the normal processes looking to the restoration of international trade and finance. We should not be influenced by this line of argument, but continue to urge those measures we can defend as restoring the economic bases of peace.

Sincerely yours,  
Robert W. Kingham.

file

mac  
ok of British  
sub and  
P.S.F. Bingham

then over  
March 23, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

I have just learned through the Deputy Grand Master of Masons in Scotland, that the Substitute Grand Master, Viscount Traprain, heir of the present Lord Balfour and nephew of the late Arthur J. Balfour, and Thomas G. Winning, Grand Secretary for Scotland, are going to the United States on the "Bremen" on the 26th, to participate in the Bicentenary celebrations of the Grand Lodge of South Carolina. They are writing to Sir Ronald Lindsay asking him if he can arrange for you to receive them, and I hope it may be possible for you to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Bingham

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

2 - [unclear] 1/3 11/15

Phoned Southgate  
4/5/37

file  
planned

PSF Bingham

C.H.  
Just come after you  
left - what day? Will  
Talk with N.S.  
Jill  
you

Acted upon  
C.H.

May 22, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

Anthony Eden has told me that he would heartily welcome an invitation from you to go to see you in Washington about the first of next October, following a session of the League of Nations which is scheduled for the middle of September. As I have told you before, he is highly intelligent, candid and sincere, and I have no doubt of his desire to promote cooperation and understanding between the United States and Great Britain, and, what is more--unlike some of them, he expects his own country to do its full share instead of expecting, as some of them do, to receive and not to give. He has given evidence of this continuously in many ways. To mention one, in connection with working out a trade agreement to which he committed himself more than two years ago, and which he has fostered energetically ever since.

I mention this not as exceptional, but as being typical of his attitude in the many contacts I have had with him.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W Bingham

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

June 18, 1937.

Dear Bob:-

Having a sense of humor I have been delighted with your letter in regard to the famous case of Trousers vs. Breeches. My ruling is: that Ambassadors should wear trousers unless the Sovereign of the State to which he is accredited makes a personal demand for knee breeches. I am fortified in this ruling by the pictures I have seen of Comrade Litvinoff in the aforesaid short pants. If Soviet Russia can stand it I guess we can too.

I do hope all goes well.

My best to you both.

As ever yours,

Honorable Robert W. Bingham,  
United States Embassy,  
London,  
England.

TBF : Bingham

June 7, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

From some clippings I have received from home, I see that the Hearst press and the Chicago Tribune especially, are discussing the subject of knee breeches at the Coronation.

I had intended to tell you what happened in this connection some time ago, but when I saw you, other matters crowded it out of my mind. After my talk with you before coming over here to assume my post, of course, I wore trousers at the Court functions. Later (I think in the second year), Sir John Hanbury-Williams, who was Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps, came to see me and told me that he had been sent by King George V to make a personal request of me to conform to the Court rules, and that he would regard it as a personal courtesy to him if I did so. I told Sir John that as this was a personal request on the part of the King, I would comply with it, but that I should like for him to write me a letter on the subject, which he did. After that I wore the breeches at the Courts I attended.

Some two months before the Coronation, all members of the Diplomatic Corps received a request from

the Lord Chamberlain to wear knee breeches, except those who had diplomatic uniforms, and I concluded there was nothing for me to do but comply with this request, as did all of the others who did not have uniforms. This included the Soviet, Turkish, Spanish and German Ambassadors, and about one-third of the Ministers.

I should have much preferred to wear trousers, especially in view of the attitude of a portion of our press, and after my conversation with you I should not have thought of wearing anything but trousers, unless the matter had come to me in the way it did.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

July 1, 1937.

Dear Norman:

Your letter is received. As you say, an embarrassing situation has arisen, which, of course, I regret. Your memory is at fault in connection with your statement, "as you recall" you informed me of your conversations with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary upon the subject of visiting the United States.

As a matter of fact, you did not discuss this subject with me at any time, and I had no information from you, or any other source that you had had conversations with either Chamberlain or Eden on this subject. You will recall, I am sure, that you told me shortly after your arrival that your mission was limited to dealing with the sugar conference.

It is obvious that when negotiations of this kind are carried on with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of the government to which I am accredited, without my knowledge, embarrassment must inevitably occur.

Sincerely yours,

*[Robert Bingham]*

H. N. Norman Davis,  
48 Wall St.,  
New York, N. Y.

R

*file  
personal*

PSF: Bingham

July 5, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

I am delighted to have your letter of June 18th, settling finally that famous case of "Trousers vs. Breeches".

It seemed a pity to take up your time with matters of this sort, but at any rate I am happy you got a laugh out of it.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF; Bingham

file  
pres mail

July 21, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

I am sure you will be amused at the enclosed cartoon.

I have no doubt you hold the position of the greatest power and influence in the world today, and that the time may come when you can utilize this position to bring to Europe the enduring peace you have already brought the western hemisphere. However, I feel sure the time has not yet come to attempt to exercise this power. Once the Germans realize they have invoked a race in arms which they must lose, and that they have a chance to obtain more by conciliation and comession than they can hope to obtain through making war, then indeed the moment will arrive when, at their request, a conference may be called, which you alone could call, with the prospect of incalculable benefit to mankind.

In my opinion, until and unless this idea penetrates the German psychology, any move on our part or on the part of the British, would simply be construed by the Nazis as evidence of weakness.

I believe there will be little trouble

with Italy, if Germany should arrive at this state of mind. They are not nearly so formidable as a people as the Germans, and I do not think Mussolini actually intends to precipitate a general European war. I am convinced that the Germans will do it if they feel they can get away with it, and it may happen through some untoward event which we cannot immediately foresee. Apart from that, a blow-up on account of Spain, or for some other reason, there seems to be reasonable ground for hope that the Germans may come to believe that war is not their best alternative.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.



**MR. ROOSEVELT  
VETOES  
WORLD TALK**

**"NO HAT AND NO  
RABBIT"**

*From Our Own Correspondent*  
WASHINGTON, July 13  
President Roosevelt this evening brushed aside all suggestions from Europe that he should initiate an international conference or agree to preside over one as chairman.....  
The President stated emphatically that he had not got a hat and he had not got a rabbit.

WYNDHAM  
ROBINSON

And Besides, He's Not a Conjuror

PSF: Bingham

*file  
personal*

August 1, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

I think you may have lost a battle in connection with the Supreme Court, but I feel you won the war, and that this will mean unlimited benefit to our country.

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

PSF: Bingham

file  
personal

Aug. 12, '37

Dear Mr. President:

Your letter expressing your approval of the work I have tried to do here makes me happy and proud. You did me a great honor in selecting <sup>me</sup> for this Post. That I do not forget a moment, but what appealed most to me and affected me most was not that I was United States Ambassador to this country, great distinction as that is, but that I was your personal representative. So I have put everything of which I was capable into the effort to prove worthy of the responsibility you had chosen for me and of the confidence you had in me. May I add a word on another subject? You do not need this assurance from me, but years of work and study on our agricultural problem and, especially, the absolute proof of the A. A. A., convince me beyond any shadow of doubt that crop control is fundamental and essential in handling this great problem successfully. Those six blind usurpers

Who violated the Constitution in arrogating to themselves the exercise of legislative power in declaring the A.A.A. unconstitutional, did our country the greatest wrong since the Dred Scott decision which lay at the root of the Civil War. Now, due entirely to your effort, the Court would decide that case differently, but meanwhile grievous harm has been inflicted upon <sup>us</sup>. You have driven Hughes and Roberts out of their illegal and unconstitutional pose as legislators, at least temporarily, Van Devanter's trick, the normal act of the politician and former National Committeeman of his kidney, has helped to "save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself." This, as a result of your efforts, opens the way for legislation embodying the vital principle of crop control, the only effective method possible. I am very grateful for your letter, which gives me deep and abiding satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,  
Robert W. Bingham

PSF; Bingham

file  
personal

August 17, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

I am so delighted that you are pleased with the books on Sailing. I hoped so much you would like them.

I hope you will soon be able to get away to Hyde Park.

I have just had the great pleasure and satisfaction of having Josephus Daniels here for three days. Luckily we had good weather on Sunday, and the dedication of our Memorial went off well.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Robert W. Bingham*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

COPY

*file personal*

PSF; Bingham  
Ravensworth Cottage  
White Sulphur,  
W. Va.

[*Att. 1937*]

Dear Mr. President:

It was grand to see you and I am leaving here the 15th to see you in Washington on the 16th. I talked to Jimmy on the telephone about that. Every day adds justification to your wisdom in keeping those four fine cruisers with their complements of not less than 2500 officers and men away from Shanghai. If we have to fight those bloody brigands, I know you will choose our own time and place. I enclose copy of letter I have sent Kent Cooper. If I don't get action from this, I shall write the entire A. P. membership, about 1250. I think it is a plot to start an anti-administration sewer and I intend to break it up. I have arrangements under way for a meeting of farm leaders and farmers in Louisville which will bring together a large number from Indiana, Tennessee and Kentucky and I hope will start a nation wide movement to drive those Congressional traitors into line.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Bingham

Courier-Journal A.P.  
Editorial enclosed.

## *The Associated Press Blunder*

It is astonishing news that the *Associated Press* is to put out a Washington gossip service with the name of the *Associated Press* carefully suppressed. The instructions to the newspapers willing to print this service are that the familiar distinctive trademark, "AP," must never be used to identify the matter.

That in itself is conclusive proof of the disreputable character of the stuff to be sent out in this new gossip column. The mere fact that the *Associated Press* is unwilling to take the responsibility of sponsoring its own column—to acknowledge the paternity of its bastard—should compel every decent newspaper to boycott it.

It is all but incredible that the *Associated Press*, with its long splendid record, should make such a blunder. Its capital has been its reputation for reliability in its coverage of the world's news. The newspapers which have enjoyed the right to publish its reports have been proud to mark them with the magic "AP" as proof of their trustworthiness. But what are those newspapers and their readers to think now of the trustworthiness of an organization which sends forth a column of anonymous reports which it is ashamed to sponsor?

One thing they will think is that the new service is designed to compete with the output of certain irresponsible and reckless "columnists" who are first, last and all the time scandalmongers and scavengers.

The *Associated Press* should disown and stop this project at its outset. It must have lacked the consideration of those in highest authority, if it did not escape their knowledge. The one way to rectify the blunder is to withdraw the proposal for the column and dispense with the services of those who conceived and authorized it.

---

PSF Bingham

~~The Greenback~~

Ravensworth Cottage  
White Sulphur,  
W. Va.

Dear Mr. President:

It was grand to see you and Lane leaving here the 15<sup>th</sup> to see you in Washington on the 16<sup>th</sup>. It talked to Jimmy on the telephone about that. Every day adds justification to your wisdom in keeping those four fine cruisers with their complements of not less than 2500 officers and men away from Shanghai. If we have to fight those bloody brigands, I know you will choose our own time and place.

Enclose copy of letter I have sent Kent Cooper. If I don't get action from this, I shall write the entire A. P.

membership, about 1250. I think it is a plot to start an anti-administration sewer and intend to break it up. I have arrangements under way for a meeting of farm leaders and farmers in Louisville which will bring together a large number from Indiana, Tennessee and Kentucky and I hope will start a nation wide movement to drive those Congressional traitors into line.

Conspirator Journal A. P.  
Editorial enclosed.

Sincerely yours  
Robert W. Bingham

COPY

"Ravenworth Cottage"  
White Sulphur Springs,  
West Virginia.

September 9th, 1937

Mr. Kent Cooper,  
Associated Press,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Upon returning to the United States recently I learned with regret that the Associated Press Management is putting out a "gossip column" from Washington which it is unwilling to father and that all members of the A.P. have been instructed not to print it as coming from the Associated Press.

I regard this as a grave and definite abandonment of the principles upon which the A.P. was founded and for which it is supposed to stand. As you doubtless know, my newspapers were among the founders of the A.P. and I have both the morning and evening memberships in Louisville. The distribution by A.P. of this sort of gossip scandal stuff directly violates the principles upon which the organization was founded and to which it is supposed to adhere. I regard my memberships as valuable assets and I regard this new venture of A.P. as not only unauthorized and wrong but as direct damage to my property through the ownership of two memberships. We who form this great cooperative undertaking and who put up the money to support it have done so solely and only on the ground that we expected to secure full, accurate, uncolored, non-partisan news. This is what we have been paying for and that is what we have a right to expect, no more and no less. In justice to all of us, who in combination put up millions to produce this service, I urge upon you the abandonment of an undertaking which is unworthy of the A.P., a violation of its principles and a damage to our property interests in our memberships.

As my annual payment for Associated Press Service is \$100,479.25, this entitles me not only to protect the value of my memberships but to the serious consideration of my point of view for service for which I pay such a large sum every year.

Sincerely yours,

*Dear Mr. President:*

*When I told you I paid the A.P. \$150,000, I made a mistake, having in mind amount paid both A.P. and U.P. The figure stated is exact.*

THE  
**Carlton**  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

File  
personal  
Bingham

PS: Bingham

Sept. 18, '37

Dear Mr. President:-

Your speech last night is a great historic document, a powerful, thrilling message, a renewal of our faith. It is so lucid, clear and effective, the most ignorant of our countrymen can and will appreciate and understand it. You are the hope of our country for the present and for the future and the people know it. When they speak again, they will speak as they did in '32 and '34 and '36. I am proud to sign myself, as always,

Your devoted friend,  
Robert W. Bingham.

PSF; Bingham

file  
personal

(2)

AMERICAN EMBASSY,

14, PRINCE'S GATE, S.W. 7.

Oct. 19. '37

Dear Mr. President:

It was grand to see you again as it always is. The Duke of Windsor has one friend, a very fine fellow whose name is Major Metcalfe. Metcalfe was the one person very close to him who told him he couldn't get away with making Mrs. Simpson Queen, or marrying her morganatically. When the Duke lost out, Metcalfe was the only one of his intimates who didn't run out on him. Just before I left England, Metcalfe

Came to see me and told  
me the Duke, relying on our  
long friendly acquaintance  
wanted my advice about  
visiting the United States.

It was him to tell the Duke for  
me, I thought it would a  
great mistake, certainly  
for a long time to come.  
I want you to know I'd  
my best to stop this visit.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Bingham.

PSF: Bingham

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

MEMO FOR MISS LE HAND

Respectfully referred to  
Miss LeHand for the President.

CW

*file  
personnel  
Bingham*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Hyde Park, N. Y.  
October 25, 1937.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND  
RETURN.

F. D. R.

Thanks -  
CH

AMERICAN EMBASSY,

14, PRINCE'S GATE, S.W. 7.

Oct. 19, '57.

Dear Mr. President:

I begin

this letter with an apology for I am pushing myself into a matter which is your responsibility only. I hope you will forgive my writing it on the score of my endless loyalty to you and to your Administration. When you come to consider the matter we discussed when I saw you last, I hope you will consider Thos. J. Watson. Primarily he is wholly loyal to you. He has knowledge and

great ability, the international  
character of his own business  
and his connection with the  
International Chamber of  
Commerce has made him  
widely and favorably known  
on the Continent and especially  
in England. His wife, who has  
not been touched by all his  
millions, will hold her own  
anywhere, because she is  
a lady, simple, unaffected  
and very intelligent. I know of  
no American who is better  
known, or more highly respected  
in Europe generally and England  
especially, than Watson. I send, as  
I began, with an apology.

Sincerely yours,  
Robert W. Bingham

PSF

*file private*

*(s) file Bingham  
Drawer 2-37*

JR

GRAY

London

Dated November 11, 1937

Rec'd 9:15 a.m.

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Secretary of State,  
Washington.

707, November 11, noon.

FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I would appreciate an opportunity to talk to you by telephone some time tomorrow, Friday, at any hour up to 7 p.m., Washington time. I hope you will cable me the exact time most convenient to you so that I can make arrangements for the call.

BINGHAM

RR

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

PSF: Bingham

File Personal

4PO. RA. 27- 3:22 p.m.

S. S. MANHATTAN, Via MR.T. Amagansett, N. Y., November 19, 1937

THE PRESIDENT.

Extremely sorry your indisposition. Please give yourself  
time recuperate despite multitude burdens your health most  
important thing in world today. Regards,

BINGHAM.

June 16, 1938

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Pursuant to the request of Mr. Bell,  
I am transmitting to you herewith copies of  
the resignation of Honorable Robert W. Bingham,  
as American Minister to Great Britain, dated  
December 8, 1937, together with copy of state-  
ment by the President, dated December 22, 1937,  
pertaining to said resignation.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McINTYRE  
Secretary to the President

Barry Bingham, Esq.,  
c/o Louisville Courier,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosures

K/mdp

PSF: Bingham

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1937.

This resignation was received by me on December ninth -- several days after Bob Bingham had come back from London to go to Johns Hopkins. I did not act on it, fearing that his illness was far more serious than he thought. He died on December eighteenth -- still American Ambassador to Great Britain.

F. D. R.

PSE Bingham

Johns Hopkins Hospital,  
Baltimore, Maryland,  
December 8, 1937

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

Dear Mr. President:

I want to thank you first and very heartily for the great honor you conferred on me in appointing me American Ambassador to Great Britain. It has been a great and interesting experience, and one I shall think of always with interest and pleasure.

The time has come now when I feel I must ask you to accept my resignation, deeply as I appreciate your request for me to carry on there. I have had a peculiar recurrent periodic form of fever, which my doctors assure me that they can cure in time, but they are entirely unable to predict how long it will take to do so. In these circumstances, with the very important work which this post involves, I do not think it is fair to you or to our country to remain at this post when it will be months before I could return to it. I feel I am doing my necessary duty to you and to the country to ask you, in the circumstances, to accept my resignation.

As soon as I am able to work, although I could not accept any other official position, it is my desire and intention to put everything possible into the effort to support you and your ideals.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W Bingham

R. W. Bingham

THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL

1831 E. MONUMENT ST.

BALTIMORE, MD.

(2)

If Hospital  
Business  
Send To  
Hopkins  
Post Office  
For Postage  
and Mailing.

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.