

File: Roosevelt, Franklin D. 1939.

Box 178.

The American Museum of Natural History
Central Park West at Seventy-ninth Street
New York, N. Y.

FOR

LIFE MEMBER

Admit

The President Franklin Delano Roosevelt

TO THE MEMBERS' ROOM AND TO ALL MEMBERS' LECTURES

NON-TRANSFERABLE

F. TRUBEE DAVISON
PRESIDENT

THIS TICKET TO BE SHOWN AT THE DOOR

FOR MUSEUM MEMBERS

The American Museum of Natural History with which you are affiliated is open free every day of the year; weekdays from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. and Sundays and holidays from 1 to 5 P.M.

You are invited to visit the Members' Room which is maintained for your convenience.

Guide service will gladly be rendered. Advance notification by phone or letter would be appreciated.

Additional Complimentary Tickets for the use of your friends while visiting the Museum will be furnished.

Two Single Admission Tickets for the Spring and Autumn Series of lectures for interested friends are sent to you with the Lecture Announcement. A similar series is held for children.

The President's *Annual Report* and current numbers of *Guide Leaflets* may be had upon request.

NATURAL HISTORY is mailed to you each month except July and August.

An inscribed certificate, suitable for framing, is also part of your Membership.

You have a relative or friend whom we would welcome as a member. Send their name and address to the Membership Department.

me to [unclear]

Opencards Birthday
July 30-1939
FDR

Hello W. President

B-
Bx 178

— we were all in
here

Ernest H. Gary Brent

Catherine Willard Bellamy
Eleanor Powell

~~Francis Fay~~
Andrea Peds

Trianta
~~W. J. [unclear]~~

~~Ann [unclear]~~

Jean Hersholt
Happy Birthday!
Nitz Green
Helen Peterson
[unclear]

from Jean Hersholt

Saint John's Church
Sixteenth and H Streets
Washington, D. C.



The Rev. Oliver J. Hart, D. D., Rector
The Rev. Wm. Curtis White, S. T. M., Curate
The Rev. Florian C. J. Murpillot, D. D., Curate
The Rev. Nathaniel C. Acton, Curate

Order of Service
for the
Sixth Anniversary of the Inauguration
of
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
as the
President of the United States

PROCESSIONAL HYMN—445 . . . "O God, Our Help in Ages Past."

The Minister shall begin the Service by reading the following Sentences of Scripture:

O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling.

Except the Lord build a house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.

Minister. Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God.

A General Confession

Almighty and most merciful Father; We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou those, O God, who confess their faults. Restore thou those who are penitent; According to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake; That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy Holy Name. *Amen.*

The Declaration of Absolution

The Almighty and merciful Lord grant you Absolution and Remission of all your sins, true repentance, amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of his Holy Spirit. *Amen.*

Lord's Prayer (to be said by all):

Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses. As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Minister. O Lord, open Thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise.

Here, all standing, the Minister shall say:

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: And to the Holy Ghost.

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. *Amen.*

Minister. Praise ye the Lord.

Answer. The Lord's Name be praised.

Then shall be sung the following Psalm:

Deus noster refugium

Psalm XLVI

God is our hope and strength, a very present help in trouble.

2. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and though the hills be carried into the midst of the sea;

3. Though the waters thereof rage and swell, and though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same.

4. There is a river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God; the holy place of the tabernacle of the Most Highest.

5. God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed; God shall help her, and that right early.

6. The nations make much ado, and the kingdoms are moved; but God hath showed his voice, and the earth shall melt away.

7. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

8. O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what destruction he hath brought upon the earth.

9. He maketh wars to cease in all the world; he breaketh the bow, and knappeth the spear in sunder, and burneth the chariots in the fire.

10. Be still then, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the nations, and I will be exalted in the earth.

11. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

Then the Minister shall read the Lesson—Isaiah 12.

Minister. The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Minister. Let us pray.

Here all shall kneel:

Minister. O Lord, show thy mercy upon us.

Answer. And grant us thy salvation.

Minister. O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Answer. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

Minister:

O Lord our Governor, whose glory is in all the world; We commend this nation to thy merciful care, that being guided by thy Providence, we may dwell secure in thy peace. Grant to THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, and to all in authority, wisdom and strength to know and to do thy will. Fill them with the love of truth and righteousness; and make them ever mindful of their calling to serve this people in thy fear; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Almighty and everliving God, who makest us both to will and to do those things which are good, and acceptable unto thy Divine Majesty; We make our humble supplications unto thee for this thy servant, Franklin, upon whom is laid the responsibility for the guidance of this Nation. Let thy fatherly hand, we beseech thee, ever be over him; let thy Holy Spirit ever be with him; and so lead him in the knowledge and obedience of thy Word, that in the end he may obtain everlasting life; through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with thee and the same Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth ever, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Almighty God, who art the Father of all men upon the earth, most heartily we pray that thou wilt keep thy children from cruelties of war, and lead the nations in the way of peace. Teach us to put away all bitterness and misunderstanding, both in church and state; that we, with all the brethren of the Son of Man, may draw together as one comity of peoples, and dwell evermore in the fellowship of that Prince of Peace, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, now and ever. *Amen.*

Our Father, who hast set a restlessness in our hearts, and made us all seekers after that which we can never fully find; forbid us to be satisfied with what we make of life. Draw us from base content, and set our eyes on far-off goals. Keep us at tasks too hard for us, that we may be driven to Thee for strength. Deliver us from fretfulness and self pity; make us sure of the goal we cannot see, and of the hidden good in the world. Open our eyes to simple beauty all around us, and our hearts to the loveliness men hide from us because we do not try enough to understand them. Save us from ourselves, and show us a vision of a world made new. May thy Spirit of peace and illumination so enlighten our minds that all life shall glow with new meaning and new purpose; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

BENEDICTION:

The God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight; through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

RECESSIONAL HYMN—213 . . . "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."

OFFICERS OF THE PARISH

Parish Offices: 821 16th Street Telephone Di. 1857
Rector: REV. OLIVER J. HART, D.D.
Office Hours: 11 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. except Saturday
Residence: 3009 Whitehaven Street Telephone No. 3915
Curate: REV. WM. CURTIS WHITE, S.T.M.
Office Hours: 10 A. M. to 12 M., except Wednesdays
Residence: 5420 Connecticut Avenue Telephone Em. 2153
Curate: REV. NATHANIEL C. ACTON
Office Hours: 9 A. M. to 12 M., except Tuesdays
Residence: 821 16th Street Telephone Me. 2863
Secretaries: MRS. GLADYS B. WEECH; MISS MARY D. ZOLL
Treasurer: American Security & Trust Co., 15th and Pennsylvania Ave.
Organist: MR. ARTHUR W. HOWES, JR. Telephone Na. 7048

VESTRY

George B. McClellan, *Senior Warden*
J. Harry Covington, *Junior Warden*
A. B. Houghton E. S. Hull O. J. Roberts J. R. Edie
H. G. Gillmor D. E. Finley M. L. Sperry W. W. Mackall, Jr.

ORGANIZATIONS

Woman's Auxiliary <i>President</i> : Mrs. E. R. Heiberg <i>Secretary</i> : Mrs. H. W. Peaslee	Altar Guild <i>Directress</i> : Mrs. Powell Clayton <i>Secretary</i> : Miss Dorothy Tirrell
St. John's Orphanage <i>President</i> : Mrs. John S. Flannery <i>Purser</i> : Mrs. James M. Johnston, Jr.	Junior Auxiliary <i>President</i> : Miss Martha Morrow <i>Secretary</i> : Mrs. William H. van Benschoten
Men's Club <i>President</i> : Mr. Justice Owen J. Roberts <i>Secretary</i> : Mr. H. B. Gregory <i>Treasurer</i> : Mr. A. E. Mennell	Business and Professional Woman's Group <i>President</i> : Miss Mabel Charest <i>Vice-President</i> : Miss Helen W. Meetze <i>Secretary</i> : Miss Elsie Langstroth

Information for the Rector

The Clergy would like to know the visitors:

If you desire a call ; Would like to unite with St. John's

Desire a regular sitting ; Desire Duplex Envelopes

Are you interested in Confirmation ; or Baptism ; for

Are you Confirmed ; When ; Where

Address Telephone

Name

43
file
personal
PSF
FDR

Revealed to me as I lie here in my sick bed - close to God who understands.

26 January, 1939.

Predictions for the next year for our Beloved and Honored President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt - In spite of opposition from The Old Guard who fear change - and of The Republican Propaganda which is typical of the low methods they are resorting to - the President will win out and by April second the tides will turn his way. His determination, altruism, sympathy with the oppressed and his vision will win against the battering from those who are actuated by selfish motives and who do not understand. For who can batter through a fighting heart. He has intuition which is God given and should not be disregarded. He has been ill advised in a few instances - but he will profit by the experiences and will depend on his own judgment - which I see is the best. He has gifts which can and will offset any temporary disappointment or apparent failure. If he has assurance and confidence in himself he will do great things for the country in the next year. His wife whose kind sweet true understanding heart who has always felt another's woe and helped the poor and the little children who are "weeping in the play time of others in the country of the Free" can help him immeasurably as she has to do to continue as she is and be herself. The Truth which is mighty and will prevail will come to the heart of the People in the year to come. "This is written and our President will see the Ship he has labored so unselfishly and bravely to steer for us all sail into his Port of Dreams - and everybody will know that he has always stood for what is right true and due and his name will live forever and for aye. Regardless of ill advisers - who may have good intentions again I stress - that he trusts in God and his own intuition and acts decisively, let the chips fall where they may.

The American people are as volatile as the French but truth and ~~the~~ prayer and the power they give endure and will give him victory in the end. There is only one danger point I feel and which is revealed to me for him - he must avoid overwork dismiss the cares which "infest his day" from his active mind when he rests. Many friends (people like myself who have no axes to grind or favors to ask but who love him for the great things he has done) are praying for him daily and prayer as a force cannot be underestimated - with him the ideal must and will always remain a little ahead of the actual, then in vulgar parlance "So What" - Browning, the revered poet wrote the answer long ago.

"A man's reach always must exceed his grasp or what is Heaven for"

Harriet Madeline Tupes

COPY

Marie - This all has come to me from a Power greater than I - believe this - this Power to see into the future is not charlatanism nor hysteria, but something which I believe Gad has given me to compensate for some things I have lost and missed in life. I am sorry about the pencil dear, you can copy it in your own nice clear writing.

Remember the Roosevelts are real and true and this country nor any other is not worthy of them but the Almighty is an powerful and he is helping - I will write you more fully in a day or two when my strength comes back, now I am so so weak dear. A doctor gave me an overdose by mistake of that new drug "sulpanolinde" for an infection and it almost put me out but I've come back.

Good night dear and my blessings

Confidential -

Enclosed letter from Miss Devon written during the campaign will show you that because I believed in him then as I do now it was my honor and privilege to work unceasingly for the President during the campaign - it is real and wonderful and we must all help.

RF
FDR

February 18, 1939

Dear Mr. Richards:

Thank you very much for your letter of February fifteenth and for the two copies of a French translation of the President's Acceptance Speech of June 1936. I greatly appreciate your sending them to me.

With my best wishes to you,

Very sincerely,

M. A. Leland
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Mr. Bernard G. Richards
Democratic National Committee
Hotel Siltmore
New York, New York

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HOTEL BILTMORE

NEW YORK CITY

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN

February 15, 1939

Miss Marguerite LeHand
The White House
Washington, D. C.

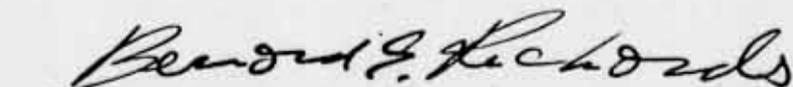
My dear Miss LeHand:

I thought you might be interested to have the enclosed two copies of a French translation of the President's Acceptance Speech of June 1936. I came across these and some other papers while clearing out some of our old campaign files.

Perhaps some of the material which we still have on hand such as articles on the New Deal from the foreign language press of the United States, may be worth preserving in connection with the projected Roosevelt Archive. Possibly I could be of service in assembling this material and also in listing and selecting the more important books on the subject which have been published in a number of foreign languages. I should of course be delighted to render any such assistance.

With assurances of esteem, I am

Sincerely yours



Bernard G. Richards

BGR:HC

COPY

"LA LIBERTÉ EXIGE LA POSSIBILITÉ POUR CHACUN DE GAGNER SA VIE....."

D I S C O U R S

du Président Franklin D. Roosevelt

prononcé le 27 Juin 1936 à Franklin Field, Philadelphie, Pennsylvanie
en acceptant sa désignation pour la candidature à la Présidence des
Etats Unis

Nous sommes réunis ici à une heure critique de la vie de la nation. Nous devons consacrer ces moments à l'expression pure et simple d'une attitude envers certains problèmes dont la résolution affectera profondément le sort de l'Amérique.

Le viens devant vous non seulement comme le chef d'un parti, non seulement comme candidat à une haute fonction, mais comme celui sur qui bien des heures critiques ont fait peser une lourde responsabilité.

Je suis reconnaissant pour l'assistance et la confiance avec lesquelles les Américains m'ont soutenu dans ma tâche. Pour leur loyauté, je salue les membres de notre grand parti dans toute l'Union, qu'ils appartiennent ou pas à la famille officielle. Je salue ceux des autres partis politiques, particulièrement les membres du Congrès, qui en de nombreuses occasions ont fait abstraction de leur convictions politiques.

Je remercie les Gouverneurs de plusieurs États, leurs Corps Legislatifs, leurs fonctionnaires d'État et des Municipalités, qui ont collaboré avec nous dans nos efforts de rétablissement économique et financier, sans écouter leurs intérêts personnels ou ceux d'un parti politique. Avant tout je remercie les millions d'Américains qui ont bravement fait face au désastre et ont eu le courage de garder leur sourire pendant la tempête. L'Amérique n'oubliera pas de sitôt ces années récentes; elle n'oubliera pas que la tâche de sauver le pays n'était pas uniquement celle d'un parti politique mais notre préoccupation commune. Conscients de notre force, ensemble nous avons rallié nos efforts et, par l'application des lois naturelles du sens commun, ensemble nous avons survécu.

CE QUE NOUS REDUCTIONS LE PLUS ALORS C'ÉTAIT NOTRE PROPRE PEUR. C'EST POUR CELA QUE NOUS SOMMES ATTACHÉS TOUT SPÉCIALEMENT À COMBATTRE CETTE PEUR. AUJOURD'HUI, MES AMIS, NOUS AVONS VAINCU LE PLUS DANGEREUX DE NOS ADVERSAIRES, NOUS AVONS CONQUIS LA PEUR.

Je ne puis pourtant pas, en toute franchise, vous dire que tout est le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes. Une sombre défiance, des courants de mauvaise volonté et d'intolérance grondent un peu partout. Mais dans notre pays nous jouissons d'une vie offrant une sécurité plus complète que celle de la plupart des autres peuples.

NOUVEAUX PROBLÈMES DU JOUR.

Le développement rapide de la civilisation moderne a soulevé pour nous des difficultés nouvelles, de nouveaux problèmes qui doivent être éclaircis si nous voulons garder aux Etats Unis la liberté politique et économique pour laquelle Washington et Jefferson ont lutté.

Philadelphie est une ville toute indiquée pour ajouter de nouvelles pages à l'histoire glorieuse de l'Amérique. Ici le terrain se prête à la réaffirmation de la foi de nos ancêtres; ici il nous sied de nous engager solennellement à restituer au peuple une liberté plus large, de leur donner en 1936- comme les fondateurs de ce pays nous ont donné en 1776- une vie acceptable à la conception Américaine.

LE MOT LIBERTÉ EN LUI MÊME ÉVOQUE NÉCESSAIREMENT L'EFFORT DE S'AFFRANCHIR D'UNE FORCE OPPRESSIVE. EN 1776 NOUS ASPIRIONS À NOUS LIBÉRER DE LA TYRANNIE D'UNE AUTOCRATIE POLITIQUE, CELLE DES ROYALISTES DU 18-e SIÈCLE QUI JOUISSAIENT DE PRIVILÈGES SPECIAUX OCTROYÉS PAR LA COURONNE.

C'EST DANS LE BUT DE PERPÉTUER LEURS PRIVILEGES QU'ILS GOUVERNAIENT SANS LE CONSENTEMENT DES ADMINISTRÉS; QU'ILS REFUSAIENT AU PEUPLE LE DROIT DE LIBRE RÉUNION ET DE LIBRE PAROLE; QU'ILS LIMITAIENT LE LIBRE EXERCICE DES CULTES RELIGIEUX; QU'ILS HYPOTHÉQUAIENT LA PROPRIÉTÉ ET LA VIE MÊME DE CHAQUE CITOYEN AU PROFIT DES MERCENAIRES DU POUVOIR DYNASTIQUE -ET C'EST AINSI QU'ILS ENRÉGIMENTAIENT LE PEUPLE.

Alors pour s'affranchir de la tyrannie d'une autocratie politique la Révolution Américaine éclata. La victoire donna à l'homme du peuple le droit de se

gouverner à sa guise et aussi de décréter et de diriger ses destinées par l'entremise d'un gouvernement de son choix. C'est de 4 Juillet de l'année 1776, ici même à Philadelphie, que la tyrannie politique fut enfin bannie de notre pays.

Cependant depuis cette lutte le génie inventif de l'homme créa des forces nouvelles qui bouleversèrent la vie de notre peuple. Advint le siècle de la machine, des chemins de fer, de la vapeur et de l'électricité; de la télégraphie et du sans-fil; de la production et distribution en masse; tout cela contribua à engendrer une civilisation nouvelle, créant des problèmes nouveaux pour ceux qui aspirent à rester libres.

LA NATION EN SERVITUDE.

En effet cette civilisation moderne inspira les royalistes de l'Economie Politique à modeler de nouvelles dynasties. Des royaumes nouveaux furent érigés par la concentration des fortunes dans les mains d'une poignée d'accapareurs. À cause de profonds changements dans la manipulation des grosses affaires, des banques, du crédit et des valeurs; à cause de la création d'un outillage moderne de l'industrie et de l'agriculture- choses que nos ancêtres ne purent guère prévoir- toute la charpente de la vie moderne fut mise au service de ces nouvelles dynasties.

Au sein de cette aristocratie il n'y avait guère de place pour nos milliers de petits bourgeois et marchands qui cherchaient honnêtement à vivre à l'abri du système Américain d'initiative individuelle. Ils n'étaient pas plus libres que le travailleur ou le fermier.

Même les plus libéraux parmi les possesseurs de grosses fortunes, conscients de leurs devoirs envers les hommes de leur génération, ne savaient plus exactement comment s'adapter dans ce cadre étroit d'une nouvelle dynastie d'hommes d'affaires.

IL ÉTAIT TOUT NATUREL- ÊT PEUT ÊTRE HUMAIN- QUE LES PRINCES PRIVILÉGIÉS DE CETTE NOUVELLE HIÉRARCHIE ÉCONOMIQUE, DANS LEUR SOIF DE POUVOIR,

FISSENT UN EFFORT POUR ACCAPARER LES REINES MÊME DU GOUVERNEMENT. ILS CRÉERENT AINSI UN NOUVEAU DESPOTISME SOUS LA PROTECTION DES SANCTIONS LEGALES.

LES MERCENAIRES À LEUR SERVICE ENTREPRIRENT D'ENRÉGIMENTER LE PEUPLE, SON TRAVAIL ET SON BIEN COMME AU TEMPS DES "MINUTE MEN".

Cette nouvelle dictature industrielle s'arrogea arbitrairement le droit d'imposer la durée des heures de travail, de régler les salaires et les conditions de la main d'oeuvre. Ces nouveaux seigneurs de notre royaume économique, pour perpétuer leur règne, mirent au service de leurs desseins nefastes l'argent des autres: la petite épargne, les capitaux de la petite bourgeoisie et les pensions de retraite des vieillards.

Les travailleurs de la terre ne récoltaient plus le fruit de leur labeur; au loin, des hommes dans les grandes villes décrétaient la limite de leurs gains.

L'ENTREPRISE PRIVÉE DEVIENT UN PRIVILEGE

Dans toute la nation les possibilités de gain furent restreintes par les grands monopoles. L'initiative personnelle fut étouffée dans les rouages d'une grande machine. Le champ du libre commerce devint de plus en plus restreint. L'entreprise privée devint trop privée; dépouillée de liberté elle devint l'entreprise des privilégiés.

Un vieux juge anglais dit une fois: "les hommes besogneux ne sont pas des hommes libres." En effet, il n'est point de liberté sans l'opportunité de gagner sa vie une vie honorable, comblée de comforts modernes, qui non seulement permet à l'homme de vivre mais lui inspire un désir ardent de vivre.

EN PRÉSENCE DE CETTE INÉGALITÉ ÉCONOMIQUE L'ÉGALITÉ POLITIQUE QUE NOUS AVIONS ACQUISE PERDIT SA SIGNIFICATION POUR LA PLUPART DE NOUS. UN PETIT GROUPE S'ÉRIGEA EN MAÎTRE SUR LA PROPRIÉTÉ DES AUTRES, LEURS BIENS, LEUR TRAVAIL -ET MÊME LEUR VIE.

LA VIE, POUR UN GRAND NOMBRE D'ENTRE NOUS, N'ÉTAIT PLUS LIBRE; LA LIBERTÉ N'ÉTAIT PLUS RÉELLE: LE PEUPLE NE POUVAIT PLUS POURSUIVRE LE CHEMIN DU BONHEUR.

Les citoyens ne pouvaient avoir recours qu'aux forces gouvernementales contre une tyrannie économique aussi odieuse. L'effondrement financier de 1929 a révélé les méfaits de ce despotisme. L'élection de 1932 a prononcé le verdict populaire et fort de ce mandat nous sommes en train de mettre fin à ce despotisme intolérable.

LIBERTÉ ÉCONOMIQUE DENIÉE.

Les royalistes de l'économie admettent que la liberté politique est du ressort du gouvernement mais que l'esclavage économique n'est du ressort de personne. Ils conçoivent que le gouvernement peut sauvegarder le droit de vote du citoyen mais ils dénieient que le même gouvernement puisse s'ériger en défenseur du droit de travailler pour vivre que chaque citoyen possède.

NOUS DÉCLARONS SOLENNELLEMENT ICI QU'IL N'Y A PAS DE DEMI-LIBERTÉ ET QUE SI CHAQUE CITOYEN JOUIT DES MÊMES DROITS CIVIQUES IL DOIT ÉGALEMENT JOUIR DES MÊMES AVANTAGES ÉCONOMIQUES.

LES ROYALISTES DE L'ÉCONOMIE SE PLAIGNENT QUE NOUS CHERCHONS À SAPER LES FONDATIONS DE LA STRUCTURE AMÉRICAINNE. CE DONT ILS SE PLAIGNENT RÉELLEMENT C'EST QUE CHERCHONS À LEUR ENLEVER LEUR PUISSANCE. NOTRE FIDÉLITÉ AUX INSTITUTIONS AMÉRICAINNES NOUS COMMANDE DE REVERSER UNE PAREILLE PUISSANCE.

EN VAIN ILS CHERCHENT À S'ABRITER DERRIÈRE LE DRAPEAU ET LA CONSTITUTION. DANS LEUR AVEUGLEMENT ILS OUBLIENT CE QUE LE DRAPEAU ET LA CONSTITUTION REPRÉSENTENT.

AUJOURD'HUI COMME TOUJOURS LE DRAPEAU ET LA CONSTITUTION SONT LES SYMBOLES DE LA DÉMOCRATIE ET NON PAS DE LA TYRANNIE; DE LA LIBERTÉ ET NON PAS DE LA SERVITUDE; ET ILS S'ÉRIGENT AUSSI BIEN CONTRE LA DICTATURE DES FOULES QUE CONTRE CELLE DES CLASSES PRIVILÉGIÉES.

La profession de foi courageuse et claire adoptée par ce Congrès et à laquelle je souscris de tout coeur, proclame que le gouvernement d'une civilisation moderne a certaines obligations envers ses citoyens, auxquelles il ne peut pas échapper. Parmi les plus impératives sont les suivantes: protection de la famille et du foyer; établissement d'une démocratie où chacun puisse gagner sa place au soleil et organisation de secours pour venir en aide aux victimes du désastre économique.

Mais nos adversaires résolus sont toujours prêts à amoindrir nos bonnes intentions que nous devons défendre avec courage.

Depuis plus de trois ans nous avons lutté pour nos idées. Ce Congrès a pris un engagement solennel de continuer cette lutte.

POINT DE SECURITE SANS PRINCIPES.

Les défaites et les victoires de ces trois dernières années nous ont donné, en tant que peuple, une nouvelle compréhension de notre gouvernement et de nous mêmes. Jamis depuis les jours des réunions publiques en Nouvelle Angleterre les affaires de gouvernement n'ont été si généralement débattues et si clairement comprises. Nous avons appris que la seule garantie de sûreté dans ce monde si positif c'est le respect des principes de la morale. Nous ne considérons pas que la foi, l'espoir et la charité sont un idéal inaccessible; mais bien au contraire ces vertus nous aident à soutenir une nation combattant pour la liberté dans une civilisation moderne.

FOI - DANS LES PRINCIPES DEMOCRATIQUES EN PLEINE ÉPIDÉMIE DE DICTATURES.

ESPOIR - RENFORCÉ À CAUSE DU PROGRÈS ACCOMPLI.

CHARITE - DANS LE VRAI SENSE DE CE GRAND MOT DONT L'ORIGINE PREMIÈRE SIGNIFIE.

AMOUR - L'AMOUR QUI COMPREND ET NE SE CONTENTE PAS DE PARTAGER L'OPULENCE DE CELUI QUI DONNE, MAIS AIDE L'HOMME À TRAVAILLER À SON PROPRE SALUT.

Nous ne cherchons pas seulement à faire du gouvernement un instrument automatique mais à lui inculquer une cordialité personnelle et vibrante

à l'instar de la charité humaine.

Nous serions bien pauvres, en effet, si nous ne pouvions pas effacer dans chaque repli du territoire Américain l'affreuse obsession qu'a le chômeur d'être de trop dans ce monde. Nous ne pouvons pas nous laisser aller jusqu'à manquer de force d'âme.

À la place du palais des privilégiés nous cherchons à construire un temple fondé sur la foi, l'espoir et la charité.

AFIN QUE LA DEMOCRATIE SURVIVE.

C'est une tâche grave que celle d'être au service de cette grande cause. Nous nous rappelons chaque jour que cette mission n'est pas seule nôtre mais qu'elle appartient au peuple. L'étendard n'est pas seulement dans vos mains ou les miennes. Il est porté par toute l'Amérique. Nous cherchons chaque jour à profiter du passé et à apprendre à faire mieux au fur et à mesure du progrès de notre tâche.

Les Gouvernements peuvent se tromper et les Présidents font des erreurs; mais l'immortel poète Dante nous dit que la justice divine pèse les péchés des hommes indifférents et ceux des hommes de coeur dans des balances différentes. MIEUX VAUT L'ERREUR OCCASIONNELLE D'UN GOUVERNEMENT ANIMÉ D'UN ESPRIT DE CHARITÉ QUE LES OMISSIONS VOULUES D'UN GOUVERNEMENT PARALYSÉ PAR LE FROID DE SA PROPRE INDIFFÉRENCE.

IL EST UN MYSTÉRIUX CYCLE DANS LES ÉVÈNEMENTS HUMAINS. BEAUCOUP EST DONNÉ À CERTAINES GÉNÉRATIONS. DES AUTRES ON S'ATTEND À BEAUCOUP. LA GÉNÉRATION CONTEMPORAINE D'AMÉRICAINS A UN RENDEZ VOUS AVEC SA DESTINÉE.

Dans ce monde, en d'autres terres, il y a des gens qui, dans le passé, ont sacrifié leur vie à lutter pour la liberté et qui maintenant semblent trop las pour continuer la bataille. Ils ont vendu leur héritage de liberté pour une semblance d'existence. Ils ont abandonné leur idéal démocratique.

Au fond de mon coeur je crois que seul notre succès peut réveiller leurs espoirs passés. Ils commencent à se rendre compte qu'ici en Amérique nous sommes en

train de librer une grande bataille. Ce n'est pas seulement une guerre contre le besoin, l'indigence et la démoralisation économique; c'est une guerre pur le salut même de la démocratie. Nous luttons dans le but de sauvegarder une grande et precieuse forme de gouvernement pour nous mêmes et pour le reste du monde.

L'ACCEPTÉ LA MISSION DONT VOUS M'AVEZ INVESTI. JE ME JOINS A VOUS. JE SUIS ENGAGÉ POUR LA DUREÉ DE LA GUERRE.

Ship models

PSF
FIR

March 27, 1939

Memorandum For Mr. Crin.

U. S. S. Raleigh - Modern scale model which the President has had for about six years. No further data. This ship was famous in the Revolutionary War.

U. S. S. Niagara - Old scale model. No further data. Bought from Mr. Gump five or six years ago.

The President's collection of models by no means the largest contains about 40 models of which two or three have been on exhibition. By far the most interesting model is that of U. S. S. Constitution which the President purchased from the Davidge family of Washington in 1915.

It was made for Surgeon Davidge of the U. S. Navy at the Washington Navy Yard in about 1815 by the ship's carpenter who had served on the Constitution throughout the War of 1812. It is without doubt the most authentic original model of the Constitution as she appeared at that historic period.

Most of the models will go into the proposed new library at Hyde Park and become the property of the United States Government.

R. A. Lolland

PSF
FDR
[1939]

WSS
PSF FDR
Relay
5
6
LCS
Keagan
5
6

15F
FOR

Mr. [unclear]

FUTURE ENGAGEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT - Revised to

March 27, 1939

Mar. 29 - Lv. for Tuskegee and motor to Warm Springs via Auburn.

Apr. 10 - Return to Washington

14 - 2:30 PM - Mt. Vernon - Radio address

(?) 15 - Gridiron Dinner

17 - Open Ball Game, Washington

20 - 8:30 - American Society of Newspaper Editors

(?) Lv. for Hyde Park

(?) 26 - Address White House Conference on Children in a Democracy
(10:00 AM)

28 - At Hyde Park - Receives Norwegian Crown Prince and Princess

30 - Norwegians leave in AM. The President motors to Fair -
Speech - return to Hyde Park by 6 PM.

6 PM - Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark at Hyde Park.

May 1 - Dunes Leave

- Dedicate new Post Office at Shinebeck

3 - Return to Washington

(?) 4 - C. of G. Dinner

5 - President of Nicaragua at White House

6 - " " Leaves White House

7 - Prime Minister de Valera at White House

8 - " " " leaves White House

10 - 10:00 PM Radio broadcast dedicating new building of the
Museum of Modern Art, N. Y.

June 8 - King and Queen of England at White House

Future Engagements of the President - Revised to March 27, 1939

- June 9 - King and Queen of England leave White House
- 9 - The President lvs. White House for Hyde Park
- 10 - King and Queen of England at Hyde Park
- 11 - " " " leave Hyde Park
- 28 - Conference of Governors - Luncheon at Hyde Park (Mrs. Roosevelt to act if the President not there)
- Nov. 11 - Virginia Military Institute - Speech

PRESIDENT'S TAILOR

RINALDI & SCOGNA

March 28, 1939.

Dear Mr. Gump:-

I have had a letter from Mrs. Roosevelt's Secretary asking me to send you the President's coat measurements.

They are as follows:

Chest 43"

Waist 41"

Hips 47"

Sleeve Length 18 3/4"

Coat Length 30 3/4"

Width of the back 17 3/4"

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. Le Hand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

A. Livingston Gump, Esq.,
San Francisco,
California.

Hotel Mark Hopkins
NO. 100 HILL
San Francisco

6-6-19
Cuba
17

Dear Missy:

We went to Gump's store this afternoon and Mr. Gump showed Mrs. R. some silk coats for gentlemen to wear in the evening. Mrs. R. wants to order one for the President, so will you please if you can, get his measurements from the tailor and send them to Mr. A. Livingston Gump, San Francisco, Calif? They are very cool and comfortable and Mrs. R. thinks the President may enjoy having one. *Mrs. R is buying*

We are still holding out, and while my boss hasn't admitted it, I think she will be glad when these one night stands come to an end. This has been a most interesting trip and either we have a better technique or we are tougher, but it seems to go more easily.

We were slightly non-plused once, at least I was. We were motoring from Natchez, Miss. to Baton Rouge and of course had to have motor cycle escort to please the people who were driving. The Louisiana police asked Mrs. R. if she would stop at the Governor's mansion, and Mrs. R. naturally thought the Governor and his lady were at home. Imagine our surprise when we found ourselves being received by the housekeeper!

I imagine these are anxious times for you all.

My love to your boss, and to you.

Malvina

FUTURE ENGAGEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT
Revised to April 17, 1939.

- June 8 - King and Queen of England at White House.
- 9 - King and Queen of England leave White House.
- 9 - The President leaves White House for Hyde Park.
- 10 - King and Queen of England at Hyde Park.
- 11 - King and Queen of England leave Hyde Park.
- 12 - West Point Graduation Exercises - address
- 28 - Conference of Governors - Luncheon at Hyde Park
(Mrs. Roosevelt to act if the President not there)
- Nov. 11 - Virginia Military Institute - speech.

Friday - Norwegian Crown Prince and the Crown Princess, accompanied by aide, lady in waiting, Norwegian Minister and wife, leave New York 9.00 A.M. on the POTOMAC, arriving Hyde Park approximately 4.00 P.M.

Saturday - Norwegian party spends all day at Hyde Park. Picnic.

Sunday - Norwegian party leaves during morning and goes to West Point where they will attend chapel, have lunch with the Superintendent and view the parade in the afternoon, after which they will motor back to New York.

* * * * *

The Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Denmark and party (it is not known as yet who will accompany them) will arrive at Hyde Park during the afternoon of Sunday, April 30th. Their arrival will be timed to synchronize with the President's return from the World's Fair, probably after half past five in the afternoon.

The President has not indicated as to whether the POTOMAC is to be used to bring the Danes from New York City. If not, they can be motored from New York.

Monday - Danes continue at Hyde Park.

Tuesday - Danes leave Hyde Park and motor to New York.

* * * * *

Wednesday - Prime Minister De Valera, of Ireland, arrives Washington during the afternoon and proceeds directly to the White House where he will remain overnight.

Thursday - Prime Minister De Valera will leave the White House during the morning and go to the Irish Legation.

* * * * *

Summerlin understands that the President has written to Queen of England, outlining a certain program to them. He will be set until their acceptance is received.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Miss L
20*

FUTURE ENGAGEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT
Revised to May 26, 1939

- June 8 - King and Queen of England at White House
- 9 - " " " " " leave White House
- 9 - The President leaves White House for Hyde Park
- 10 - King and Queen of England at Hyde Park
- 11 - " " " " " leave Hyde Park
- 12 - West Point Graduation Exercises - address
- 15 - The President leaves in evening for Smoky Mountain National Park, arriving
- 16 - Asheville. Lv. that night for Western trip
- 25 or 26 - Dedicate Red Hook High School (If Western trip cancelled the President at Hyde Park)
- 28 - Conference of Governors - Luncheon at Hyde Park (Mrs. Roosevelt to act if the President not there)
- July 15 - Wedding of Basil O'Connor's daughter, Bettyann, at West
- Sept. - Long distance telephone message to the dedication of the Wilson Memorial in Geneva. Arrangements to be made by Hamilton Fish Armstrong of New York.
- Nov. 11 - Virginia Military Institute - speech.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FUTURE ENGAGEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT
Revised to May 3, 1939.

- May 5 - President of Nicaragua at White House.
6 - " " " " leaves White House.
10 - 10:00 p.m. Radio broadcast dedicating new building of the Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.
22 - Address Retailers National Forum, sponsored by American Retail Federation.
- June 2 - 150th Anniversary Ceremonies, Georgetown University
2:00 p.m.
8 - King and Queen of England at White House.
9 - " " " " leave White House.
9 - The President leaves White House for Hyde Park.
10 - King and Queen of England at Hyde Park
11 - " " " " leave Hyde Park
12 - West Point Graduation Exercises - address.
(?) 19 - The President leaves in evening for Smoky Mountain National Park.
(?) 20 - Asheville. Lv. that night for Western trip.
(?) 20 - 35th Reunion - Harvard Club.
28 - Conference of Governors - Luncheon at Hyde Park
(Mrs. Roosevelt to act if the President not there)
- Nov 11 - Virginia Military Institute - speech.

MRS. ROOSEVELT'S ENGAGEMENTS

April, Friday, 14th 4:00 P.M. Fly to New York City

Saturday, April 15th 6:00 P.M. Plane from Newark, N.J.
for Seattle, Wash.
A.M.

Sunday, April 16th 8:55 arrive in Seattle, Wash.

Monday, April 17th)
Tuesday, April 18th)
Wednesday, April 19th)
Mrs. John Boettiger
2010 E. Galer Street, Seattle

Wednesday, April 19th 9:15 p.m. fly to Denver, Colo

(Detailed itinerary of lecture trip will be given later)

Tuesday, April 25th E.R. returns from Johnson City, Tenn.
at 4 a.m. by plane

11:00 a.m. press conference
1:00 p.m. - lunch with Senate ladies
2:00 to 4:30 - p.m. Preside, Rural
Youth Assn.
5 p.m. - Receive Health Officers Wives

7:00 p.m. - Dinner here to Rahbel
Crowthers by Chi Omega Award
Award to be given after dinner

Wednesday, April 26th 10:00) Children in Democracy Conference
12:00) President opens, E.R. Closes

1 p.m. - Lunch with girl scouts

3:30 - Receive Women's Dem. Club of Md.
4:00 p.m. - Receive graduates of
5:00 private schools in District

5:00 - Receive The Grandmothers Club

7:30 - League of Women Voters dinner

Midnight to New York City

Thursday, April 27th - Lecture, Worcester, Mass

Friday, April 28th - Return to Hyde Park in morning
1 p.m. - lunch with two young people
at cottage

Will follow plans as outlined by President until Tuesday

Tuesday, May 2nd 12:30 - speak for Query Club in NYC
Then go to Mrs. Dodge at Riverdale
for small meeting

Wednesday, May 3rd

Speak in evening in New York City for
Masonic Order

Midnight to Washington

Thursday, May 4th

12 noon - Congressional Breakfast
2 p.m. - group sings here
4 p.m. - Tea for Colonial Dames
4:30 p.m. - League for International
Peace and Freedom

~~xxxxxxx~~

10:45 p.m. - Broadcast for Pioneer Youth

Friday, May 5th

President of Nicaragua and wife here

Saturday, May 6th

12 noon @ luncheon 73rd Club

4 p.m. - Maryland women's club to tea

Sunday, May 7th

President De Valera here
After greeting him will leave for
Philadelphia to spend afternoon with
Betty and Bill.

Spend that night in New York City

Monday, May 8th

Present Barter Theatre Award at lunch

Go to Hyde Park in afternoon

Tuesday, May 9th

Hyde Park

Wednesday, May 10th

Hyde Park

Midnight to Washington

Thursday, May 11th

Washington

1 p.m. - Buffet for international writers

4 p.m. - Rector's Garden Party
St. Thomas Church

President and Mrs. R. dine with
Secy. and Mrs. Morgenthau

Friday, May 12th

Lunch with officers wives - Bolling Field
4 p.m. - Receive Law Institute ladies
5 p.m. - Red Cross meeting

Walter Brown and wife and children invited
Mr. and Mrs. Lucius Wilmerding invited

Saturday, May 13th

Miss Parker of Hyde Park lunches with
group of school girls from Maryland

Sunday, May 14th	Midnight to New York City
Monday, May 15th	12:30 - Go to New York Fair for Brooklyn Women's Day
	4 p.m. - leave there and fly back to Washington
	Russell Lent and wife and child come for two days.
Monday, May 16th -	Lunch 76th Congress
	4 - 6 - Garden Party
Wednesday, May 17th -	Picnic at W.H. by Cabinet Ladies to Senate Ladies
	Fly to New York to speak for Local #91
Thursday, May 18th -	Return to Washington morning
	4 p.m. - Veterans Garden Party
	8 p.m. - Dine Washington Youth Council in honor of Dr. Rainey (?)
Friday, May 19th	12 noon - receive group of farm women from Kansas
	3:30 Atlanta Ensemble to sing (4 girls)
	4 - Veterans Garden Party is not held previous day.
Todhunter graduate class arrives for week end.	
Saturday, May 20th	4:30, Wisconsin choir to sing
Sunday, May 21st	Todhunter girls leave
Monday, May 22nd	2 p.m. - Dayton Childrens Chorus
	4 p.m. - E.R. goes to Democratic Fete
	Leave that night for New York City
Tuesday, May 23rd	Rural Women's Day at World's Fair
	Spend that night on farm with Elinor Morgenthau
Wednesday, May 24th	Return Washington
	4 - 5 - Garden Party

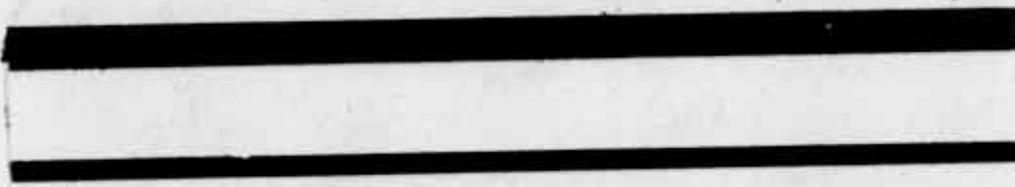
Thursday, May 25th -	Motor to Arthurdale, W. Va.
Friday, May 26th -	Commencement, Arthurdale, W. Va.
Saturday, May 27th -	Return to Washington
Monday, May 29th -	4 p.m. - Receive Daughters of Confederacy
Wednesday, May 31st -	Dance for newspaper people
Thursday, June 1st	Leave Washington for N.Y.C.
Friday, June 2nd -	Todhunter Commencement
	5 p.m. - Present prizes MacDougall Alley Art Exhibition, N.Y.C.

Hyde Park for week end

Wednesday, June 7th -	Washington
	Follow plans made by President during visit of King and Queen.
Thursday, June 15th	New York City for Regional Conference for Democratic National Committee, Women's Division
Wednesday, June 28th	Receive with Mrs. James Roosevelt the Governors at luncheon, if not away with President.
	Birthday party for Hall if not away.
Sunday, July 2nd	2 p.m. - speak in Richmond, Virginia
Wednesday, July 5th -	Youth's Day at World's Fair is here
Friday, July 7th -	Speak at Chautauqua, N.Y. if here
	No further engagements until trip for west is settled
Monday, Sept. 18th to Wednesday, Sept. 27th -	away on lecture trip.
October 12th	Tea in Washington for Postmaster's wives and lady postmasters
October 17th or 18th -	Prison Conference luncheon
Monday, Oct. 23rd	Luncheon - Parents' Magazine to receive award
October 24th	Speak for Herald-Tribune Forum
	Leave night of Oct. 24th, for lecture trip. Return Monday, Nov. 6

1939

1-3



P

April

MR. ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICY

It is very difficult for a European to understand the contradictions of American foreign policy. The United States entered vigorously into European politics by her declaration of war against Germany in 1917, yet two years later abruptly withdrew into 'splendid' isolation. After almost two decades of this aloofness from European political matters (broken, indeed, by financial intervention), the United States again, in 1937, seemed to resume an active rôle in the struggle across the Atlantic. Yet at the same time the evident desire of the American people was to stay out, and few doubted that the United States would—at least at first—maintain neutrality in event of a European conflict. What are the trends which have dictated this confusing course?

Political observers in Washington plot these shifting interests in rising and falling curves. They recall that the United States, through Secretary of State Stimson, sought to line up Great Britain in a strong front against Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931; that Sir John Simon's reluctance to accept this policy led to a process of disillusion with a strong foreign policy which lasted several years and was marked by a policy of economic non-co-operation—*i.e.*, scuttling of the World Economic Conference in 1933, the United States silver policy, etc. In the Abyssinian imbroglio, the curve rose again. It is no secret that Mr. Roosevelt was prepared to take drastic steps which would, in effect, have enforced American sanctions against Italy if France and Britain had seriously done so. It is also known that Mr. Roosevelt was keenly disappointed with the Hoare-Laval affair, and reproached representatives of France and England on that occasion. After this disillusion, the United States turned sharply towards isolation. Congress engaged in prolonged examination of various methods to keep the United States out of war, which culminated in the Neutrality

Act. This Act required the President to declare American neutrality on the outbreak of war and to embargo shipments of arms to both sides. He was given discretionary powers to declare an embargo on materials other than arms. This represented the high-water mark of a compromise between the innate isolation of the American people, which wanted complete isolation from warring Powers, and Mr. Roosevelt, who clung to the theory that the United States should take sides in the world struggle.

It was Mr. Roosevelt, indeed, who influenced Congress to limit the embargo to weapons of war alone, and to allow him the discretionary powers. Mr. Roosevelt and the State Department depart widely from the prevailing view of the Senate that there should be no distinction made between 'aggressor' and 'peaceful' nations. Mr. Roosevelt further has long sought, although it has never been officially made clear to that effect, a co-operative policy with Great Britain against aggressors. The President fights fiercely any move to limit his direction of American foreign policy. The proposed Ludlow Act—calling for a referendum to take place on the question of American participation in war—met vigorous opposition on the part of the President when it was proposed in December, 1937. Although it was overwhelmingly popular throughout the country, Presidential pressure on Congressmen led to its defeat.

With this background, it is easier to understand that, while the United States seemed to remain sternly aloof in the interval between the 'morning after' of the Hoare-Laval affair and the fall of 1937, a distinctly non-isolationist attitude on the part of the executive was being held in reserve. The break in this reserve took place on October 6th, 1937, and the policy announced on that date has guided American foreign policy ever since.

On October 6th, 1937, President Roosevelt made a speech in Chicago in which he denounced the breaking of international treaties by aggressor nations, and suggested a policy of what he called 'quarantine' to stop their aggressions. 'Quarantine,' although not elaborated by the President, suggested 'sanctions,' and therefore taking sides in international quarrels. This was an audacious break with the neutrality policy laid down by Congress. Congressional opposition immediately

flared, and the President was obliged to make reassuring statements to the effect that the United States would not be led into war. Nevertheless, he held to his purpose. For the break on October 6th, 1937, was important and decisive. It resulted from more factors than Mr. Roosevelt's traditional desire to run American foreign policy and his leaning towards political co-operation with England. These additional factors were definitely dynamic.

The personal element played a big part. Mr. Roosevelt, after his extraordinary success in the elections of 1936, suffered a serious—and humiliating—defeat in the fight over the Supreme Court reform which raged from February, 1937, up to the late summer. His defeat in this struggle also threatened his control over the Democratic Party, with such an ominous prospect as failure to name his own successor in the next Presidential election. A strong and dramatic foreign policy offered an excellent chance for an executive to recoup his losses. All the more so that foreign policy is less subject to the checks of Congressional opposition.

Another factor no less weighty was the beginning of the economic recession, which appeared at the end of the summer of 1937 and by October was giving political leaders serious concern. Could not this recession be cured by a large increase in foreign trade? Had not foreign trade brought prosperity to the United States on two other notable occasions—in 1915, when war orders from Europe stopped a serious depression, and in the 'twenties, when sales abroad immensely augmented the great economic boom? And where could the United States more successfully turn for such foreign trade than the British Empire? The closed economies in Central Europe and the Far Eastern war precluded drives in these quarters. But the British Empire did offer trade possibilities. Significantly, in August, 1937, the Ottawa agreements, which hampered sale of American products in the Empire, expired (except in Canada, and the United States could be depended on to reach an agreement with her next-door neighbour). The time was ripe for the United States to get a larger share—perhaps the optimists looked forward to an enormous share—in the greatest market in the world.

Mr. Roosevelt then proceeded to develop a double drive abroad: (1) He revived demands for the commencement of

negotiations for an Anglo-American trade pact, which had been hanging fire for some time; (2) he sought to align the United States with the biggest of the 'Have' Powers in the world-struggle with the 'Have Nots.' One drive, it seemed clear, would help the other. If the United States had a bigger economic stake in the great 'Have' Empire, it would, naturally, have a great political stake in helping to defend it. Also, if the United States gradually assumed political partisanship in the world-struggle on the side of this 'Have' area, it might count on a reward in the shape of greater economic benefits therein.

This double drive gave shape to American foreign policy from October, 1937, down to the present day. The tactics employed have made history. From the first, United States' eagerness to start the trade negotiations drew from Mr. Chamberlain, in November, promise that trade negotiations were 'contemplated.' The American policy, thus advancing, met prospects of a check in December, when the F.B.I. and British farmers protested against concessions which might harm their interests. The United States returned to the fray with renewed and rather sensational tactics. In December, the Japanese sank an American gunboat in China, and the Administration, with stern protests and playing up of excited public opinion, appeared to offer a new and really earnest opposition to Japanese aggression in China. This policy was nicely calculated to please London, then very worried about the future of British interests in the Far East. Some political observers, both in Washington and London, claim that the State Department—behind this smoke-screen of anti-Japanese agitation—gave the British Foreign Office in effect the following ultimatum: 'Either start the trade negotiations or we shall stop this agitation in the Orient against Japan.' True or not, Britain announced opening of the trade negotiations, and by February the negotiators were meeting.

This international by-play was complicated by the Spanish War. In 1936, under pressure from the British Foreign Office, the United States had unofficially adhered to the spirit of the Non-intervention Agreement by declaring an embargo on shipment of arms to both sides in the Spanish Civil War (Congress, in fact, hastily passed such an embargo measure since the Neutrality Act did not cover civil wars). Yet, in

April and May, 1938, reports from Washington indicated that perhaps the United States might allow shipments to the Loyalist Government as the only legal Government in Spain. This was a move well designed to embarrass official British policy and harm the effects of the Anglo-Italian Pact. Washington, however, failed to follow through. Yet this momentary flare-up played a tactical rôle in the progress of the trade bargaining.

The tactics continued. More and more American officials adopted the Roosevelt 'line' of October, 1937 (minus, of course, the dangerous 'quarantine' suggestion), in what appeared to be a concerted campaign. The President, Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of War Woodring, Secretary of the Interior Ickes, Ambassador Kennedy, made speeches along the line of 'respect for international law and agreements,' 'the danger of aggressors,' 'democracy against dictatorship,' etc. It was notable that these speeches brought forth political echoes in Britain. Leaders of the Labour Party, the Liberal Party and prominent members of the Eden wing of the Conservative Party responded with expressions of hope for closer political and economic co-operation between the two countries. The import of these tactics was undoubtedly not lost on Premier Chamberlain. It may or may not have affected his basic attitude on foreign policy. But he could not easily rebuff these American tentatives or their British support, nor allow the trade negotiations to come to an unsuccessful end. He could not lose a chance of aligning so formidable an ally on the side of Britain in the world-struggle.

All this laid the background for the American attitude during the momentous international crisis of last fall. Mr. Roosevelt and his subordinates had certainly aligned the United States morally with the non-Fascist 'peaceful' Powers. He had met with great success in affecting American opinion in this respect. But had he prepared American opinion sufficiently for a distinct break with the neutrality policy, for active participation on one side in case of war?

The Czechoslovakian crisis brought the answer. The American policy continued in speeches and public pronouncements during the early days of the crisis. However, as the crisis approached its first peak — Berchtesgaden — it

experienced a sharp reversal. On September 10th, Mr. Roosevelt held a Press conference. At this conference newspaper men asked a question: 'Is there any justification for the growing impression that this country has allied itself morally with Britain and France?' To this the President replied that the Press had misinterpreted statements made by him and his aides. The Press, he said, should realise that they were '100 per cent. wrong' in this interpretation. In short, Mr. Roosevelt suddenly backed down on the spirit of his foreign policy of the preceding eleven months—and at a very critical moment. Were Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier affected by this extraordinary backdown in the critical decision they were to make in the following few days? Or were they prepared for such a backdown? In any case, it was not unnatural that Mr. Roosevelt should execute this sudden about-face. For, in spite of his success in arousing American opinion against the Japanese, Italian and German Governments, he must have realised that he had not affected the profound desire of the American people not to be involved in a foreign conflict. The 'straw vote' polls, such as the surveys of the Institute of Public Opinion, had shown that, while the American people disliked and disapproved of the policies of the aggressor Powers, they still adhered strongly to an isolationist policy in case war broke out. (Undoubtedly this isolationist attitude would weaken as the conflict spread, but it would take time to line up public opinion behind a real alignment on the side of Britain and France.)

Moreover, this attitude was reflected in the current and extremely important political campaign preceding the November Congressional elections. In this campaign, Mr. Roosevelt had taken sides with certain Representatives and Senatorial candidates. Some opponents also were making a strong appeal to the electorate, asking the voters if they wanted Congress to follow the White House blindly on the question of war. There was a danger that the Republican Party might make this a national issue. Some of these candidates won in the following week, indeed were already slated to win at the time of the President's 'reversal' statement. Mr. Roosevelt undoubtedly realised that while he had aroused the sympathies of Americans for the democratic Powers, he had not budged them very far away from their

determination to remain neutral. More time was needed to 'educate' them away from this view.

This situation did not prevent, although it did condition, his extremely interesting policy during the second crisis in the few days preceding Munich. On Tuesday, September 27th, Mr. Roosevelt and his Cabinet were said to have listened in a body to Mr. Chamberlain's very affecting radio speech. They were informed at the same time that Hitler's troops had orders to march in twenty-four hours. It looked like war loomed. That afternoon the State Department sent a personal and confidential appeal to Mussolini, and instructions were sent to all American diplomatic representatives abroad to announce the opinion of the American Government that no step should be omitted which might contribute to peace. That evening, at 10 p.m. American time, the President sent a message to Hitler, appealing to him to leave no measure untried which might bring peace.

Although the message was sent in an atmosphere of quite natural haste, it was shrewdly framed with several objectives in view. First of all, it sought to stop an outbreak of war—to this no American, isolationist or not, could object. Second, it followed the Roosevelt 'anti-German' line by being addressed to the chief world aggressor, thereby assigning responsibility for starting a war and further invoking American feeling against the aggressor. Third, it proposed a conference in a 'neutral' country which might extend the scope of problems, thus creating a real world conference on all vital matters. Finally—from the personal standpoint—if Hitler should accept, it would move Mr. Roosevelt to the front part of the world-stage as 'peacemaker' (said to be an ambition quite near to his heart). The political advantages of this at home would be considerable.

The advantages never accrued. The next morning, Wednesday the 28th, Washington learned with astonishment that the Munich conference had been decided upon. Needless to say, Mr. Roosevelt did not relish the spectacle of Mussolini being given the rôle of world peacemaker to which he himself has aspired. Nor did he like the four-Power character of the meeting. It was, to say the least, humiliating, and no one who has followed the turns of Mr. Roosevelt's temperament can imagine that he will easily forget the incident.

The first reaction of Mr. Roosevelt appeared the same morning in a declaration from his secretary which said that the Munich conference did not correspond to the intentions of the President. The President, it said, looked to a conference of all nations interested—France, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Hungary and Poland—to be held in a neutral country. This announcement clearly illustrated the bitter disappointment of the President and his advisers.

The first reaction, however, was succeeded by another. When the Presidential advisers noted the enormous feelings of relief engendered by the Munich peace move among the people, and the spurt in the popularity of Mr. Chamberlain, they changed their tack and sought to employ the occasion to reinforce the prestige of the President. They tried to do this by suggesting that the intervention of the President at the last moment had much to do with saving the peace—although the peace was not to his satisfaction. Some even went so far as to suggest that it would enable the President to triumph at the November elections. It seems, however, that this bit of opportunism met with little success, particularly after the results of the Munich settlement became known and public disillusion spread. The time had come again to disassociate the President completely from the odium of Munich. The time had also come to reconsider the position of the United States in the very much altered world which has come about through the epochal Munich agreement. One school of thought among Presidential advisers and State Department officials believed that the Munich agreement would not last as a pacifying element. They took the stand that Hitler and Mussolini would go from blackmail to blackmail at an increasing tempo. They insisted that ‘appeasement’ leaders like Chamberlain and Daladier would inevitably be succeeded by ‘patriotic’ advocates of a ‘strong front’ against the dictators—possibly Eden in England, Reynaud in France. And that, in the end, Hitler and Mussolini would not dare to fight. Ergo, the United States should continue with the policy of the past year.

Another school held that the Munich agreement altered the balance of power in Europe. They claimed that either Britain and France would have to fall back into more and more appeasement until they became impotent pieces on the

European chess-board ; or that, even if they gathered themselves together for a great effort of rearmament and strong diplomacy, the economic results would still be unfavourable to American participation in European affairs. To really re-arm, England and France, they claimed, would have to regiment their economies, their capital investment and foreign trade, and hence American foreign trade could not prosper from such an arrangement. This made the fruits from the Anglo-American trade agreement look unpromising. The agreement, in fact, was signed early in November, but many of its sponsors were disappointed with it.

The first real symptom of a crystallisation of official attitudes on foreign policy appeared on October 19th. On that date the united Press reported that a 'high member of President Roosevelt's official family' gave out an important survey of the orientation of American foreign policy. (The 'member' is said to have been Secretary of State Hull.) The spokesman revealed that the future foreign policy of the United States would be based on an All-American axis and interest, but not active participation in European affairs. He indicated that the real goal of the policy would be concentration on furthering efforts by all American republics to safeguard and maintain their democratic institutions and forms of Government. Aside from that, the United States would be, he inferred, more or less a spectator. In short, what the spokesman suggested was a line of 'hemispheric isolation.' Why 'hemispheric'? For some time there had been a revival of interest in Latin-American republics. In the preceding six months there had also appeared a voluminous literature on the characteristic intrigue of Nazi and Italian Fascist organisations in South American countries. In Brazil, these intrigues took the form of a revolt, which the Dictator Vargas easily suppressed. Along with these intrigues had gone an immense increase in German and Italian trade with these countries, in some cases at the expense of American trade. Was there not a real danger of Germany and Italy extending spheres of influence into the Western hemisphere, thus menacing the security of the United States itself?

This question received no rational answer, at least from the politicians. Significantly, the generals and admirals in

Washington felt the least alarm. They claimed that the United States, if necessary, could easily ward off any attempt by military, naval or air means to establish German or Italian influence over any Latin-American republic. They pointed out that naval power was essential for such an attempt and that it would be many, many years before either Germany or Italy possessed a 'blue-water' fleet strong enough to challenge the predominant power of the American Navy in Western waters. The same, they said, went for Japan. Meanwhile, the United States Navy would increase far beyond any chance of these countries overtaking them. The admirals and generals therefore saw no necessity for alarm, nor for any extraordinary defence preparations.

But the generals and admirals had little to say in framing foreign policy. The politicians, New Deal advisers and State Department officials apparently launched a campaign and oriented American foreign policy with other considerations in view. For one thing, Latin-American trade loomed as a possible assistance to reviving United States economy in the recession (especially since it was now seen that the Anglo-American trade agreement could not immediately work wonders). Next, the ambitious rearmament programme, linked to wide schemes to gear the industrial equipment of the country to the exigencies of large-scale war mobilisation, would, they hoped, achieve certain domestic aims. It would sanction heavy Government spending (then under attack by the Conservatives) for patriotic, and therefore unassailable, motives. This would help unemployment and stimulate business according to orthodox New Deal principles.

Thus rearmament, spending, foreign trade and internal politics were all combined in the shaping of the Government's new line of 'hemispheric isolation.' The combination was admirably designed to draw popular support. The Institute of Public Opinion polls following Munich showed that Americans were overwhelmingly in favour of: (1) rearmament, (2) spending, (3) defence of the Americas against foreign aggression, (4) foreign trade, as typified by the Anglo-American trade agreement, (5) strongly arrayed, in sympathy, against Germany, Italy and Japan; yet, finally, (6) desirous of isolation within the Western hemisphere. It would look as if the people of the United States were getting

a foreign policy very finely attuned to their real desires—however contradictory these desires might be. At least this was the tone of American opinion within six weeks after Munich.

But events and forces were to alter this tone during the months of November and December. For one thing, German-American relations worsened. American revulsion to the Nazi pogroms in November was far stronger than in Britain and France. It provided a favourable atmosphere for Washington's drastic step of ordering Ambassador Hugh Wilson to return to Washington from Berlin (not technically a recall, but very near it). This atmosphere also supported Secretary Ickes' strong speech, obviously aimed at Germany, against which the German Government protested and to which protest the State Department gave an unprecedentedly sharp rejoinder. For another, the Lima conference had produced no magic formula for repelling German and Italian penetration in South America. Indeed, the resolutions of the conference had become so watered down by compromises between the various republics that the result proved somewhat disappointing to American opinion. Also, the American attitude at the conference had drawn fire from the German and Italian Press. This, together with further revelations of the penetration of the dictator countries in the southern hemisphere, sharpened the antagonism of Americans towards the dictatorships. Consequently, American opinion began to pivot on South America in the direction of greater intervention in European affairs.

Hence, by the end of December, American opinion registered a movement away from strict isolation—although with characteristic contradictions. In a 'straw poll,' sponsored by the magazine *Fortune*, the first question was: 'Should the democratic Powers, including the United States, now stand firm together at any cost to prevent Hitler or Mussolini from taking any more territory at the expense of other nations?' To this 56 per cent. of the voters answered 'Yes.' From this one might jump to the conclusion that Americans had renounced isolation. However, the other questions muddled this picture. *Fortune* asked: 'If a major foreign Power actually threatened to take over any of the following countries by armed invasion, would you be willing

to see the United States come to its defence?' Seventy-three per cent. of the voters answered 'Yes' for Canada, 46.3 per cent. for the Philippines, about 43 per cent. for Mexico, 27 per cent. for Brazil, 27.8 per cent. for England, and 22.1 per cent. for France. In short, an extremely contradictory net response, although showing that Americans had considerably modified their isolationist prejudices.

Several developments in the following two months served to accentuate this tendency to move away from isolation. In January, the crash of a United States Army aeroplane in California, in which a French officer was injured, revealed the fact that the American Government had actively collaborated in assisting the French Government to purchase some new model American aeroplanes. A sharp reaction in Congress followed, with strong criticism of the Government for allowing an American military secret to be revealed to a foreign Power. The reaction, however, took the form of criticism of the secrecy of the Government's policy rather than of the actual sale of aeroplanes to France. Apparently the Congressional representatives of the American people did not object to re-arming a 'democratic' Power. But, quickly following this incident, another, of far greater importance, threw a spotlight on the nature of American foreign policy.

In February, President Roosevelt, during a secret conference with the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, was said to have declared that the United States should assist in re-arming the 'democratic Powers' because 'the American frontier is now on the Rhine.' Inasmuch as the Senators called to the conference were pledged to silence and could make no official statement on the proceedings, it was impossible to verify the statement. But responsible American newspapers, whose reporters had talked with Senators following the conference, insist that some such statement was made by the President. If this is true, the statement was of the highest importance, coming from the chief executive, and certainly represented a wide departure from traditional American policy. The inevitable reaction in Congress followed, but it was notable that the reaction was not as strong as isolationist advocates desired. Yet even this moderate reaction provoked the President, in a Press con-

ference a few days later, to deny that he had made the statement about America's frontier being on the Rhine. Again the President had retreated from a strong position, just as in the days before Berchtesgaden, apparently fearful lest his audacity result in an isolationist reaction among the people. In short, his policy of drawing Americans away from isolation still consists in taking two steps forward and one backward.

But there is little doubt that the President has been successful in drawing the people away from an isolationist attitude. Practical, rather than ideological, considerations, however, seem to have hastened the process. There is a wide feeling in the United States that, unless a balance of power in Europe is maintained, a situation may result which may affect American security. In official circles in Washington one hears less about 'Fascism' and 'Democracy,' and more about 'American security.' Many now consider France and Britain no longer as Powers 'trying to get us into war,' but as 'our front-line.' If this 'front-line' fell, 'we would be next' on Hitler's expansion-by-war programme. On the other hand, many Congressional leaders—particularly from the Middle-West, believe such talk unfounded and 'alarmist,' and cling strongly to isolation.

In short, the United States still remain undecided about what course of foreign policy to pursue. Americans are still isolationist, but much less so than during the Czechoslovakian crisis. In response to a feeling of insecurity, they support a heavy increase of defence expenditures, and, with a sense of the strategical implications of America's position, they are willing to sell arms to France and Britain. While they decline to make a definite alliance with Britain and France, the course of American foreign policy appears to be leading in the direction of such an alliance. Only another major European crisis will definitely test how far the United States has actually gone towards such a position. Should such a crisis arise, a new and more realistic formula, based on eventual American security, may prove more potent in determining America's attitude than the old ideological appeals of a 'democratic front' or 'solidarity of English-speaking peoples.'

FRANK C. HANIGHEN.

PSF
FDR

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

May 26, 1939.

My dear Mr. President:

When I was in Sacramento on the 19th, I was asked to hand you the attached card. It is a card of membership in the Pony Express Memorial Association.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Park

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House.

PONY EXPRESS MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

\$ 1959

Upon payment of the amount above receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, the person whose name is included in the list of subscribers to the Pony Express Memorial Fund the purpose of which is to perpetuate the memory of the historic Western Terrestrial Building of the celebrated Pony Express in Sacramento, California.

3

[Signature]
PRESIDENT

[Signature]
SECRETARY

THE PONY EXPRESS

By CHARLES JOSEF CAREY

There never sets the sun on
rolling plains,
Nor evening shadows soothe
the desert heat,
But ghostly riders flit on ghost-
ly mounts
And skim the twilight ways
with silent feet—
The men who brought the
eager-waited mails,
Forgotten men who ride for-
gotten trails.

They come again to gallop
sleeping roads,
These wraiths that race along
the windy way,
They mark again the starlight
on the sand
Until they see the streaks of
coming day—
Then vanish like the dust of
desert gales,
Forgotten men who ride for-
gotten trails.

1939

- 2 doz. - Pomeroy, Anno 1928
6 Wauwatahato (Duff Gordon)
Sherry
12 Cuckburn Smiths No 100
Duchess Port.
-

For visit of Norwegians
+ Dances - at Hyde Park
April 28 to May 1 - 1939

1
PSF
FOR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

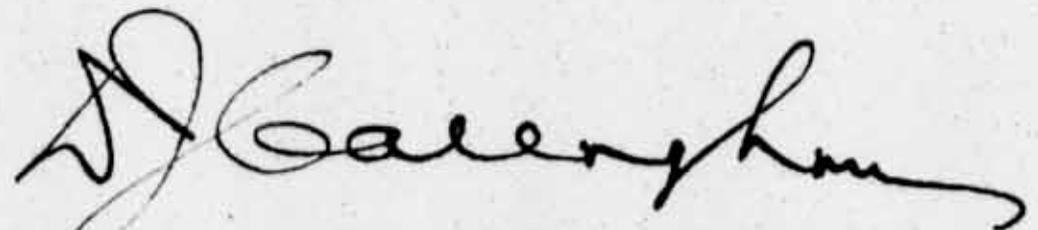
June 28, 1939

Memorandum For

The President

In response to a letter written by me, Admiral Johnson has recounted, to the best of his ability, in the attached, his recollections of your passage on the "Kimberly" to Queenstown.

Respectfully,



D. J. Callaghan.

**ATLANTIC SQUADRON
UNITED STATES FLEET**

Halifax, Nova Scotia
23 June 1939

My dear Callaghan:

Your letter of June 15th reached me on our arrival in Halifax.

I distinctly recall Mr. Roosevelt's visit to Queenstown but I have forgotten some of the details. I shall give you my recollection of the background, and then answer your specific questions.

Mr. Roosevelt made the voyage from Milford Haven, Wales to Queenstown, Ireland, in the KIMBERLY escorted by the F.M.S. ACTIVE, and returned in the ACTIVE escorted by the KIMBERLY. The two ships had been patrolling the Irish Sea for submarines during a spell of bad weather and finally put into Milford Haven. We anchored in a thick fog about 5 a.m. I turned in, and at 9 o'clock the messenger knocked on my door to report that a despatch had just been received saying that Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Rear Admiral Everett, R.N., and some other British and American officers would board the KIMBERLY at 10 o'clock. We were to take them to Queenstown at once.

Since my larder was empty, I signalled Gordon Campbell, commanding officer of the ACTIVE, asking if he could spare me some fresh food. In fifteen minutes his steward came aboard with four apples and half a leg of lamb. It was all they had left.

We got underway as soon as our passengers had embarked. The weather was

**ATLANTIC SQUADRON
UNITED STATES FLEET**

rainy and the sea choppy. Sir Eric stayed on the bridge. He put on my raincoat, and I haven't seen it since. Evidently the rough sea made him uncomfortable for he wouldn't go below. He asked me what speed I was making, and when I told him 28 knots, he rather testily inquired, "why do you go so fast?" I told him I had radioed the Commander-in-Chief at Queenstown that we would arrive at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. He then said he didn't care what time we arrived and would I please slow down. I regretted to observe that Mr. Roosevelt and the others didn't feel a bit seasick, and when they went below for lunch, I instructed my own officers not to eat anything until after our guests had finished. The lamb and apples were completely devoured by our distinguished passengers, but apparently sufficed.

I shall now answer your specific questions:

(a) I do not believe that the KIMBERLY flew any personal flags. None of our destroyers were supplied with the flag of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy and I didn't have time to make one before Mr. Roosevelt arrived. I am sure that I did not fly the flag of the Admiralty, and that no one brought it with him.

(b) During the return voyage, two days later, when Mr. Roosevelt and his party were in the ACTIVE with KIMBERLY escorting, the KIMBERLY sighted what appeared to be the periscope of a submarine off the ACTIVE's bow and turned towards it at full speed. The periscope disappeared as usual and as soon as the ACTIVE had drawn well ahead and was well clear of the spot, I rejoined her and thought little more about it. I do not remember having heard that the periscope was that of a British submarine,

ATLANTIC SQUADRON
UNITED STATES FLEET

but I am glad I did not succeed in ramming it.

I saw many periscopes and several submarines during the war but never was able to hit one with gunfire or to ram one successfully. I passed right over the one that sank the ORAMA, in October 1917, and could see her plainly below the surface but we only scraped her lightly, though we shook her badly with our depth charges according to her captain who described the action in his book, "Submarines Westward", written after the war.

In regard to personal flags, it may interest the President to know that the Empress of Britain, when their Majesties left Halifax the other day, flew the Royal Standard at the main, the Admiralty Flag at the Fore (for the Lord High Admiral, King George) the Union Jack at the gaff and the White Ensign at the flagstaff. We arrived here two days after they left and have had a wonderful time.

Hope you are not sweltering in Washington.

With all good wishes, and kindest
remembrances to the President.

Sincerely,

A. W. Johnson
A. W. JOHNSON.

Captain L. J. Callaghan, U. S. Navy
Naval Aide to the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

P.S.F. F.D.R.

Mem - 2

September 13, 1939.

Dear Jim:-

Thank you very much for your continued efforts in getting out the public papers of my four gubernatorial years. I appreciate it more than I can tell you and am fully aware of all the difficulties involved.

I am enclosing the Foreword, as you requested, for the 1932 volume.

My best wishes to you,

Always sincerely,

Honorable James J. Mahoney,
Assistant Secretary to the Governor,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, N. Y.

(Enclosure)

FOREWORD - PUBLIC PAPERS, 1932

This final volume contains the public papers of my last year as Governor of the State of New York. It was a critical period in the history of the State. Three years of continued economic depression and wide-spread unemployment, without assistance from the Federal Government, had brought much misery to its people, stagnation to its industry, agriculture and real estate, and a tremendous burden to its own budget. In 1931 the State itself had assumed the responsibility of providing food and shelter and clothing to its citizens who were unemployed through no fault of their own.

In fulfilling this responsibility, it was compelled to rely solely on its own resources for furnishing direct relief to those in distress and for providing employment through public works. No funds came from Washington in those days. Nevertheless the job was done. On March 4, 1933, the new administration in Washington assumed that responsibility itself and has since then relieved the various States of the major portion of that burden.

FOREWORD - PUBLIC PAPERS, 1932.
-2-

Much of what appears in this volume and in the three preceding volumes indicates a social philosophy and course of action similar to that carried on by the Federal Government after I became President. I know that the careful reader of these four volumes of gubernatorial papers will realize that the so-called "New Deal" in Washington was not really completely new in the light of my administration at Albany during the years 1929-1932. I like to think of it as our expansion and development of the policies of these earlier four years outlined in the public documents and addresses contained in these four volumes. That they have received continued and overwhelming indorsement by the people in two State elections and in two national elections is a fundamental fact which must influence the course of our government in the years to come.



STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

S J. MAHONEY
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR

August 10, 1939.

The President,
Hyde Park,
New York.

Dear Mr. President:

Your Public Papers for the year 1932 have been completed and are in full type ready for binding.

Since all of your other papers contain an introductory statement, I write to inquire if it is your disposition to continue this practice.

All join in sending best wishes that you and the family are enjoying these fine summer months.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

*I am sorry that they have
been so long deferred but
I tried my best and they
a swell matter of record
may compensate Jim*

1

This final volume contains the public papers of my last year as Governor of the State of New York. It was a critical period in the history of the State. Three years of continued ^{economic} depression and wide-spread unemployment, without assistance from the Federal Government, had brought ~~to~~ much misery to its people, ~~and~~ stagnation to its industry, agriculture and real estate, and a ~~great~~ ^{tremendous} burden to its own budget. In 1931 the State ~~had~~ ^{itself} ~~in 1931~~ assumed the responsibility of providing food and shelter and clothing to its citizens who were unemployed through no fault of their own. In fulfilling this responsibility, it was compelled to rely solely on its own resources for furnishing direct relief ^{to these in distress and} for providing employment through public works. No funds came from Washington in those days. Nevertheless the job was done. On March 4, 1933, the new administration in Washington ~~assumed~~ ^{since then} that responsibility itself and has ^{relieved} the various States of ~~the~~ ^{the major portion} of that burden.

Much of what appears in this volume ~~is~~ ^{and} in the three preceding volumes indicates a social philosophy and course of action similar to that carried on

~~Washed~~
 by the Federal Government after I became
 President. I know that the ~~most~~ careful
 reader of these four volumes of international
~~papers~~ papers will realize that the
 so-called "New Deal" in Washington was
 not really completely new in the light of
 my administration at Albany during the
 years 1929-1932. ~~While I was Governor~~
~~of the State.~~ I like to think of it ~~rather~~
 as our expansion and development
 of the policies of these earlier four years
~~outlined in the pages of these~~
 public ~~papers~~ documents and addresses
 contained in these four volumes. ~~That~~
 they have received ^{and overwhelming} continued ^{by the people.} support in
 two state elections and in two national
 elections is a fundamental fact which
 must influence the course of ^{our} government in the
 years to come.

White House,
 Washington D.C.
 September — 1939.

Dear Jim

Thanks very much for your continued efforts in getting out the public papers of my four gubernatorial years. I appreciate it very much and am fully aware of all the difficulties involved.

I am enclosing the forward as you requested for the 1932 volume.

Sincerely
SR

Supreme Court
of the
State of New York



SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
JUSTICE

JUSTICES CHAMBERS
NEW YORK COUNTY COURT HOUSE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Sept. 5, 1939

Dear Missy

The President sent me the attached letter and asked me to prepare a foreword and a reply to him.

I have done so as per the inclosed. I have no typewriter up here and would appreciate it if you would have it typed before submitting it to the President.

With kindest regards

Sincerely

Sam

PSF
FDR
Lindsay 3

October 13, 1939.

Dear Lindsay:-

That is a grand line about
"The Sour Grapes of Wrath." In the original
the grapes of wrath were stored -- in your
unfortunate colleague's case they seem to
have fermented and flowed out into the
gutter.

As ever yours,

Professor Lindsay Rogers,
Department of Public Law and Government,
Columbia University,
New York City,
New York.

Columbia University
in the City of New York

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC LAW AND GOVERNMENT

October 9, 1939

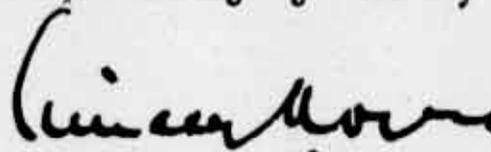
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I suppose you have heard this one, but I nevertheless send it on. It comes to me from a young friend in a convent (a day school!) and I suppose she got it from some columnist.

A recent kiss and tell book should have been called "The Sour Grapes of Wrath."

Ever faithfully yours,



Lindsay Rogers

PS F: F.D.R.

**BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BRYN MAWR
PENNA.**

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF THE COLLEGE

November 22, 1939

Dear Mr. President,

I want to express my deep regrets that I was unable to be present at the laying of the cornerstone of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library on Sunday. I had hoped almost until the last moment to be able to go, but a combination of college business and family visits made it impossible for me to get away. I read the account of the proceedings with great interest and I hope that I shall soon have an opportunity of visiting the Library.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen Taft Mammie

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Westport 5036

Mrs. Julia S. Hotchkiss
Ovenoke Park
Westport, Connecticut

December 13, 1939

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Am so sorry to bother you,
but am particularly anxious that the enclosed
1940-1942 forecast should reach President Roosevelt
without delay.

No one could be more happy than I to see the
President and the First Lady of the Land continue
residence in the White House for the next four
years. You will see from my forecast that I
expect this wish to be fulfilled.

The other material enclosed - "Presidential Outlook
for 1940" and "Striking Presidential Sequences" and
"Frequency of 'J' in Politics" - which have also
been sent to Mr. Farley and Ambassador Kennedy - I
hope you too will find interesting.

With the compliments of the season, I am

Most cordially,

Julia S. Hotchkiss

P.S. The present Parade of the Planets is such a beautiful
spectacle, I am enclosing the data when each month the
Moon will be passing them, one after the other.

Handwritten notes:
12-21-39
The President
The First Lady
H.R. Horne
3
PSF
FDR

DATES WHEN THE MOON PASSES CONSECUTIVELY THE 4 SUPERIOR PLANETS

1939

Dec.15-24 Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus

1940

Jan.14-20 Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Uranus
 (Jan.4-7:Mars, passing Jupiter (perihelion) now becomes leader

Feb.10-17 Venus, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Uranus
 (Feb.10-13:Mars the leader now passes Saturn)
 Feb.19-21:Two days after Moon has passed,Venus conjuncts Jupiter
 Mar. 6- 8: " " Saturn
 Mar.24-27: " " Uranus
 Apr. 9-13: " " Mars

Mar. 9-16 Moon passes Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Uranus
 Mar.14-18:Mars passes Uranus near the Pleiades in the sign Taurus.
 From then Mars becomes the leader until Dec.1940, when
 he is opposed by these other superior planets.

Apr.5-12 Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Mars
 Apr.11: Moon conjuncts Mars, soon after leaving the Pleiades

1941 June Jupiter will have just passed the Pleiades in Taurus
 1942 June Saturn " " " " " " " "
 1942 June Uranus " " " " " " " "

England (John Bull) will be in a state of war until 1942,
 when all major planets will have passed the Pleiades in
 Taurus, the sign of the Bull.

Each month, after the Moon passes the 2 bright stars - Castor and Pollux, the Moon then passes the 4 major planets, the

Julia S. Hotchkiss
Owenoke Park,
Westport, Conn.
Dec. 20-1938

HOROSCOPE OF HITLER
1939

1938
Dec.

The chart shows an increase of malefic aspects from the middle of December, 1938, to February 15, 1939. From then until early June, Hitler's fiery planetary lights are so cross-circuited that his future looks particularly ominous.

1939
Jun.

From June to the end of the year, alarming disaffection is shown between Hitler and the Nazi Government. In the meantime the Rome-Berlin axis will become strained, and Italy, for economic independence, will gradually turn toward Roumania - for only in Roumania and Russia are found the oil fields so vital to the economic ambitions of both countries.

Nov.

By middle November, premonitory symptoms that cause great apprehension portend that ultimately Russia will break her Pact of August 21st. Fear of the dire results of this action, and the consequent advantage to the Great Powers, gradually undermines the morale of the Hitler Government.

Dec.

In December an important crossroad is reached. The constant diplomatic reverses suffered by Hitler during the last few months further disorganize the regime, thereby hastening Hitler's downfall. Disaffection increases, fanned by rumors of duplicity, plots and intrigues. These secret plots, planned early in March, 1939, formulated in July, will weaken from December to March 1940.

All through this critical period, dissension among certain high officials in the German Government assumes such proportions that at a Cabinet Council it will be deemed best to sacrifice Hitler - one way or another. This accomplished, a monarchy (Hohenzollern) or a more democratic form of government will be established. At all events, rupture with Russia, Rome-Berlin axis strain, threatened break of Anglo-French relations, bespeak the beginning of the end of the Hitler regime.

Notwithstanding European conditions, and the fact that April is the usual war month of our country, we will not be involved military-wise on foreign soil, - only the possibility of a naval demonstration.

JULIA JNKISS
Owenok, k
Westport, Conn.
September 1939

PLANETARY FOREWORD
1940-1942

From 1929 to 1953 all five superior planets will have been transitting above the equator - the dynamic position corresponding to the passage of the Sun from March to October.

However, since 1935, four of the five major planets have been gradually grouping. So, between 1940-1942 they are transitting in close conjunction with one or another in the constellation of Taurus, the sign of the Bull.

The excessive radiation from the grouping of so many planets acts as a super-charged dynamo which creates a super-concentration of light and energy. This in turn produces violent chemical combustions from which is discharged an excessive amount of electrons. It is these disorganized overcharged forces that are now (1940-1942) being focused upon one small part of the globe. Thus the equilibrium of the earth is thrown out of balance - and, by reflex action, the mind of man confused.

Obviously, on the opposite side of the earth there must needs be a proportionate lack of light and energy - therefore a proportionate lack of excitement. One stimulates for action - war; the other for inaction - peace.

In June, 1942, however, Saturn the last of the fourfold group of planets, will finally have passed the slowest moving planet, Uranus - the dynamic leader since 1935. Confusion then wanes as clarity emerges.

The four fascinating Sky-Travelers now commence to separate. According to their different rates of speed, they diffuse their radiation, thereby gradually equalizing more widely the distribution of light and energy over each and every part of the earth.

So, once again, by 1942-1943, the earth resumes its periodic normal balance - the dead centre between extreme expansion (inflation) and extreme contraction (~~depression~~ deflation) - prosperity and depression -. In other words, with the restoration of the earth's equilibrium, progress is once more assured.

PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK FOR 1940

In 1940 the Republican cycle is again due - a twenty-year cycle dominated by the Republicans for the last century.

The return of this political cycle coincides with the return of the planetary twenty-year cycle of the grand conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter.

However, in 1940, the influence of this same conjunction, heretofore so helpful to the Republicans, will be transferred to the Democratic Party, because this same great periodic conjunction occurred in 1882, the year when the major planets were so powerfully operating at the birth of President Roosevelt.

The transition period under the influence of this great conjunction brings about a change from an old to a new order of things - a reversal from inflexible Conservatism to flexible Liberalism.

Under the law of averages, this means that the Democrats, now in office since 1932, will continue in power for long uninterrupted sequences, in order to balance the Republican uninterrupted sequences of 24 years from 1860-1884, Lincoln to Cleveland, and the 16 years from 1896-1912, McKinley to Wilson.

Another phase that enters into the political picture is that Republican cycles, since 1840, have been strangely associated with a national tragedy. For, in the beginning of each of these cycles of twenty years - the years when the even number preceded the zero figure - a Republican President has died during his term of office, namely:- Harrison, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley and Harding. And, strangely enough, the three assassinated - Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley - died on the 14th of the month.

PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK FOR 1940

2

And, as no Democratic President has died during his term of office since the Republic was formed, it would seem that in the zero twenty-year cycles this "Sword of Damocles" hangs over only Republican Presidents.

Aside from the logical point of view, there is another interesting feature - a curious political quirk. For the last forty years the double O ("oo") has been in the names of all Presidents, except Taft, from Roosevelt to Roosevelt, namely:- 1900, Roosevelt, (McKinley term), Woodrow (Wilson); Coolidge (Harding term), Hoover, and Roosevelt to 1940.

In summation - based upon the above premises; present complex world conditions; and the fact that so far there are no prospective candidates, either Democrat or Republican, whose horoscopes are comparable to that of the President, it is the opinion of the writer, who predicted the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, that in 1940 the Democratic Party will continue in office, and, by the re-election of President Roosevelt.

STRIKING PRESIDENTIAL SEQUENCES

The Republicans have held office for one to five terms at the beginning of every twenty-year cycle since 1840 - the years, you will note, when an even number precedes the zero figure, namely:- 1840, Harrison; 1860, Lincoln; 1880, Garfield; 1900, McKinley; 1920, Harding, etc.

The Republicans, however, have never received a second term when the beginning and end of the term straddled the years in which an odd number preceded the zero figure. For instance, the odd number 1850 straddled by 1848-1852, Taylor; 1870 by 1868-1872, Grant (see paragraph 5); 1890 by 1888-1892, Harrison; 1910 by 1908-1912, Taft; and the last odd number 1930 straddled by 1928-1932, Hoover.

Incidentally, in both odd and even cycles, only Republican single terms seem to be associated in some way with the letter "H" in the surnames of Presidents - Harrison, Hayes, Harrison, Harding and Hoover. Of the three Vice-Presidents - Hamlin, Hendricks, Hobart - two were Republicans, but none were re-elected. Even Taft (Republican) whose middle name commenced with "H" (Howard) served but one term.

Curiously enough, in both Parties there was an uninterrupted sequence of single terms for a period of twenty-four years - Van Buren to Lincoln, 1836-1860.

The Democratic twenty-year cycles of double terms, following the Republican single terms, commenced with Pierce and Buchanan, 1852-1860. This Democratic regularity was broken only when Grant, though a Democrat, was elected for a second time on a Republican Coalition Ticket, 1872-1876, followed by the questioned election of Hayes, 1876-1880. And, again, after Harrison's single term, when Cleveland failed to be re-elected 1896-1900.

Julia S. Hotchkiss
Owenoke Park
Westport, Conn.

FREQUENCY OF "J" IN POLITICS

The letter "J" was the initial of the given or surname of either the President or Vice-President, from Washington's Administration to Polk's, inclusive, 1788-1848, a period of 60 years.

The names of James or John occur fifteen times in twenty Administrations, from Washington to Lincoln, 1788-1860, a period of 72 years.

Furthermore, James or John was the name of either the President or Vice-President in six consecutive Administrations, 1808-1832, a period of 24 years.

Incidentally, these names, James and John, are associated with the family of our President - his father, James; and his two sons, James and John. And also with the Vice-President, John Garner.

Strangely enough, "John" has recurred most frequently as the name of Presidents or Vice-Presidents, and what is more, all but one were Democrats.

FORECAST --- 1940-1942

(The writer bases the following forecast upon astrological deductions according to Planetary Foreword on preceding page).

1940
Jan. From new moon, December 10th,
International crises, the world over, will have become so acute that by early January, 1940, President Roosevelt, as head of the most important neutral nation, will accept an invitation from the belligerents to act as mediator. But, the conditions imposed by the President are at first rejected by Germany.

However, from middle January, the political situation from the Baltic to Black Seas grows more and more chaotic. Germany becomes desperate. Therefore, due to this increasing economic and financial strain, she is finally forced to agree to an armistice, pending the organization of a proposed Peace Conference.

Feb. The month of February is particularly ominous and sinister. Alarming political changes take place, suddenly and unexpectedly. Assassination of rulers of important governments startles the world; Cabinets fall; countries are invaded; new international problems appear - probably the renewed war between Russia and Japan. Complications upon complications follow, which delay adjustments.

In the meantime, uprisings in Persia and India provoke violent controversies between Russia, Turkey and England, in connection with various Treaty rights in their respective zones of influence. "Oil" -- is the paramount issue. (See note appended).

Mar. Toward middle March the fiery Mars redoubles his efforts - aside from the warlike movements between Russia and Japan, there is the long expected political split in the Nazi Party.

FORECAST -- 1940-1942 Cont'd.

1940
Mar.
con'd

By the end of March there is exposed the fact that in a foreign country, probably Switzerland, a well-organized Anti-Nazi group is prepared to set up in Germany a new and more Democratic form of Government. In order to unify all Germans, the plan proposes the return of the Hohenzollern Dynasty - Kaiser Wilhelm to ascend the throne, "if but for a day", or long enough to abdicate in favor of the Crown Prince, or his son.

This favorable political action, together with the feeling of confidence in the new Peace Conference, brings about a sudden and violent, though short, upturn in financial world markets.

The Peace Conference, composed of representatives of five or more of the Great Powers, will be held in a neutral country - probably the United States, at Washington, D.C. This Congress will be similar to the Berlin Congress of 1878.

Apr. April is full of unexpected happenings. There are indications of political troubles in Brazil, and other of warlike disturbances between the United States and foreign countries - perhaps in connection with the Russo-Japanese war, or Germany. However, the United States will not be involved in actual warfare, although April is the month in which the United States usually has declared or entered into a state of war. In this month and no other will the United States ever be involved in war.

May From May to middle August the whole world becomes chaotic* - a condition most disastrous to Hitler. Even President Roosevelt will feel the disturbance.

June Tentative working agreements reached by the Peace Congress in June, will be suddenly disrupted in July.

*Mainly due to long influence of conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn close to Uranus in 1940-1941. This conjunction has not taken place in this same initial degree of Taurus in 2780 years - not since B.C.840, or about 100 years after the death of Solomon.

1940

Jul. The month of July is one of inflammatory incidents - new international conflict and wars; fiery controversy over disputed territory; sudden financial upheaval; breaks in friendly alliances.

Jul. Between July 26th and August 5th is a period of ominous and
Aug. sinister portent, particularly to Hitler and the Nazi Government. For then Mars will be afflicting the same influences which caused the Munich bomb on November 8th. At any rate, this is a period of dire catastrophe.

Aug. By August 13-15, however, there arises a condition out of the chaos which brings about an understanding, sudden and unexpected. An agreement is negotiated which, by the end of the month, eases international tension. The reaction is most favorable to the United States, and, almost over night, Mr. Roosevelt's international popularity grows by leaps and bounds.

Sept. The Stock Exchange responds in a violent upturn until the first of September. Then the market fluctuates wildly - August 30th to September 3rd. Foreign currencies/^{then}jump, along with stocks, due to the confirmation of earlier rumors that the Peace Congress had reached a settlement.

The Peace Treaty, however, will not be entirely satisfactory to Russia, nor to some extent, to Turkey. Nevertheless, as Russia will be one of the Powers in the 1940 Congress, and as Russia is bound by Treaty, zones of influence, and otherwise, with Asiatic countries on her border; and as Russia in 1940 will war against Japan that the independence of China may be re-established; and as all European Powers are politically and economically interrelated in the Far East - certain European issues which are closely interwoven with major Asiatic problems will perforce delay final re-adjustments until May or June, 1941.

FORECAST OF 1940-1942

5

1942 Not until early Spring, 1942, however, will world conditions be satisfactorily adjusted, and amicable relations in trade and commerce restored.

Notwithstanding the ominous outlook, the restless chaotic state of the world is a natural sequence which, in the process of evolution, is but a change from form to reform - from an old to a new order of things -- a transition stage which ever precedes a great era of prosperity.

1940-
1942

Stimulated by the effect upon the earth of this fourfold conjunction, there will arise, whether for good or evil, great leaders, great dictators, great promoters, and the like.

In the fields of invention and industry, revolutionary changes - incredible, inconceivable - take place. Of tremendous importance is that through the discovery of a new catalytic agency, combustions will be produced that make possible the practical use of atomic energy.

Through this same new energy will be solved the age-old problem for the Transmutation of Metals -- the dream of the ancient Philosophers fulfilled.

In motive power the application of these revolutionizing forces will create a radical transformation. Obviously, the control of a constant supply of free electrical energy will produce a sort of perpetual motion, thus insuring safety not only in continuous air transit, but in a stationary position. So, electricity will naturally supersede gas for motive power.

The astounding changes in this Aero-Electrical Age can be compared only with those of the Mechanical Age of the 1880's and those of the Golden Age of the 1850's.

New cycle 1932-1946 In summation: We are living in an Aquarian Age. We are in the Great Turn of stupendous beginnings --- the Dawn of a New Era of momentous undertakings, astounding reformations, colossal reorganizations. Even with intermittent financial set-backs - a healthy indication - we are in a period of undreamed-of expansion and prosperity.

Writer's Note:- In explanation of Paragraph 4, Page 2 -- The text of the Anglo-Russian agreement of August 31, 1907, was, in effect, that each agreed to respect the integrity of Persia. But, for geographical and economic reasons, Russia was to receive the northern and England the southern district of Persia to the Gulf, as special zones of influence. Thus access to the Persian oil field was assured, and at the same time, an economic barrier established against Germany's plan to extend the Bagdad Railway to the Far East. Thirty years later, in 1938, Britain, to insure peace with Iran, agreed to pay increased royalties on Anglo-Persian oil leases which run to 1961.*

- So, in 1907, the Tsar (1) recognized a British sphere of interest in Persia;
(2) relinquished all claims in Afghanistan;
(3) acknowledged suzerainty of China over Tibet.**

*W. Morgan Shuster's "The Strangling of Persia", pp. xxvi-xxvii

**Edward Meade Earle, Asst. Prof. of History in Columbia University, in "Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway", p. 204.

PSF
FDR

Gen. G. W. P.

File - [1939]
P. W. P.

THE MAJOR CYCLE - ITS EFFECT UPON PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

It is interesting to note that at the time of Roosevelt's birth in 1882 there was the grand cycle of Uranus in Virgo in trine to Neptune in Taurus. And, that the same two planets are, from 1934 to 41, transiting the same constellations, but in transposed positions - that is to say, they have exchanged positions with each other. This major aspect, by the way, benefits all those born between 1878 and 1885.

The planet Neptune (ruling nations, governments and rulers) has not transited the sign of Virgo since 1765 to 1778, nor can the transit recur until 2095 to 2105.

The enormous breadth and expanse of this great Major Cycle of Uranus and Neptune, so dominant in the President's chart, brings about in the wake of tottering governments and rulers, a phenomenal new era of civilization - inconceivable, incredible.

This grand aspect formed the basis of my predictions that Franklin Roosevelt would be elected in 1932 and again in 1936. Although by 1940 the benefic aspect will be waning, the President could be re-elected, provided that the opposing candidate has not a stronger chart. However, in weighing the final deductions, one must take into consideration that a Republican cycle is due.

THE HOROSCOPE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
for 1939

Let us first consider the President's chart as a basis for the deductions of 1939.

At his birth, three powerful planets, Neptune, Saturn, and Jupiter were passing through the constellation of Taurus in the mid-heaven of his chart. In this constellation is dynamic Aloyon, to which points the Sun's polar axis. This group of three superior planets is in perfect benefic trine (120 degrees) to Uranus rising in the constellation of Virgo, ruled by Mercury, the messenger of the gods. Regulus is very close in Leo.

The President has no Zodiacal trine (a planet occupying each third of the chart), but from March until September, Mars will be transiting through Capricorn, thus by transit forming the much-needed perfect Zodiacal trine to all his other four superior planets--a stabilizing position which greatly augments an already powerful chart. This space has not been filled since Jupiter passed through here more or less from May 1936 to the end of 1937, with the exception of Mars, which transited this constellation for a short time (Oct. and Nov. 1937). Incidentally, note the unprecedented Democratic landslide of 1936.

Although for the President this powerful Martian transit brings about world-wide publicity and renown, the full benefit is seriously curtailed, because of two malefic aspects - one, Mars in angle to the President's Uranus; the other, Mars and Uranus transiting in Malefic angles - Mars passing the winter solstice; Saturn, on the equator, a position he has held since Feb. 1938. (See page 1, paragraph 3, for the terrible effect of this aspect.)

During Feb. and March, under the first malefic influence, a crisis similar to the days before the Munich pact will force the President to utter drastic pronouncements - sudden, unexpected. At the same time, at home, will occur clashes, strikes, etc. And physically, the President will be subject to accident or injury.

Let me stress the point right here that the United States will not be involved in armed conflict, either here or abroad. However, there is every evidence of the Government's applying financial and economic pressure against aggressor nations, and, with ultimate success.

Mrs. Julia S. Hotchkiss
Owenoke Park
Westport, Conn.
Dec. 26, 1938

THE HOECCOCHIE OF 1939
1939 J828

FORECAST FOR 1939

For the most part of 1939, the planets in the charts of most of the world rulers or potential leaders are afflicted by the transits of Neptune and Uranus. Neptune forms 16 conjunctions, squares, or oppositions; and Uranus, 22 conjunctions or oppositions to the charts of the following sixteen rulers or Government officials:

President Roosevelt
King George
Chamberlain
Lord Runciman
Hitler
Goering
Mussolini
King Victor
Pope Pius
Stalin
General Franco
Moscicki
Chiang Kai-Shek
Hirohito
Halifax
Churchill

The chart of President Roosevelt is highly favored until Sept. 1939 by the transit of Mars which forms a Zodiacal trine to his major planets. By this benefic transit, the President will be approached as the most qualified mediator in this coming international crisis.

Among the major planetary adverse aspects are those of the transits of Mars and Saturn, Mars and Uranus, and Jupiter and Neptune. The first, increasing from the New Year, brings to light around March, the most insidious plots, intrigues, frauds, swindles, scandals, sabotage, and international espionage, financial and political scandals, treason, Cabinet crises, etc.

As the underlying economic conditions are very sound, a benefic planetary aspect in the Spring will increase the present trend of prosperity and expansion.

RECORDED FOR THE
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY

By April $\frac{1}{2}$ sudden deaths in high places, assassinations, suicides. This espose will demoralize international monetary exchanges and economic stability. This malefic aspect frustrates an otherwise prosperous era.

Warlike activities are delayed until April, when the second very malefic aspect precipitates an undeclared war. Two new high spots - spots that have long been smoldering - burst into flame. Both are connected with Russia: one in the Ukraine, and the other, a war with Japan, divided into two fronts - Mongolia (army) and Vladivostok (navy).

In August new political changes augment an already critical situation. The tension increases throughout the year.

The financial markets, by the end of January show the political disturbances in the offing. And, talk of inflation will follow. Thus, altogether, with the wide changes of political opinion, the public will be caught in the swirls of a financial maelstrom. Foreign banks will fail, which react upon the banks of the United States.

The Rome-Berlin axis is gradually changing to the Rome-Rumania-Russia axis.

Either by June 1939, or by
/ Jan. 1940 - downfall of Hitler, rise of Hohenzollerns. Then will come the alliance with Russia.

Mrs. Julia S. Hotchkiss
Owenoke Park
Westport, Conn.
Dec. 20, 1938

FROM WIGGIE Dec. 1938, HICHER,
SUMMATION IN DETAIL

WAR THREATS OF 1939

From Jan. undermining influences are at work, which by early Feb. will develop into an international crisis. The situation becomes ominous and sinister with political and warlike threats that menace the peace of Europe, Asia, and Africa. (Planetary cause - Mars and Nept. in adverse angle to these planets at the time of the Sept. Munich pact.) However, as in Sept., European war will be temporarily averted, but aggression and war threats will increase (in the Orient). (The war-god Mars and Saturn are in harmony until March 1st.) From March the financial situation becomes acute, foreshadowing renewed attempts at forceful aggression - aggression abhorrent and uncivilized. Tangible evidence of insidious motives becomes exposed.

In early May, an additional outbreak of hostilities again nearly provokes a state of war (in Europe). But once again it is averted, but the underlying causes of war still remains. During the Spring months, the undeclared wars already in progress (Spain, China, Czehho-Slovakia) are temporarily eclipsed by an undeclared war between Russia and Japan. It is worthwhile to note that Mars from February to the end of the year is passing over the same position that Uranus was transiting from 1904 to 1919, when Neptune was in opposition thereto. In other words, Mars passing over an opposition of Uranus to Neptune - a position that always tears down governments - is reviving the warlike activities taking place between 1900 and 1920.

From August to the end of the year the actual dreaded undeclared wars will be in progress. The heretofore aggressor nations will be defeated and forced to retire. The U.S. will be called upon to mediate (page 3, paragraph 3)

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE PLANETS DO NOT AFFECT US EXCEPT by their power to absorb light from the sun, which in turn reflects their radiation to the earth. As four out of the five superior planets are forming between 1940 and 41 a great conjunction in the constellation of Taurus, and in Gemini, the ruling sign of the U.S. in 1942, an excessive amount of energy is focussed upon one side of the earth. (Prosperous for the U.S. and England) The other side, being darkened, lacks that proportionate amount of energy. Hence the earth's disequilibrium. This unequal distribution of energy decreases the normal revolution or speed of the earth. By reflex action this retardation affects the mind of man, producing what is called depression.

Besides this abnormal bunching of the planets, Jupiter has just completed his perihelion (sun and earth), the nearest since Sept. 1880, and Mars the nearest to the earth since 1924. (See enclosed Planetary Values). This excessive number of sun-spots - a phenomenon that causes hot-spots on the earth, known as wars. This over-charged energy can be likened to pressing the accelerator and racing the motor, while the gears are not in mesh.

Not until the planets commence to separate and disperse in early 1943 and gradually redistribute their surplus energy, more equally, will the earth again return to its normal speed, and the world regain its normal circulation, which means prosperity.

PLANETARY VALUES

To better comprehend the enormity of the above concentration of power, note the following ration of the amount of Sun's energy received by each planet in proportion to that of the earth: -

Neptune, only 1/900; Uranus, only 1/400; Saturn, 1/80; Jupiter, 1/30; and Mars, less than 1/2.

Jupiter, owing to his gaseous state, receives 60% more light than all the planets put together; therefore, his individual cycle of 12 to 13 years is one of marked inflation.

When the planets are in their perihelions (nearest the sun) they receive their greatest amount of reflective energy (expansion and inflation); conversely, when in their aphelions (fartherest from the sun), they receive their smallest amount of reflective energy (contraction and deflation).

From 1925-34 all but one (Neptune) of the planets are in their aphelions.

When Mars is passing thru the constellations above the equator comparative to our April to September, his power for reflection is intensified. If Jupiter is conjoined with Mars, as in 1932-3, their values are many times multiplied. This obviously creates too much energy at one point - resulting in a violent combustion of chemical forces which, thru the super-charged atmosphere, reacts upon the earth, thereby upsetting its equilibrium. By reflex action, this disturbance affects man.

BY THE WAY
(This page was taken out of my compilation sent to friends on August 1, 1937.)

The electric particles thrown off from the Sun during the sun-spot maxima bombard the earth's atmosphere causing disturbances in the gravitational tidal pull. This interference disrupts the normal circulation, deflecting and even cross-circuiting the channels of electrical conductivity.

The four planets conjoined between 1939 and 44 focus ^{an extraordinary amount of} such/concentrated light upon one side of the earth (proportionate darkness or inaction on the other) that is excessive overcharge of energy causes tremendous upheavals on the earth. By reflex action the economical and financial conditions become chaotic. A great panic is caused thereby.

Similar to the coalition of the great Powers to maintain peace in the Dardanelles in the 1860's, ⁽¹⁸⁷⁸⁾ is the coming international grouping of Powers for the purpose of preserving and insuring order that peace may be maintained in the Orient. The United States will be one of these great Powers.

Although there are short periods of depression ahead, as is usual at the commencement of the separation of the planetary group, we are again progressing into fields of unexplored cosmic power opening up opportunities for unparalleled prosperity.

*file
memo*

*PSF
FOR
New
3*

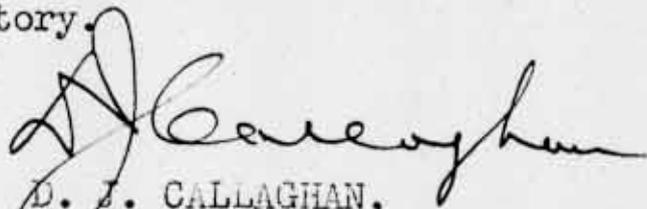
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 20, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MISS LE HAND

The attached memorandum signed by Captain
Knox is self-explanatory.



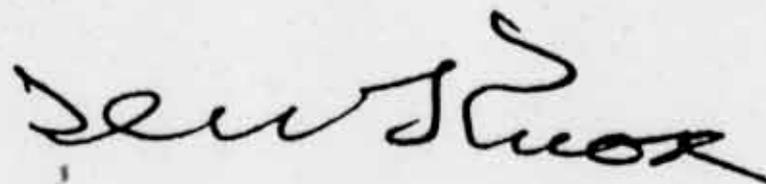
D. J. CALLAGHAN,
Captain, U. S. Navy,
Naval Aide to the President.

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF NAVAL RECORDS AND LIBRARY
ROOM 2728

19 December 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR: CAPTAIN CALLAGHAN

The enclosed letter from Mrs. C. E. Ruttan, together with the newspaper clipping, was sent to me by memorandum from the President for my information, with instructions to return for his files.



D. W. KNOX
Captain, U. S. N. (Ret.)
Officer-in-Charge

Enclosures

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States
My dear Mr. President,

I am writing you to
tell you of the death of
my dear husband,

Charles Edwin Ruttan,
who was also such an
admirer and friend of
yours. He had ^{been} ill so
long, but was feeling
better, when on November 4,
he ate his breakfast, and

was in no pain at seven o'clock and
then just went to sleep and never
awakened. heart failure.

It was such a shock to me,
he had such a brilliant mind, and
capable of doing so many things, I
can hardly understand it. I know
he is not suffering any more but
after being married thirty-four years
our lives were so intermingled, that
his slipping away has left an awful
voidness. Of course I have my two
lovely children, Helaine & Dick, for which
I am most grateful.

Charlie has all your letters
on file and I will keep them
too. he was so proud of your
friendship. I of Mrs. Roosevelt or

yourself we come out here again
would be so happy to see you.

Hoping to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. C. E. Putnam,

5060 Franklin Av.

Hollywood. Calif.

Dec 7-1939

Unusual Legacy Given Officer's Son

Nov. 6 - 1931

Self-Portrait of Naval Man Who Died on Monday Treasured

C. Richard Ruttan today was the proud possessor of an unusual legacy. It was a self-portrait of his father, the late Lieut. Charles Edward Ruttan, 55, U.S.N., retired, who died Monday at his home, 5060 Franklin Ave.

Dedicated "To My Boy Dick," the picture was captioned, "This portrait I have drawn for you—that you may remember me as I want to be remembered, a Naval aviator with the United States forces during the World War—Keep it near you always—may it somehow comfort, strengthen and help you—you will become what I wanted to be—a better man."

Born in Canada, Lieutenant Ruttan came to the United States at an early age. At the turn of the century he was a New York newspaper photographer. He held the first pilot's license issued to a Naval Reserve officer and designed and built the Bayshore Naval Air Station at Long Island, where he was commanding officer at the outbreak of the World War.

Pictured Ocean Flight

The naval officer was commissioned by the United States Navy to do a series of paintings covering the first successful trans-Atlantic flight by the N-C 4, whose flight commander had been one of Lieutenant Ruttan's own pupils.

He was later placed in command of Naval Aviation Photography for the A.E.F. and after the armistice was assigned to make a complete photographic record of the official United States tour of inspection through Germany.

Returning to America, he immediately sprang into prominence in the commercial art world and became one of the nation's foremost



Self-portrait of LIEUT. CHARLES EDWARD RUTTAN, 55, U.S.N., retired, whose funeral rites were to be held today.

advertising illustrators. In addition to his ranking in the commercial art field, Lieutenant Ruttan painted portraits of many national figures and for his painting of President

Von Hindenburg, of the German Republic, he received the National Medal of Honor.

Came Here in 1921

The lieutenant came to Los Angeles in 1921 and gained further fame in national advertising campaigns of California food products.

He was a Mason, a member of the Hollywood Commandery No. 56, Knights Templar, a noble of Al Malaikah Temple and a member of the American Legion.

In addition to his son, surviving are his widow, Mrs. Della E. Ruttan, and a daughter, Helaine.

Funeral rites were to be held today at 1:30 p.m. in the Broese Bros. and Gillette Chapel with interment following at Hollywood Cemetery.

PENNEY'S

6753 Hollywood Blvd. • Just East of Highland

PSF
FDR

[1939]
ship models
folder
3

In re-ship models which were sent to the World's Fair
at New York

See: World's Fair folder-Drawer 2-1939

1
D. M. F.

ORIGINAL POEM RECITED AT CHRISTMAS PA

An old man who was worn and gray
He came for relief at the close of day
His form was bent with the weight of years
In each weary eye I noticed the tears.
"Tell me, dear old man," I said,
"You should be now in a nice warm bed.
His feeble form shbok from the cold
I could readily see he was premature old.
All hope from his face seemed to have flown,
Just an old man helpless and forlorn.
He lifted his head, and with quivering voice
Said to me "Kind lad, I'm not here from choice.
I had rather work for my daily bread,
And I'd like to ~~be~~ in a nice warm bed.
But I'm only a migrant, a failure, they say;
But I once knew a better day.
I was once a farmer back East, you know;
But the rains ceased to come and also the snow;
Money ran out and debts piled ~~up~~ high,
I could hold on no longer, but lad, I did try.
For five long years there was no rain
And from my meager savings a constant drain.
I stayed until I could stay no more
So I packed my belongings and closed the door.
I had heard of this land where wages were high
And I wanted some money a little home to buy.
It didn't take long to see my mistake,-
I had reached this land too late, too late.
I have searched for weeks, but all in vain,
This country over some work to obtain.,
This Christmas Eve night, as you know, my lad,
And I wanted some money so very bad
To buy toys for my kiddies, for they too are sad.
As we travelled tonight in the cold and the rain
Our thoughts wandered back down memory's lane
To a once happy home and a fireside bright
Where we all used to gather on Christmas Eve night.
The kiddies would talk of what Santy would bring
They knew there'd be lots of very nice things.
But those are fond memories, for tonight we must sp
In a cold ragged tent where the trail will end.

Roosevelt's Move

IT seems to be expected that Hitler and Mussolini will reject Roosevelt's proposal. That is possible, indeed likely. The question is, how and in what terms?

The dictators may adopt an arrogant and scornful tone. They may sidestep its implications. They may ignore it—they have done that before on just as important and more specific notes—although Hitler has announced his intention to reply on April 28. They may be evasive and noncommittal, leaving it to their tied press to fill in the gaps. The only surprise would be were they to accept without reserve. Even then, it is to be feared there would be long watchfulness in case once again they were preparing to make promises only to break them for their own advantage.

Lord Baldwin said that "it takes courage to do something that may fail." It does. However, the move seems to be one of astute statesmanship. It almost forces the dictators out into the open before the world; it strips the veil from them before the eyes of those of their own people who still have minds of their own. In point of fact, many of the recent events have been doing this. No German or Italian who thinks can believe the "justification" put forth over the Czecho-Slovakian or Albanian occupations by force. It is probably on account of home reaction that the German newspapers have been so rabid and Gayda so stupidly bombastic. The leaders feel that the faith of their followers may waver and the press is summoned to put up a violent diversion.

A Spanish newspaper calls the Roosevelt move "an insult to those great statesmen, Hitler and Mussolini." It is going to test whether they are statesmen at all and whether their greatness lies in anything higher than brutal ruthlessness.

However, Roosevelt probably ascertained in advance whether Britain and France were ready for a showdown on the military side. That is one indication—it will be noted that the United States main fleet returns to the Pacific. Another is that a refusal of the dictators will justify the president in leading his country into a course yet more definitely aligned with that of the Western European democracies and perhaps provide him with a strong plank for his campaign if he does decide to stand for a third term. Roosevelt's move is very likely a combination of foreign and domestic strategy of a high order.

95 John Baker

This is how we feel in the wartime G.H.M.

1. [✓] Book - "Rods of Misli" - Myron Taylor
2. Screen for Hill cottages G.R.
3. [✓] Suit Case from Sachs "Puss"
4. " " (Has been asked) H. Rosen
Seattle
5. Leather Handk' Case - G.R.
6. 3 Shirts - H. Hooker
7. Wood box ?
8. Case of Gun Julian & Co.
9. Fishing Rod Joe Kennedy
10. 4 Glass Candle Sticks Tue
11. Service Platter (Ship set) G.R.
12. [✓] " " Jewelry Watch P. Carter

- 13 - Driving Coat - Agmar Johnson
- 14 - Silver Muffin Dish - Bill Nassott
- 15 - VZ Canned Phrasant - Sam Martin
Seattle
- 16 - V Very old Cognac - H B. Swope
- 17 - Antik bottles America - Jim Rauer
- 18 - ~~12~~ Old Haiti Rum - President Vincent
- 19 - Pyrexia - V.H.P.
- 20 - Silk Shirts - "
- 21 - Handkerchiefs - "
- 22 - Silk neck piece - "
- 23 - Kähler pattern jar - Sam & Dorothy
- 24 - Mahogany Table - Sam & Marion

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 25. News Rack | Silvia Smith |
| 26. Salt Shit Stubs | Jo Sumpter Smith
Joe Davine |
| 27. Mirror | Fiji - Ethel |
| 28. Book | Tommy Ganters |
| 29. Book | Archbishop Cicognani |
| 30. Box - 4 Table cloths | Helene Gator |
| 31 31. Bedcovers - plaid neck piece | S. G. |
| 32. Bath - face towels | Wangy Thomas |
| 33. Reading Stand | Tommy Ganters |
| 34. Salt Shakers | N. V. Underbill |
| 35. Pige | Sam & Tutie |
| 36. Pattern Book | Archie |
| 37. Photos | Sam & John |

- 38 - Linen Mats Sister + Buzz
- 39 - Tongs Nuts & Box Anna & John
- 40 - Absentee Mary & Adalphi
- 41 - Hat & Ties Pa Dan & Ross
- 42 - Lafayette Miniature - Hans Mohr
- 43 - Green pepper seeds Mally Goodwin
- 44 "5 vols. Impresario to Japan" - Pres. Vincent -
- 45 Wick-tin Rack Eldin Rogers
- 46 - S. I. "New York" model - Doc Cropley
- 47 - 2 Waste Paper Baskets M & L.
- 48 - Scarf - C. C. ?
- 49 2 Chinese Slipper Box Trays T. M. Y.

50. Death of Andrew Jackson "Flyer" S. Howe
- 51 - Travelling Post Cassin Lewis
- 52 - "Cousins" to S.S. Quincy Paul Buxton
- 53 - Glider - "Clock Room" Hypocrite Thermo. Chas A. Ward
- 54 - 2 Nephews J. L. Wallace
- 55 Book - Sent below the work. Helen Robinson
- 56 - Box of Honey V.P.
- 57 - Bell (Mrs. M^cEnstie)
- 58 - Clock (~~from the clock~~) Mr. & Mrs. Poper
- 59 Knit Work Cloth Felicit Nelson
- 60 ~~Knit~~ Clock (Kemp's) T.J. Newbold Jr.
- 61 Battle Maritime Room Oliver Newman

- ✓ 62 - ~~Cover~~ - Humming head - George + Kubertha Early
 63 The Last Mornings' Sketches - Chas. D. T. 1872
 64 1 Jak Honey - Mrs. J. Finley
 65. Old Maps No. Am. - Harry W. W. 1872
 66 Water Jacket - - Col. Chas. F. H. Johnson
 67 "Ancient Mariners" Book - Paula
 68 Calendar - Wm. M. C. Rusech
 69 2 Silver Serving Spoons - Harry May Roberts
 70 - Books (Dinner Journal) - Holm + Kuthrop
 71 Woolly Bad Jacket - Jimmy
 72 Gyle Book ends - Pa. + Frances
 73 Battle A. Bernth - Tracy

- 74 Box of Tea - R Livingston Esq
- 75 - Box California Fruit - Edward Bruce
- 76 - Hamper Case - Dorothea Brady
- 77 Cocktail Napkins - Fulton & E. Busler
- 78 "Bartlett" or Book Case - Corbett Hull
- 79 Claret Shop "Wings" - Harold Sears

- 80 - ~~Book ends~~ - red & green ^{light} -
Mr Schraig
- 81 - ~~Map~~ Mrs. McIntire - tiny wooden
ex-carb -
- 82 - ^{replica of.} ~~Large~~ Library - Mr. James -
- 83 - ~~Pleasant~~ - Amos Carter
- 84 - ~~Calendar~~ - Mrs Rose Hamilton
Chatsfield -
- 85 - silver ash tray marked - Cong. Kennedy
- 86 ✓ Carl Ryan - Makin's home -
- 87 - Carina & wine - P. & S. Laid
- 88 - ~~Cigar~~ Laid. - Laid's cig box

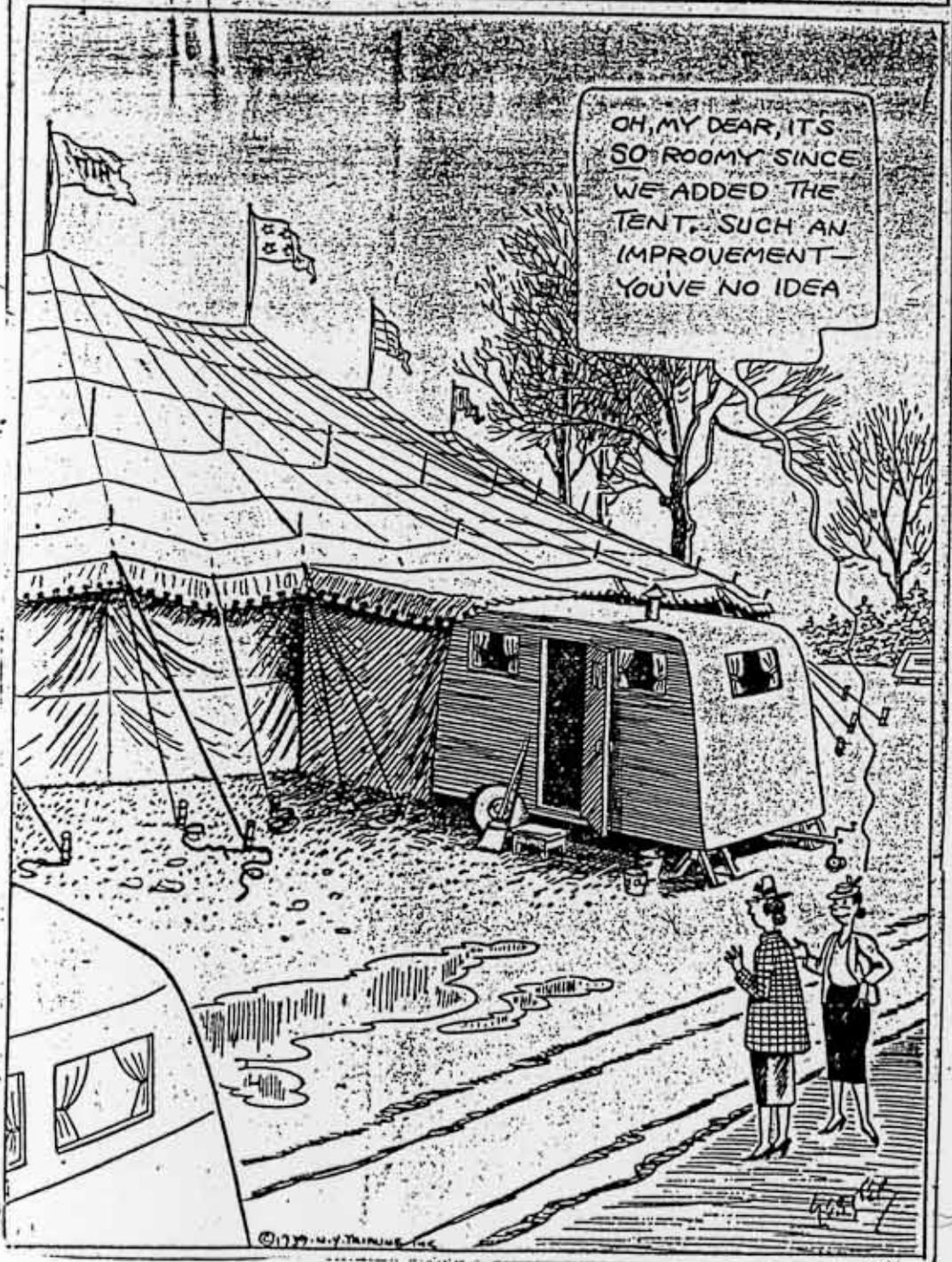
1939

The President said this was to be filed.

PSF
FDR

Trailer Tintypes

BY WEBSTER

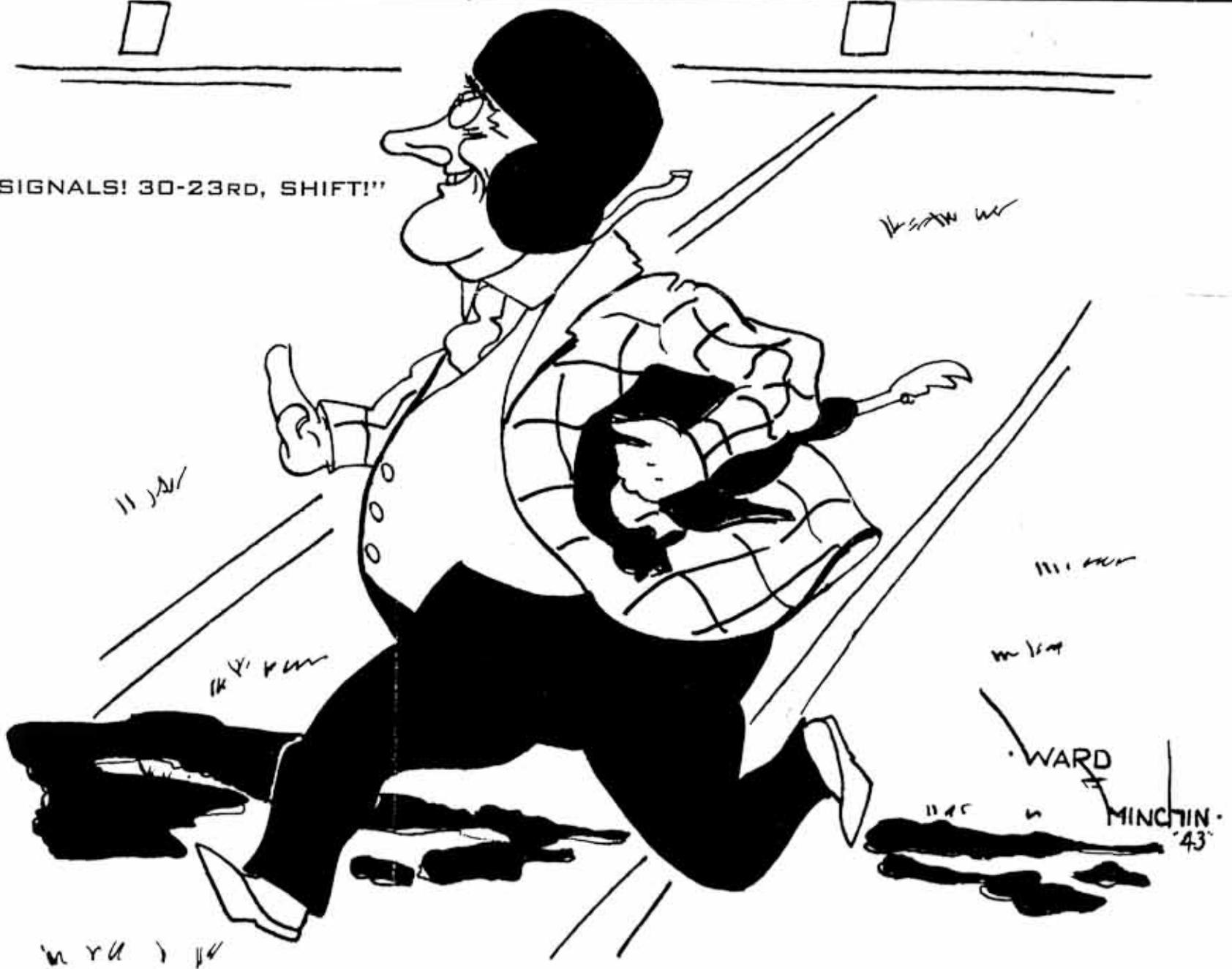


OH, MY DEAR, IT'S SO ROOMY SINCE WE ADDED THE TENT. SUCH AN IMPROVEMENT—YOU'VE NO IDEA

Spartan

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

"SIGNALS! 30-23RD, SHIFT!"



NOVEMBER

Thanksgiving Issue

1943



*"Thanks
to Uncle Sam*

—tobacco's better than ever!

... and Luckies always take the better grades!" says Ray Oglesby, tobacco auctioneer for 8 years.

BENJAMIN HAWKS of North Carolina shows Auctioneer Oglesby his fine tobacco seedlings—grown by new U. S. Government methods.

RAY OGLESBY in action. Among independent tobacco experts like this famous auctioneer, Luckies are the 2-to-1 favorite over all other brands.

Q. WHY HAVE TOBACCO CROPS BEEN BETTER?

A. Because, even though crops vary with weather conditions, Uncle Sam's new methods of improving soil, seed and plant-food have done a fine job.

Q. Do Luckies buy this better tobacco?

A. Yes, indeed—*independent* experts like Ray Oglesby tell you that Luckies always *have* bought the choicer grades of each crop. In fact, that's why Mr. Oglesby has smoked Luckies for 11 years.

Q. Do other tobacco experts prefer Luckies, too?

A. Among these skilled auctioneers, buyers and warehousemen, Luckies are the 2-to-1 favorite.

Try Luckies a week. You'll find them easy on your throat, for the "toasting" process takes out certain harsh irritants found in all tobacco. You'll also know why...

WITH MEN WHO KNOW TOBACCO

BEST—IT'S LUCKIES 2 TO 1



Have you
tried a
LUCKY
lately?

The Nazi Program in America

PS
FDR

FORUM

and Century

A Husband Turns Housewife

David Allen Bates

They Love Roosevelt

Richard L. Neuberger

Diet Begins at Forty

Bengamin Gayelord Hauser

'Unser Amerika'

S. K. Pudover

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE—

**PSYCHIC FACTORS
IN HEALTH**

**GRADUATES
FROM DAMNATION**

TWO VIEWS OF MUNICH

**ADJUSTING YOURSELF
TO YOURSELF**

PRIZE CONTEST POEMS

ONE MORE PERIL FOR

**LIFE & LITERATURE
—MARY M. COLUM**

THE FORUM QUIZ

**THE ARTIST'S
POINT OF VIEW**

A PAGE FOR POETS

TRAVEL

THE BOOK FORUM

THE RECORD REVIEW

OUR ROSTRUM

JANUARY 1939

JANUARY 1939

THE FORUM

35c

VOLUME 11 NO. 1

They Love Roosevelt

by RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

A VANQUISHED Democratic candidate for the United States Senate looked over my shoulder as an Associated Press teletype machine jerkily recorded the Republican triumphs of the recent election. "Gosh!" moaned he, "if only the President's popularity could have carried us through!"

This remark, muttered in the bitter disappointment of defeat, describes the major political phenomenon of our time — the spectacle of a president beloved by his people, yet who is almost completely disassociated in the public mind from the candidates of his party and the policies of his administration. Although many of Mr. Roosevelt's advisers and theories of government are thoroughly unpopular, the same men and women who scoff at them admire him, with an admiration that is fervent and intense.

There seems little relationship between the standing of New Deal policies and the standing of the chief sponsor of those policies. The same straw polls that, last spring, showed government spending in high disfavor revealed an identically opposite verdict on the man who had just proposed a new spending program. There also is scant connection between the President's popularity and that of his party's candidates.

Just after the crushing "purge" setback in Maryland, a staff correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote: "Yet President Roosevelt, should he be running tomorrow for re-election, would carry the state."

A *Times* correspondent in Georgia said the President himself could sweep the State "hands down" despite the fact that his chosen candidate finished a wobbly third in a three-way contest.

It is significant that, all during the disastrous purge, the Gallup poll detected no harshening in the public attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt.

Two weeks before the November election, Dr. Gallup announced a rise in the President's

standing. He was found to have the support of 59.6 per cent of the electorate, not far below the 62.5 per cent he polled in the overwhelming victory of 1936.

The *Fortune* survey, released nearly simultaneously, discovered the President at "his all-time height of public applause." The country, declared *Fortune*, is devoted to Mr. Roosevelt personally.

But these same polls indicated that numerous New Deal policies and most New Deal strategists were as unpopular as the President himself was popular — and not many days later the Republicans made substantial gains in the House and Senate and took over the capitals of eleven States.

The election left no doubt about the general estimate of many New Deal innovations. The farm program is discredited in the Middle West. The National Labor Relations Board has failed to settle the violent labor wars along the Pacific Coast. The spending spree has not restored prosperity to the industrial East. All over the nation the WPA politics of Harry Hopkins are in disrepute. Republican candidates hammered away at these policies but not at the man most responsible for them. Charles A. Sprague, the successful Republican aspirant for Oregon's governorship, minced no words about the racketeering and coercion rife in the labor situation, yet he had only kind phrases for "the great humanitarian in the White House." Even the incredible Congressman Dies, with his blanket attacks on practically every individual prominently associated with the New Deal save one, was mild to that solitary exception. "The President," said the usually raucous Mr. Dies, "has been misinformed."

This is the new strategy of Republicans and conservative Democrats alike. The politicians have sensed a tendency among the people to detach Mr. Roosevelt from any objectionable New Deal features. Ickes, Hopkins, Corcoran,

THE FORUM

Jackson, Douglas — all are fair game, but not their boss.

Even as he was in the process of being "purged" from the Democratic Party, Governor Martin of Oregon carefully distinguished between the noble leader and such "incompetent federal officials" as Miss Perkins and Secretary Ickes.

While his name was on the White House black list, Senator George of Georgia stumped his state hailing "that great and good man, Franklin D. Roosevelt." And, a few hours after the President had endorsed one of his opponents, the Senator said that the peerless chief executive had been misinformed by rascally advisers. The names of these advisers he did not want his listeners to think he was "mentioning in the same breath with that of the President."

Senator Herring of Iowa helped his colleague, Senator Gillette, decisively conquer a White House candidate and then announced that Mr. Roosevelt was more personally popular than ever in the Corn Belt.

Even the indomitable Borah, after labeling the Supreme Court "reform" plan an "evasion of the Constitution," introduced the promoter of that plan in Idaho as "our great President."

The political small talk of average Americans is conclusive proof that the country exonerates the President himself from responsibility for New Deal bungling. A few days after the recent elections, Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" made a quick trip through six or seven States in which the Republicans had won decisive triumphs. They found the people indignantly opposed to many New Deal policies. Yet they also found that the people "blame everything on the brain trust or the cabinet or the politicians, but they still speak of Mr. Roosevelt as a man who is trying, who may make mistakes, but by and large is doing his best for the country."

This remarkable state of public opinion has so impressed itself on Frank E. Gannett, one of the President's most persistent newspaper critics, that not many weeks ago he predicted that Mr. Roosevelt would run for a third term and be re-elected. He said the President had such personal strength with the people that only he could carry the New Deal standard to another victory.

A NATIONAL IDOL

MR. ROOSEVELT's vast following, it seems to me, is attributable to personal faith rather than political agreement. This explains many things. It reveals why in States where he is tremendously popular the President cannot transfer that popularity to others of his political outlook.

He went through Texas in what Robert S. Allen of the *New York Post* described as "a triumphal procession." Senator Tom Connally too, another foe of the Court plan, called him "our great President." But the President's endorsement failed utterly to re-elect the left-wing New Dealers, Maverick and McFarlane.

To the people the New Deal appears to mean trust in a man, not a legislative program to be enacted by sympathetic congressional members. Just as the voters mentally isolate the President from his unpopular advisers, so do they isolate him from senators and representatives. That is why many Democrats elected in the sweep of 1936 have been men out of line with the New Deal; it also is why the President could carry Massachusetts by 174,103 votes at the same time that the State gave a senator hostile to the New Deal an almost identical majority; it is why the country could tell Dr. Gallup that it is 57 per cent against regulating farm prices, 58 per cent against government spending, 62 per cent for the Ludlow war referendum, 64 per cent no better off economically — and 59.6 per cent for Franklin D. Roosevelt!

To the voters with whom I have talked; the President is not the responsible head of a coordinated government and political party. He is simply Mr. Roosevelt, "our great President."

How else account for the fact that Pennsylvania and Ohio have just elected Republican governors, only a few short months after tumultuous welcomes from their people impelled Thomas L. Stokes, the Scripps-Howard reporter who wrote the articles indicting WPA politics in Kentucky, to say, "If the President went out deliberately to find the answer to the question, 'How'm I doing?' he should be pleased"? What else explains *Fortune's* discovery that the voters are devoted to Mr. Roosevelt — and extremely skeptical of his policies. Is there another explanation why Ore-

THEY LOVE ROOSEVELT

gon balloted nearly three to one for the President in 1936, still supports him by 70 per cent in the Gallup poll, and yet has just rejected emphatically two referendums calling for State collaboration in New Deal power and housing programs?

When else in our history a condition parallel to this? The sins of past administrations were also the sins of presidents. But today the same people who condemn and distrust the New Deal call the man in the White House "our great President." What is the background of this political paradox?

Much has been written and said about the attitude of many wealthy Americans toward Mr. Roosevelt. Their hatred of him is a common topic. The lack of objectivity with which they view the New Deal has been widely discussed. Cartoons and jokes poke fun at the situation.

Considerably less attention has been paid to the outlook of the masses of the people. Aside from conceding their sympathy with the President, few have attempted to estimate the real nature of that sympathy. Does it stem from a general understanding of the New Deal? Is it because of the President's impressive personality? How readily can it be jolted? Will it endure if Mr. Roosevelt runs a third time?

Scarcely any president since George Washington has maintained so high a pitch of personal popularity as long as has Mr. Roosevelt. No president has survived as many prophecies of political disaster.

"The New Deal is nearly 20 months old and has shown slim results," wrote the President's future son-in-law, John Boettiger, in the *Chicago Tribune* in the autumn of 1934. "The *Literary Digest* poll announced a few days ago has shown the administration policies now receiving endorsement by only the barest majority."

That was four full years back, at the twilight of the temporary armistice between the New Deal and the conservatives. The interim has been packed with predictions of impending political doom for the President.

The bitter struggle in Congress over holding-company legislation, the threats of Dr. Townsend and Father Coughlin, the collapse of the NRA, the long succession of Supreme Court



S. J. Ray in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*

rulings hostile to the Administration, the nomination of Landon, the plan to revise the judiciary, the sit-down strikes, the charges involving Mr. Justice Black and the Klan, the "recession" in business, the defeat of the reorganization bill, the break with the Vice President, the ill-fated intrusion into the Democratic primaries, the recent Republican conquests—these and a dozen other happenings of the last four years have been hailed successively by the opposition as marking the beginning of the end for Mr. Roosevelt.

Yet he still travels on. After almost six years in the White House, his personal popularity is so great that a third term is not regarded as beyond the realm of possibility. What is the bond between President and people that has withstood political failure and economic adversity?

THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND

BUT AT THE END of a trolley line in Cleveland, a tall motorman with graying temples told me: "I'm not much better off than I was back in thirty-three. But that's not our President's fault. He's trying to do all the good he can. He's doing his best."

And, nearly a continent away, in the hills of

THE FORUM

California, a ruddy stump-rancher assured me: "The New Deal hasn't helped me very much, but our President is for the little fellow, and I'll string along with him."

Practically the width of the country and an era in civilization separate the places where I jotted down those remarks. One was uttered by a man who runs a streetcar through a crowded metropolis; the other came from a backwoodsman far in the Western hinterlands. But both expressed the same sort of faith in the President: a belief in his sincerity and his devotion to the people and no tendency to put on him any blame for mistakes and failures. And both referred to him as "our President."

To men and women in twenty-two States — States all the way from frontier Washington to industrial Connecticut — I have put, in the past seven months, the question I asked the motorman in Cleveland and the stump-rancher in California. I have inquired not whether they are for or against the President but *how they feel about him*. In the great majority of instances, I have found the replies astonishingly similar.

The bulk of the people are for the President. They are not certain of what he is doing. About much of his program they have only vague and indefinite ideas. Confusion and misinformation are legion. But they are for him.

Scarcely one person in ten seems to have the slightest notion how the money for the PWA and WPA has been raised. Nevertheless there are plenty of complaints about such specific New Deal policies as are understood. All except outright labor partisans seem resentful of the Wagner act. The huge public debt causes almost universal fear. Interference in State elections is not approved.

But subordinating all this is the general feeling that the President's heart is in the right place, that whatever he does is with the best of intentions. Bruce Barton has thus described this feeling:

Those men and women who have been most neglected in our American life believe they have found a friend. They say to themselves: "He cares. He is trying to do something about it."

This kind of adherence is more significant than that based on studied agreement with principles and proposals. The latter sort of support might prove to be ephemeral and easily lost on a single issue. Leadership founded on

faith and trust is different. It endures many crises. And, all the way across America, only an occasional individual is found who is for Mr. Roosevelt because he has done this or done that. The others do not give specific reasons. They are for him because of a conviction that he is *their* President and will not let them down. It is a belief that will survive a lot of punishment.

Ersel Gibson, a dairy farmer in the basin of the Columbia River, says:

Our President has made a lot of mistakes. The farm program is not working out very well for me. But I think he is doing what he honestly thinks is best for the people. That is the most important thing right now.

Rollie House is a portly Shrine potentate who pilots the Union Pacific streamliners over the Wyoming hills. Hear what he says as he looks at his watch to see if he has the *City of San Francisco* in Rawlins on time:

Hoover rode up here in the cab the other day. He's a nice man, but Roosevelt is the President for me. I don't always think he's right, but he's doing his level best. It's not his fault things haven't picked up with the railroads.

Let Ray Morse talk for a minute. He sells insurance in Michigan, once captained his football team at college. He believes too much attention has been paid to industrial labor and not enough to the so-called white-collar worker. But for this Ray does not blame the President:

He's fair to everybody. It's only natural for him to make some mistakes when he's trying to do so much for so many people. You can bet your last dollar he's not neglecting anyone deliberately.

These are typical specimens of the American public opinion I sampled. The talk of "economic democracy" and "making capitalism work" comes from a small, politically conscious minority and not from such average people as Rollie House and Ray Morse. The voters whom I asked about the President appeared to be for him because of a hunch that they have his sympathy. This feeling is so firmly rooted that, when these people become disillusioned about a particular governmental policy or act, they mentally separate Mr. Roosevelt from that phase of his administration.

An Indian at Celilo Falls on the Columbia River was certain the federal dam at Bonneville had destroyed the Chinook salmon runs.

THEY LOVE ROOSEVELT

He blamed the army engineers. "If White Chief know, he fix."

A taxi driver in Baltimore contended the Labor Board had turned over the country to the C.I.O. "They've even double-crossed the President," he assured me, at exactly the time the newspapers were reporting that Mr. Roosevelt would reappoint one of the three Board members to another term.

The master of the Washington State Grange said the new farm bill was disastrous to the ranchers of his State. He held Secretary Wallace responsible "for deceiving the President" — and yet the President signed the bill.

A shopgirl in New York wondered why so many loafers were kept on the WPA. "Our President would do something if he ever saw those bums leaning on their shovels."

Harry Hopkins came into a State and completely messed up the Democratic political situation. A precinct captain of the Democratic Party told me he was sure Hopkins was a communist. The man wore a red, white, and blue button that blared *I Want Roosevelt Again*. I wondered if he knew that Harry Hopkins was supposed to have a standing invitation to dinner at the White House.

That these are not isolated instances is shown by the Gallup poll, which announced that only 30 per cent of the people blame Mr. Roosevelt for the business recession.

I have talked politics with some of the war veterans attacking Miss Perkins because she will not deport Harry Bridges and other radical labor leaders. Many of these veterans are strongly for the President.

Farm spokesmen disgusted with the agricultural program are still zealous Roosevelt followers.

Consider the American Federation of Labor, for example. Its executive council has unequivocally condemned Administration policies. William Green has blessed many candidates on the roster of White House enemies. But an Institute of Public Opinion survey reveals the rank and file of the A. F. of L. almost as solidly in favor of the President personally as are the members of the C.I.O.

A FAITH TO BREAK PRECEDENTS

Is THIS a salutary condition?

It has shocked me to talk with people who think the labor unions full of communists and

who fear inflation is just around the corner, yet worship at the shrine of "our great President." It seems to indicate a complete lack of political direction when grown men and women who are militantly for Mr. Roosevelt complain that cabinet officers are deceiving him or that he is in the clutches of irresponsible advisers.

What has caused this confused thinking? The opposition to the Administration must bear much of the onus. Its hysteria over the reorganization bill was not designed to make people study issues through. Nor are Mohawk Valley formulas drafted to promote intelligent political thinking.

A country editor in Montana remarked:

No wonder the people are so blindly and personally devoted to Roosevelt. The Republicans and most of the press try so hard to bewilder them there is nothing else they can do.

But the President must shoulder some of the responsibility. Many of his economic trails have been so meandering that even learned economists lose them in the undergrowth.

From the people I have chatted with and questioned, I think Mr. Roosevelt might win a third term. In the first place, these enthusiastic adherents will be reluctant to let him retire. Secondly, theirs is the sort of faith and devotion not shaken by precedent or tradition.

One of my friends, a successful insurance man with a humble background, said to me not long ago:

My mother looks upon the President as someone so immediately concerned with her problems and difficulties that she would not be greatly surprised were he to come to her house some evening and stay to dinner. She almost regards him as one of the family.

Fidelity of this type is slow to assess blame. Jibes at Secretary Mellon used to strike President Hoover at the same time. But the arrows aimed at the machine politics of Jim Farley and the primary-election tactics of Harry Hopkins have yet to graze Mr. Roosevelt. He and his advisers move in different spheres, so far as vast sections of the people are concerned.

In a speech delivered last year the President said he had to keep faith — "faith with those who have faith in me." The extent and exclusively personal nature of that faith may result in the first attempt of an American president to win a third consecutive full term in office.

1934

Nan Honeyman Failed to Get Griffith's Scalp

PSF
FDR

Defeated Congresswoman Sought Revenge,
Desired Patronage

Washington, D. C., (Special)—The recent visit of Nanny Wood Honeyman, defeated in her contest for reelection to congress from the third Oregon district at the November election, to the national capital, was in the nature of a hunting expedition, according to current gossip, which has it that she was "gunning" for E. J. Griffith's job as WPA administrator for Oregon. The congresswoman's special peeve at Griffith seemingly centers around his refusal to permit his WPA organization to be used in her behalf during her fall campaign for re-election.

After Griffith

Reports here are to the effect that Mrs. Honeyman made her first demand for Griffith's scalp direct to President Roosevelt, after waiting around Washington two weeks for an audience. The president was in Warm Springs and receiving only selected visitors for conferences on state matters of high import.

The president, so the story goes, referred Mrs. Honeyman and her complaint to Harry Hopkins, refusing to interfere with the administration of the WPA chief's department.

Hopkins turned a deaf ear to the plea.

Sought Patronage

But Mrs. Honeyman was not through hunting. Stressing the need for realignment and coordination of the new deal forces in Oregon she sought designation as chief patronage dispenser for the administration in the old home state.

That scheme also flattened out, whether because of Jim Farley's previous pledge to leave Oregon patronage matters in the hands of Congressman Walter Pierce, National Committeeman Howard Latourette and State Chairman Tierney, or because of Mrs. Honeyman's lack of state-wide contacts and acquaintanceship not being revealed.

At last reports Mrs. Honeyman was still hunting — for a job that would keep her finger in the Oregon political pie.

Await Holman

Washington observers are anxiously awaiting the arrival of Rufus Holman, senator-elect, of whom