

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate
CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

January 3, 1939.

PSF Senate H.S.
File personally

Dear Mr. President:

I was so afraid yesterday that I was trespassing upon your time that I am afraid my suggestions to you about a certain important Judicial appointment were not of much value. I have been thinking over the situation as we discussed it since then and I am offering this suggestion for what you may think it worth.

I agree with you absolutely as to the outstanding qualifications of Felix Frankfurter and I am settled in the opinion that he ought to be appointed to the Supreme Court in the near future, but the thought has occurred to me that if there is to be another vacancy within a few months, it would be better to appoint the Western man, assuming you can find one who is satisfactory, and then give Frankfurter the next vacancy. It does not seem to me that Justice Brandies could postpone retirement very long and there may be others who will retire. You will know more than I can suggest to you whether there will be an early retirement by Justice Brandies or any other Member of the Court. If Brandies should retire at the end of the present term of Court, Frankfurter could be easily fitted into the situation as his successor, as Brandies was appointed from Massachusetts and Frankfurter comes from that State also.

If you appoint Frankfurter to the present vacancy you will almost be compelled to fill the next one from the West and you will have no better material within six months or a year than you have now; therefore, nothing can be gained in the way of improving an eligible panel by waiting to give the West an appointment within six months or a year. If you appointed a Western man now, the West would be satisfied and would not expect the next appointment to be filled from that territory, and Frankfurter could be appointed with no objection or serious criticism from any source.

I also agree with you in your estimate on some of those whose names were discussed. I am not well acquainted with the background of the Iowa man, but the name sounds well and I do not believe it is essential that a man should have had long and wide experience as a Trial Lawyer in order to make a good Justice of the Supreme Court. If he

Journal of the
Committee on the Judiciary
of the United States Senate

REGISTERED
AT THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

- 2 -

is well grounded in the law and the philosophy of law and of Government, and holds the attitude toward their interpretation which will assure a liberal viewpoint, he can soon become acquainted with those matters of procedure, the knowledge of which is acquired in the trial of cases. I have often contended that it is much easier to be a good Judge than to be a good Trial Lawyer, especially where the Judge has all the time he needs to find out what the law is and all the help that both sides in every case are willing to give him. Therefore, if your suggestion possesses these qualifications, his deficiency in actual matters of procedure in the Courthouse would not offer a serious objection to his appointment.

These suggestions have been based upon the belief that you will in the near future have two appointments to make, to wit: the one to fill the present vacancy, and another one within a few months. If I am wrong in this assumption, then the suggestion is not as legitimate as it would otherwise be. I cannot escape the conclusion that within the next year you may have at least two more vacancies besides the one that now exists. If this turns out to be the case, the Western appointment now would pave the way for an appointment of the outstanding man whom we discussed on yesterday without serious question as to its propriety.

Cordially yours,

Alben W. Barkley

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

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

*PSF
Senate*

THE WHITE HOUSE
January 17, 1939
JAN 19 10 51 AM '39
RECEIVED

*File
Personal*

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am very glad indeed to have your letter
of January 16th this morning.

Please permit me to say that as Chairman
of the Committee on Commerce, I shall always be happy to
receive suggestions from you and will give to them the ut-
most consideration. I hope to pursue a policy as Chairman
of the Committee constructive and forward-looking, and
amongst other things, I hope to place new emphasis upon
the promotion of our commerce.

As for the Florida Ship Canal, I may say
that I voted for it in the Senate, but did so to some
degree, at any rate, out of deference to my dear friend,
Senator Fletcher. Very recently, General Markham came to
see me and made a powerful argument for the Canal. My mind
is open on the subject, and I may add that General Markham
did much to convince me that the building of the Canal is
justified, not only by commercial, but also by military
needs. He had quite an argument to the effect that the
Canal would be self-liquidating.

As for the Passamaquoddy project, I think
I am safe in saying that at present a considerable number
of Senators consider it quite impracticable. However, this
will not prevent us from fully investigating the merits of
the project and we shall give great weight to your recom-
mendation.

It is a rule of the Commerce Committee to
refer all engineering projects to the Board of Engineers
of the War Department, and rarely have we approved a project

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

-2- The President of the United States.

unless it shall have been found by that Board to be economically sound and desirable. This rule is of the utmost value as a self-imposed restraint upon the Congress. I assume that no objection will be made to having these projects passed upon according to the established rule in view of either bills or resolutions.

Let me give you my very best wishes and assure you of my desire to cooperate with you.

With great respect,

Most sincerely,

Josiah W. Bailey

JWB/s

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1939.

VISIT FROM SENATOR ADAMS
Wednesday, January 18th - 5 P.M.

Subject: Reduction of WPA from
\$825,000,000 to \$725,000,000.

I showed him Colonel Harrington's
figures showing February reduction
200,000; March, 200,000 more; April
200,000 more; May 250,000 more, June,
220,000 more and June employment
1,930,000 from present 3,000,000.

I asked Senator Adams if he
thought these figures correct. He
replied "Colonel Harrington is the
only man who has any figures". I
said "Have you any reason to doubt
them"? He said "I have no reason
to doubt them".

Adm B Adams
BSE
Jan 18

RECEIVED
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 WASHINGTON, D.C.
 JAN 10 1939

*RF
Senate*

**Employment Schedule with Deficiency Appropriation
of \$725,000,000 to the WPA.**

	<u>Employment</u> (thousands)	<u>Cost at \$61</u> <u>per worker</u> (Millions)
January	3,000	—
<hr/>		
February	2,800	\$171
March	2,600	159
April	2,400	146
May	2,150	131
June	<u>1,930</u>	<u>118</u>
Average	2,375	\$725

*He is only man who has the figures.
No reason to doubt them.*

MARK

This letter was not sent. Will
you file in personal file?

E.G.T.

PSF: *Senata*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSF: Senata
Not sent

Dear Mr. Vice President:

In my letter of January 19, 1939, I wrote to you of the need for extending the Stabilization Fund and the power to fix the metallic content of the dollar. Since that time the House of Representatives has passed a bill (H.R. 3325) extending these powers until June 30, 1941. That bill has been reported out by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and is now before the Senate for consideration.

As you know, under the existing Silver Proclamation, which expires on June 30, 1939, the Government is paying 64.64¢ cents an ounce for newly-mined domestic silver, as compared to 43 cents for silver of foreign origin. I am informed that a small group of Senators is preventing any vote being taken on H.R. 3325 and on the proposed amendments to the bill until a commitment is made that the Government will pay an even higher price for domestic silver mined after June 30. I have given the matter careful consideration and it is my considered judgment that in the present situation a higher price for domestic silver is not warranted and that I would not be justified in yielding to this demand. Of course, the situation would be different if Congress by legislation should fix the price to be returned for domestic silver. Congress has the opportunity to express its views as to whether a price higher than the prevailing price should be returned for domestic silver by voting on the amendments which have been offered by Senators McCarran, Thomas and Pittman.

Whatever may be the decision of the Congress on this question, however, I feel that I should be remiss if I failed to point out the serious consequences that would flow from a failure to extend before June 30, 1939, the Stabilization Fund and the power to fix the metallic content of the dollar.

The need for the continuation of the Stabilization Fund has been recognized by the Congress and the public. Failure to renew the Stabilization Fund powers would deal a serious blow to international monetary stability and to the protection and advancement of American agricultural and commercial interests. Only one group would profit by the termination of these powers, namely, international currency speculators. The powerful weapon which this country, in conjunction with other democratic countries, has been developing for more than five years to help maintain some measure of stability in international exchange and to check the predatory tactics of foreign exchange speculators would be gone overnight. The resulting monetary uncertainty, with its threat of increased currency fluctuations, would greatly hamper American and international commerce and industry.

In September, 1936, amidst universal acclaim in democratic countries, Great Britain and France joined us in the Tripartite Declaration. Soon thereafter Belgium, Holland and Switzerland declared their adherence to it. No one can question the great contribution which this Accord has made to stability and equilibrium in the international economic and monetary fields. The possession of these

powers made possible the negotiation of the Tripartite Accord and the failure to renew them would inevitably menace the monetary equilibrium to which the Accord has contributed so powerfully. This would occur at the very time when, because of the condition of international affairs, there is an even greater need for an arrangement of this sort between the great commercial countries.

I am convinced that the existing power to change the gold content of the dollar is essential to the proper protection of American domestic and foreign trade against the danger of depreciation of important foreign currencies. The views of this Administration on this matter have been fully presented to the Senate through the testimony of the Secretary of the Treasury and similar conclusions were voiced by Senator Wagner in his speech on the floor of the Senate on June 19.

It is urgent that Congress express its views on these matters on or before June 30. It seems too clear for argument that to obstruct a vote on the monetary bill now before the Senate does not promote the orderly process of democratic government.

For the foregoing reasons I urge most earnestly that the Senate act before June 30 on the monetary powers bill (H.R. 3325) now pending before it.

Very truly yours,

Honorable John N. Garner,
President of the United States Senate.

COPY

PRIVATE

*PST
Senate*

January 23, 1939.

Dear Bill:-

This appealed to me so much that I wish it could be read to the Senate -- and no one could make it effective as you could. It is not only a fine piece of writing but it tells the truth.

It makes little difference where it came from -- but it happens to be New York Evening Post, Saturday, January 21, 1939.

As ever yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

Senator Borah

(Longhand letter)

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
JAN 23 1939
RECEIVED
U.S. SENATE

*file
personal*
Jan 23

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January twenty-third
1939

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for the editorial.

And thank you for the suggestion.

Very respectfully,

W. E. Borah

To The President,
The White House.

*27.6
Do you think there
needs to be a special?
file*

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January thirtieth
1939

Dear Mr. President:

I was greatly chagrined the way
matters turned out about the letter.

It was my plan to make use of it
in the thirty minutes which I was supposed to have
toward closing the debate. But that all went
awry, so all I could do was to put it in the Record.

I was very sorry.

Most Respectfully,

Wm E Borah

To The President,
The White House.

file
personal
1-2

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
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PSP
Smith

My dear Mr President -
Thank you
so much for your note of
sympathy. I appreciate it more
than I can tell you.

The greatest thrill my father ever
had was when he met you
in 7th month a couple of years
ago.

In his humble way he
was as devoted to you
& your Cause as any man
could have been, and the

greatest pride of his life was that
his son never faltered.

Again my thanks + appreciation,

Very sincerely yours
Sherman Minton

Hon Franklin D Roosevelt

Washington DC.

PSF: Senate
1939

FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO WASHINGTON

MSG SENATOR BYRNES SINCERELY HOPE NYE VANDENBERG AND
BORAH WILL NOT FORCE US INTO WAR BEFORE I GET BACK PERIOD
CHARLESTON NAVY YARD NEEDS THREE OR FOUR DAYS NOTICE
BEFORE ANY ACTUAL DECLARATION PERIOD SEE YOU SOON PERIOD
BEST WISHES FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT _____

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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HONORABLE FRANK D ROOSEVELT-

CHARLESTON SOCAR-

REGRET I CANNOT BE CHARLESTON TO WELCOME YOU TO A GOOD STATE AND A GOOD CITY. FOR TEN DAYS THE SENATE HAS BEEN DEBATING WAR BUT FORMAL DECLARATION HAS BEEN WITHHELD BECAUSE OF INABILITY TO AGREE UPON WHOM WE WILL FIGHT. I KNOW YOU HAVE NOT SPENT TWO WEEKS STUDYING WAR TACTICS JUST FOR NOTHING AND POSSIBLY YOUR RETURN MAY SOLVE THE QUESTION AND AVERT A FOREIGN WAR. HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF YOUR INAUGURATION.

JAMES E BYRNES.

Senate
1.2

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~Holl~~
Return to RB.
JHR

March 13, 1939

Memorandum For Colonel Watson

Mr. McIntyre gave me this to look over and then to discuss with him. It is rather complicated, and is purely patronage.

In the meanwhile he was taken sick and I did not want to bother him with this sort of thing.

I don't know how far the President would care to go along with Senator Ellender on this sort of thing, but I think we should do something affirmative to indicate to the Senator that the problem is not dead. On the other hand we have a perfectly good alibi with Mr. McIntyre's absence.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

Why not say that I believed that M would like to go thru with this himself on his return to duty?
EHR

5/20 - This has been discussed by me with the President. He has a full report on it. JHR

4
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 7, 1939

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. McIntyre.

Re Ellender's memorandum, do we
play ball with Ellender, or Maestri
and Weiss?

J.H.R.

2/21 - Ellender will see Wallace
at vice's request to Wallace.
Singer memo sent to Wallace.
JHR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2/2/39

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM ROWE:

Will you either talk to
me about this or go through it and
see if there's any of it you can
straighten out.

Confidentially, he doesn't
want much, does he?

M.H.M.

PSF: Senate

February 2, 1939

My dear Senator:

I have your letter of January twenty-fifth, with enclosures, and will follow up just as fast as I can.

I will be in touch with you in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

MMH/RB/mma

Honorable Allen J. Ellender,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MAC:

To prepare reply and do the
necessary

F.D.R.

P.S.F. Senate

ELLISSON D. SMITH, S. C., CHAIRMAN
BURTON K. WHEELER, MONT.
ELMER THOMAS, OHLA.
GEORGE MC BILL, KANS.
JOHN H. BARRONHEAD, ALA.
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
THEODORE S. BELBO, MISS.
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.
GUY M. BELLETTE, IOWA
ALLEN J. ELLINGER, LA.
JOHN MILTON, N. J.
HENRIK SHEPHERD, MINN.
C. A. LAWTON, CLARK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

January 25, 1939

Mr. Marvin H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

*ackd
2/7/39
m...*

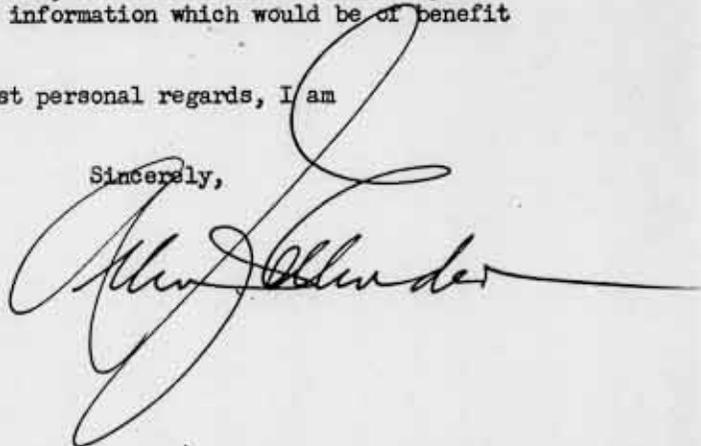
Dear Mac:

I am attaching hereto a memorandum with refer-
ence to the various subjects that I discussed with the
President last week. I am very anxious that something be
done at once, particularly with reference to the sugar
question.

I would be happy indeed if I could have a little
more time to discuss these and other matters with the Chief.
I have done quite a lot of traveling throughout the country
during the past two years, and I feel that I could impart
to him quite a lot of information which would be of benefit
to the party.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,



AJE:WG
Enclosure

PSF: Senate

LOUISIANA PERSONNEL.

As I pointed out, practically all key positions in Louisiana are in the hands of persons who have opposed our organization. With some hesitancy, we have agreed to accept Rufus Fontenot, Collector of Internal Revenue; Paul Habans, head of Home Owners' Loan Corporation; J. H. Crutcher, head of Works Progress Administration; and Rene Viosca, United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Louisiana.

JOHN N. SANDLIN. My opponent, John N. Sandlin, was given a job over my protest. He is now employed in Washington. I have positive information to the effect that he obtained a 90-day furlough during the last Congressional election and was instrumental in bringing out a candidate against Overton Brooks, Congressman from the Fourth District of Louisiana. He was very active and solicited funds for Mr. Brooks' opponent. The man he trotted out against Mr. Brooks was his former secretary, a Mr. Frank Colbert. In company with his former secretary, Sandlin solicited funds from several sources in Shreveport. He should be dismissed at once.

where
does he
work?

RTC

E. C. McINNIS. I have tried for the past two years to replace Mr. McInnis. He is a protege of Pat Harrison and hails from Mississippi. He knows nothing about sugar cane culture and I have been told the only way by which I can have him dismissed is to show his unfitness. Personally, I don't believe in investigations of this nature. I am told that Mr. McInnis is very fond of the bottle, and, also, of the ladies and spends much of his time with them. Why he should have been sent to Louisiana is a mystery to me, except that it was to please Senator Harrison. I sincerely hope that Mr. McInnis will be dismissed and a good Louisianian appointed in his stead.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL. When I took this matter up with the President almost two years ago, it was my understanding that the National Emergency Council would be disbanded as there was no longer any use for it. At the time I was anxious to displace Mr. Edward J. Gay, the Louisiana Director. What happened was that Mr. Gay was dismissed, but the National Emergency Council is still in existence, and Louisiana has no State Director. If the Council is necessary, I can see no reason why Louisiana should not have a Director.

PROCUREMENT DIVISION. Mr. W. B. Edgar is State Procurement Officer, and when he was appointed, I protested the appointment and suggested the name of a very good man from Louisiana. Mr. Edgar was in the opposite camp, but he was selected over my protest.

*Russell
Mullett in
in Florida*

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION. The Louisiana manager, Mr. George F. Buskie, hails from New York. It is my information that few Louisianians are employed except in very minor positions. There are quite a few from Mississippi and other surrounding states.

NEW ORLEANS BANK FOR COOPERATIVES. Dr. J. J. Watson, head of the Bank in New Orleans, hails from Georgia.

FEDERAL FARM MORTGAGE CORPORATION. H. H. Montgomery, President, hails from Alabama.

FEDERAL INTERMEDIATE CREDIT BANK OF NEW ORLEANS. J. M. Magruder, President, hails from Mississippi.

PRODUCTION CREDIT CORPORATION OF NEW ORLEANS. Jesse B. Hearin, President, hails from Alabama. Practically all of his appointments have been made from the opposition camp in my State.

COMPTROLLER OF CUSTOMS FOR TWENTIETH DISTRICT. This position is held by John J. Kennedy. That position was consistently held by a Louisianian, although the district comprises portions of the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. Mr. Kennedy hails from Mississippi, and Senator Pat Harrison is responsible for his appointment.

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE. Mr. Guy Fletcher is now serving as State Coordinator. We have been unable to obtain any cooperation from Mr. Fletcher except occasional visits to our office requesting us to visit his various projects throughout the State. His personnel consists for the most part of those who have been arrayed against us politically and in making new appointments and changes in personnel, he never consults us, but we are advised cooperates with the political opposition.

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION. We have tried consistently to get Louisianians appointed to serve on projects within our State, but my records indicate that many out-of-state men are presently working within Louisiana. Also, very few Louisianians are employed in the regional office at Fort Worth, which serves our State.

EMERGENCY CROP AND FEED LOAN SECTION. I do not consider this a major position, but would like to call your attention to the fact that Mr. D. R. Morrow, who I understand is from North Carolina, is in charge of this organization's operations in Louisiana. Senator Overton and I have recommended that Mr. Dewey McKnight, of Colfax, Louisiana, be placed in charge of this work, but up to this time Mr. Morrow is still in command. Mr. McKnight is presently working with the Emergency Crop and Feed Loan Section and has a fine record.

The above-named persons constitute the major Federal office holders in Louisiana who are in key positions. We have quite a few minor officers and it isn't my purpose to bring them to your attention at this time. It strikes me very forcibly that some changes should be made at once, particularly with reference to Mr. McInnis, Mr. Hearin and John Sandlin. I realize that some of these positions include districts wherein several states are covered, and of course I do not expect Louisianians to be appointed in all of these key positions.

RICE.

In trading with Cuba, it strikes me that some effort should be made to further help the rice farmers. Cuba produces only five per cent of the rice it consumes. Our rice-producing states produce that commodity far in excess of our requirements. Since we are helping Cuba to the extent of absorbing almost sixty per cent of her sugar production, why wouldn't it be fair and just for Cuba to take more of our rice? There is no American industry that needs more help than does agriculture. The folks who feed and clothe us should be taken care of, and it strikes me that in entering into these trade agreements, more of our agricultural products should be benefited than manufactured products.

JOE FISHER.

For the past 18 months I have tried to obtain for Joe Fisher a pardon to restore civil rights. All necessary documents have been filed months ago and his pardon has been recommended by Governor Leche and other prominent citizens of Louisiana. To my way of thinking, he was a victim of circumstances and he suffered punishment that should have probably been imposed on others in the State. In any event, he has served his sentence, has a good record, and I will appreciate early action.

file personal. *BF: Senate*
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sen. Ellender 'phoned and said
that there were two more names --

Sen. Pittman and
Sen. Lundeen

who should be reached with respect
to the present bill.

"Sen. Pittman seems to be
waivering, also Sen. Lundeen though
he has appeared to be on our side
right along."

3/20

MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE

Confidential

Dear Mr. President:

The following are the names we suggest to you, following our conversation, and a notation on three of the Members.

1. Harry Truman - says he has voted 100% for the Administration and yet his colleague, who has not, is allowed to control patronage.

2. James Murray - *OK - Wheeler amendment*
says Wheeler is controlling patronage and even asking to have W. P. A. investigated because the Director is Murray's friend.

3. Richard Russell - *OK - Wheeler amendment*
~~say~~ If Attorney General would give him some assurance that he would have a voice in naming U. S. Marshals and Federal judge it would greatly help.

- 4. Scott Lucas -
- 5. D. Worth Clark -
- 6. Ed Johnson -
- 7. Bob Reynolds -
- 8. William Bulow -
- 9. Francis Maloney - *OK. see Wheeler amendment*
- 10. Clyde Herring - " " " "

James M. Mead
James M. Mead

Harry H. Schwartz
Harry H. Schwartz

Allen J. Ellender
Allen J. Ellender

Josh Lee
Josh Lee

*file
personal*

*P.F.
U.S. Senate*

[1939]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/16 '39

*John
Qu. 7*

PSF

Sen. Byrnes:

"Tell the President I have introduced that resolution making reorganization plans July 1st. Barkley told me about what Sam Rayburn and Bankhead said yesterday morning about difficulties in the House, but I had a talk with Warren, who assured me that in his opinion there would not be 30 votes against it and Joe Martin, Republican leader, told me he would not oppose it.

"I know Warren has lived closer to the thing than anybody and I have introduced it because if we don't do it it will leave a whole lot of legal questions up in the air whereas, if we put this thing through, it will ratify everything the President put in his order. If we don't do this, we would have to introduce legislation about salaries and other things and we would have a time getting them through. On the other hand, we can get

PSF Senate ✓

Memo to Senator O'Mahoney
From the President
May 17th 1939

In re-O'Mahoney's plans on taking of testimony on the
Insurance phase of TNEC

Memo to Leon Henderson attached--May 19, 1939

Also attached memo to the President--April 12, 1939
From William O. Douglas
Re-Insurance Investigation

See: TNEC folder-Drawer 2-1939 for the above correspondence
and other correspondence relating to the Temporary
Nat'l Economic Committee.

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PSF
Private

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Washington, D. C.,
 May 25, 1939.

THE WHITE HOUSE
 RECEIVED
 MAY 26 8 53 AM '39

File Personal

My dear Mr. President:

Referring to my letter to you of May 23rd, in which I enclosed a souvenir piece of currency of Japan, in looking at the copy of the letter I find that I stated that it was a 2½ cent piece. The fact is, it is a one-half cent piece.

If it takes 200 of these half-cent pieces to equal 16 cents in our money, and as the Chinese get only from 10 to 20 cents a day for their work, it is easy to realize how impossible it would be for us to compete with Japan in controlling Chinese labor and Chinese currency.

Sincerely,

The President,
 The White House.

Six photos -
to Photo File.

" Louisiana

"... appears to be usual
annual ploughing out of
the poorer katons [of
sugar cane]. "

PSF
Senate

June 7, 1937.

Confidential

Dear Allen:

The enclosed was not written for your eyes and therefore should not be used by you in any way. However, it shows that there is another side to the picture and I know the difficulty of your problem and mine.

Will you send this back to me for my files.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Allen J. Ellender,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure. Secy. Wallace's letter to Pres. under date of June 5th, returning photographs of sugarcane ploughing left with Pres. by Sen. Ellender. Says it would be unfortunate if it could be shown that good sugarcane had to be destroyed because of unexpected federal regulations.

FDR/dj

June 5, 1939.

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your note of May 20, 1939, we are returning photographs of sugarcane ploughing left with you by Senator Ellender. I appreciate the opportunity to see these photographs and the memorandum which the Senator seems to have attached.

It would be unfortunate if it could be shown that good sugarcane had to be destroyed because of unexpected federal regulations. However, most of the photographs show what appears to be the usual annual ploughing out of the poorer ratoons. Moreover, after the Supreme Court on January 6, 1936, declared crop control unconstitutional, sugar production in Florida and Louisiana increased sharply. Consequently, producers in the mainland cane area were placed "on notice" as far back as September 1937, when the Sugar Act was passed, that reduction in new plantings would be required. Growers were advised specifically last September, during the last planting season, what their acreages should be to qualify for payments. Unless some producers followed advice to disregard the law and regulations issued thereunder, pending action on Senator Ellender's proposed legislation to cut the Cuban quota, nothing more than the usual annual "ploughing up" of poor ratoons would have been required.

Several of these photographs have the stamp of the Publicity Committee of the Louisiana sugar lobbying organization which has operated so successfully for many years in whipping the Louisiana Democratic senators and congressmen into line for high sugar tariffs. This Committee is naturally using every possible device to compel a cut in the Cuban quota in order that Louisiana may further expand its own sugarcane production under heavy federal subsidy.

- 2 -

Of course, we fully appreciate the Senator's difficult position. He is confronted with a highly organized group of constituents who are fighting for unlimited expansion of production under federal benefit payments, tariff and quota protection, but are out of sympathy with the child labor and wage provisions of the Sugar Act. Our investigators have found a substantial degree of non-compliance with the child labor provisions and a wage determination of between \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day for agricultural labor, the lowest rate established for any of the domestic areas under the Act.

Sincerely,

Secretary's File Room
(Signed)

Hawallace
Secretary

Enclosure

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

Plowing up of Sugar Cane:

78,000 acres of sugar cane to be plowed up
in 1939, if growers take straight
25% out.

38,500 acres of sugar cane to be plowed up
in 1939, if growers avail themselves
of the options provided in the
Secretary's ruling.

91,180 acres of sugar cane to be plowed up
in 1940, if growers avail themselves
in 1939 of the options provided in
Secretary's ruling, as above.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5-19-39

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Ellender did not have an opportunity this morning to present this to you. He says this is the stuff that the opposition is now photographing for use in their campaign in 1940. I thought you would be interested in seeing this.

E.M.W.

file PSF
Senate
2

Letter from James F. Byrnes--dated June 19, 1939 to
the President and the President's reply of June 21, 1939

In re-Work Relief and Public Works Appropriation Act
of 1939.

~~See-Lending Program folder Drawer 4 1939~~
OF 1435-E

PSF: Senate

July 1, 1939

May - file -

Dear Mr. President:

For your week-end Brentano's
recommends "Joseph Guffey on Franklin
D. Roosevelt and a Third Term", by Jay
Franklin.

A complimentary copy is enclosed
herewith.

P.S.C.
T.S.C.

This is the advertised Guffey
speech over a national hook-up on July 3rd.

The President
The White House

Fellow-Americans:

PSF: Senate

My name is Joseph F. Guffey. I'm a life-long Democrat and I come from Pittsburgh. I've been United States Senator from Pennsylvania since 1934 - the first Democratic Senator to be elected from the Keystone State in more than sixty years - and next year I'm going to run for reelection, on my record, as a one hundred per cent Pro-Roosevelt New Deal Democrat.

Tonight I'm speaking in answer to Senatro Burke of Nebraska who was also elected to the Senate as a New Deal Democrat in 1934. He recently attacked the rising popular demand that Franklin Delano Roosevelt shall run for a third term in 1940.

Now I am for Roosevelt and I want him to have a third term. As a matter of cold political fact, if Franklin Delano Roosevelt is elected to the Presidency again it will be his first real term of office. When you elected Roosevelt in 1932, his first term was canceled, vetoed, by the Supreme Court. When you reelected Roosevelt in 1936, his second term was stolen by Tories and political ingrates.

I'm for a third term for Roosevelt for four reasons: Because I am a Democrat, because I am a practical politician, because I am a liberal

and because I am an American.

I'm for Roosevelt as a Democrat because it's the way to win the next election, hands-down, no 'ifs', "ands" or "buts", no alibis and no double-crossing. As a life-long member of the Democratic Party, I want my Party to win, and Roosevelt is the only man strong enough to unite behind the Party the elements necessary to make it possible for the Party to win.

I'm for Roosevelt as a practical politician because anti-Third Term talk is bad politics. A quarter of the Senate has served more than two terms, and another quarter of the Senators are serving their second term and hoping for a third. Three-fourths of the members of the House of Representatives are in the same position, and of course we appoint our judges to serve all their lives. That's all right. I believe in experience. How stupid it is for such men to say that a third term is wrong, that there must be rotation in office. In every State and in every Congressional District there are young, able men, just aching for an excuse to run for office, and they'll go to town if Congress starts talking about two terms being enough for an elected official. Who are the men who are talking against a third term for Roosevelt? Senator Burke says he's in favor of one term

of six years. Then there are other elderly members of the Democratic Party who say that they have such high regard for President Roosevelt that they just feel sure that he won't challenge the third term myth. These men have had such high regard for Mr. Roosevelt that they have balked, filibustered or mutilated every one of the President's measures for the last two years and have recently condemned a million American families on WPA to beg or starve. If I were President Roosevelt I'd rather not have the high regard of men like these. We love him for the enemies he has made and can get along without their advice.

I'm for a third term for Roosevelt because I am a liberal and I believe in democracy. The judges and the lawyers cheated the people out of President Roosevelt's first term. The ingrates and the middle-of-the roaders robbed the people of President Roosevelt's second term. If the Tory politicians and the Big Business magnates succeed in bamboozling the American people for a third time, in 1940, then there's going to be an upheaval which will sweep away all politicians and all big business. I don't kid myself that the American people love their politicians. As I study the election returns, I see the American people getting sick and tired of political

machines and political wire-pulling. It's time for all politicians to take notice when a serious historian like Herbert Agar of the Louisville Courier-Journal tells an audience in Massachusetts that, as now run, our political conventions are large-scale vaudeville shows which breed cynicism and contempt for the democratic system of government. If the people are short-changed again by the politicians in 1940, then there won't be any 1944, politically speaking. There will be dictatorship or civil war to take the place of shell-game elections between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedledee, or perhaps I should say between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedledumber.

I'm for Roosevelt for a third term in 1940, as an American, because I know what he has done to save America - our people, our peace, our free institutions and our faith in God and man. When the worst that can be said of Roosevelt's WPA is that perhaps the New Deal relief-system gave hard-working decent Americans jobs which could have been done cheaper by machinery or by sweated labor, then I know that Roosevelt has been everlastingly right and that the opposition has been and is everlastingly cheap, timid, mean-spirited and small of soul. And I know that the love and the trust of

millions of loyal Americans for that stout-hearted, loyal man in the White House is a national asset worth countless billions of dollars. For if we do not despair of the Republic, we can face any calamity which may befall us. But if we lose our trust in each other, our faith in democracy, we have nothing left but brute force and brute necessity to hold our society together. That's a job for a butcher, not one for a free man. And if the Tories and the ingrates succeed in breaking the people's faith in Roosevelt, I tell you that America, as we know and love it, will be done for.

Our people recognize this issue. They want our liberal democracy to continue. They know that Roosevelt alone can ensure its safety.

Throughout the country the tide for the third term has set in. Now it is running strongly. It is irresistible and will calmly push back all the King Canutes of Big Business and Fat Banking who try to order it not to obey the laws which govern the political universe. Only in the last few days, two of the greatest liberals of our time, Senator Norris and Secretary Ickes, have declared in favor of the third term for Roosevelt.

These and similar forward-looking progressives have long been contemptuous of party lines in their long devotion to the liberal cause. They

represent the millions of Americans who owe no Party allegiance and who decide the outcome of national elections. Americans who are neither Republican nor Democrat, but who have the welfare of this country at heart, and who want the best and most effective government they can get. Because millions of Americans think as he does, we must pay great attention to Secretary Ickes when he says:

"Liberals who left the Republican Party and who have followed Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1932 to 1939 will not stultify themselves by voting for a reactionary Democrat. They will not take any too kindly to a Republican reactionary, but if they have no other choice they will prefer a Republican to a Democratic reactionary."

Every member of the Democratic Party ought to remember these words. For they express the attitude of millions of American voters whose support we may lose more easily than we think. The New Deal Solicitor General, Robert Jackson, reminded us bluntly of this in his speech in Kansas last February:

"The plain lesson of history," Bob Jackson said, "is that when the country wants reaction, it will take it from Republicans who are experts in reactionism, and when it wants liberalism, and only then, will it turn to the

Democrats. The Democratic Party will either be a liberal party or a minority party. If Democrats join Republicans in helping turn the people against the New Deal, they will find that they have also turned them against the Democratic Party and are authors of a ruin in which they will have to share."

As I said, I am a life-long Democrat and I want the Democratic Party to win the next election. It is the liberal group, the non-party group, the group represented by men like Harold Ickes and Senator George Norris, which will hold the balance of power in 1940. So as Democrats, we must pay attention when they say that Roosevelt is the only man who commands their enthusiasm and enlists their support.

The American people don't like quitters. They admire men who go down fighting for their principles, even when they don't agree with those principles. Back in 1934, when Senator Burke was running for election on Franklin D. Roosevelt's ticket, he praised the New Deal to the skies. He said: "It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning." He said that the New Deal "seeks

to cement our society - rich and poor, manual workers and brain workers -- into a voluntary brotherhood of free men, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all." As Mr. Dooley might have said, "Ye can waltz to it!" And Senator Burke waltzed into office as a result of this lip-service to the New Deal. Now it is Senator Burke who rises to tell the radio audience what's what in the third term tradition.

A few minutes ago I spoke of the practical politics of the third term fight. Will Senators who have served ten, twenty and over thirty years in the Senate, argue that it is morally wrong for a President to serve more than eight elected years? Can Senators who have been in the Senate since the World War convince us that we must get rid of Roosevelt just because he has been in the White House since 1933?

As a practical politician I tell you - and particularly those persons who quote Thomas Jefferson at you the way the Devil quotes Scripture - that this anti-Third-Term nonsense is political dynamite.

Jefferson, we must remember, supported the principle of rotation in office, not for the Presidency alone but for the Congress as well. He believed that Members of Congress should not be reelected after two years

office. When members of the Senate quote Jefferson, they had better remember that some young man may rise in their own bailiwick when they are running for a third, a fifth or a seventh term, and quote their own words out of their own mouths, as a reason why the young man should unhorse them.

No one who believed in a third term for Theodore Roosevelt, or Coolidge - yes, even Coolidge and the powerful Wall Street interests behind him, who manoeuvred him for a third term - none of these, nor any Senator who has served two terms or more and wants to run again, can safely oppose the third term for the President. For example, Senator Vandenberg, in the hope of setting himself up in the role of Harding - as an imaginary point in the center of the Republican Party - assures us that if he is elected he will not encumber this country for more than one term. What a revelation in self-appraisal by a candidate for the Presidency! The best argument that he can give to our people to elect him is his personal guarantee that they will have him around their neck for the shortest time possible. But the desire of Senator Vandenberg to relinquish power is somewhat clouded over by the announcement[^] that he is hedging his candidacy for a first and only term in the White House by a simultaneous candidacy for a third term in the Senate.

No. These are dangerous times. We can afford nothing less than our very best man in the White House. What other man than Roosevelt could match the dignity of a King and Queen, and handle them in a way that made this whole country proud of him, and at the same time know and feel the problems of the unemployed miners of Pennsylvania, and the struggling farmers of the middlewest. In these times of real danger to America -- danger from within and from without -- we need a real leader, someone who can really represent our democratic will to survive. And we know that we have such a leader in the White House now - Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Just suppose a few fixers conspire to thwart our democratic will. Suppose they force upon this country a figure-head, a stuffed shirt, an incompetent middle-of-the-roader, or a young and inexperienced man, when everyone knows that we need a man with knowledge of the world, knowledge of America, determination and courage. Can these political fixers seriously believe that they will not be instantly branded throughout this country as the professional embezzlers of the rights of a free democratic people?

Can they seriously believe that the anger of the American people at this betrayal in their hour of need would stop short at them?

I tell you that the disgust of the American people would reach not only to the dummy given the leadership of our country but to the whole system of democratic institutions which can be captured and misused by selfish and scheming man. And who could blame our people for such a revolt in their hour of anger? Not they, but the schemers, the fixers, the old political hands, would be responsible for the death of one of the last, great free democracies in the world.

We Americans know that to our people Roosevelt is not just a name in the papers, as the other candidates are. Almost every American old enough to walk, has by this time actually seen President Roosevelt. He has seen and been seen by more of our people than has any other man in our history. They don't want shadow candidates now. They want Roosevelt, because they trust him, as they trust nothing else in our political and economic life. They know that for the last seven years, Roosevelt has been in there, fighting for them, as no other President has fought for them. In 1932, Roosevelt began his fight to transform this country from disorganized, uncontrolled anarchy, to a nation in which, by Government cooperation our resources could be conserved, our level of production main-

tained, our people made secure. In 1936, the people of this country gave an overwhelming mandate to see the fight that Roosevelt had begun carried on. In 1939 that fight is not yet over. Our people demand that, under Roosevelt's leadership, it shall be carried through.

As Jay Franklin said in a recent broadcast discussion of the third term issue, Roosevelt is more than a man, more than a politician, he is the people's President, their representative. "There is your Roosevelt," etc. 3 paragraphs.

That is the story. You have heard of me as a practical politician and I am proud to be one. And I tell you that this third term demand for Roosevelt is the most remarkable development I have experienced in my forty years of practical politics. It is not a led or manufactured movement. No group of politicians has met in a back room to discuss putting Roosevelt over in 1940. Most of the papers are not only against it but have refused even to print news about it. When Secretary Ickes first came out at a press conference with a demand that Roosevelt run again, the papers did not print it. Instead they published a story about his private life and killed his most important public utterance. And when he wrote a magazine article to

-13-

express the same idea, the magazine edited his remarks so that they sounded like an attack on other Democratic leaders. No, this third term for Roosevelt movement is of the people, by the people, for the people. All that liberals, New Dealers, Democrats and practical politicians can do about it, is to jump aboard and go where the instinct of America tells me we will find peace, dignity and security - in the victorious completion of the New Deal under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

All they can say against it is that it has never been done before.

Well, we never had all the banks closed before. We never had Hoover's fifteen million men in breadlines before. We never had mass foreclosures before. We never had such great floods or such dangerous dust storms before. We never faced such a challenge to democracy before. We never had to move the government in to save business and labor and farmers and miners before. And we never had a Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States before. So what?

I, Joseph F. Guffey, am for Franklin D. Roosevelt for a third term.

*file
personal.*

*PSF: Senate
~*

July 6, 1939.

Pat, old dear:-

What is this I hear about your going home ahead of time? Do please don't! I need you here on lots of things, including the next big thing on the calendar -- the Neutrality Bill -- and I do hope you will help to get it out on Saturday and put it through.

As ever yours,

Honorable Pat Harrison,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate
 This is for our own files, as the President signed this original statement & gave them to Senator Barkley -

The President said:
 The President of the United States has the honor to inform you that the President has signed legislation which will be submitted to the Senate at the present session, and that a majority of the Senate would favor it. Senator McNary expressed the same belief. They agreed that a majority of the Senate would consider neutrality legislation at the beginning of the next session.

The President of the United States maintained the United States position that failure by the Senate to take action now would weaken the leadership of the United States in the world, and that the United States would be a more powerful nation in the event of a crisis between the United States and other nations.

Statements written by the President in his own hand and issued to the Press at 11:45 P.M. July 18, 1939, following discussion with the Democratic and Republican leaders of the Senate on neutrality legislation.

Senator Barkley said:
The consensus of opinion on the part of three members of the Senate present was that no action on ^{legislation} neutrality can be returned in the Senate at the present session, and that the majority of the Senate would favor in this view. Senator McNary expressed the same belief. They agreed that a majority of the Senate would consider neutrality legislation at the beginning of the next session.

The President & the Secretary of State maintained the definite position that failure by the Senate to take action now would weaken the leadership of the U.S. in exercising its duty ^{reference} in the case of ^{preparation} ~~action~~ other nations in the event of a new crisis in Europe between now and next January.

PSF
Senate

Statements written by the President
in his own hand and issued to the Press at 11:45 P.M.
July 18, 1939, following discussion
with the Democratic and Republican leaders of the Senate,
on neutrality legislation.

PSF. Senate
-2

July 25, 1939

Memo to Pres
From Watson

In re-telephone conversation (conf) with Barkley
about public statement on Rivers and
Harbors Bill.

See Watson folder-Drawer 2--1939

PSF
PSF: Senate

PERSONAL

July 31, 1939.

Dear George:-

I think your note to me raises certain problems of importance to our country which go a good deal deeper than you and I as individuals.

For you, an old friend, I have had and continue to have an affectionate regard.

But you and I, whether we like it or not, are living in a period of great change. You and I are in one sense merely actors in a great company. You and I, because of our positions as Government servants, contribute of necessity to this unfolding drama of change.

Whether you and I like it or not, the old days when we worked together in the F. & D. are gone -- and this country, as well as many other countries in the world, is deciding between those who want to return to the old conditions, even though they may not acknowledge that, and those who recognize the change and want it to proceed in an orderly way.

If you will translate the general principles involved to terms of individuals holding public office under our Government, you will, I know, realize that I cannot conscientiously appoint as Government servants any

individual who, for political reasons or by personal conviction, adheres publicly or within his own conscience to that school of thought which seeks a return to "the good old days."

Believing as I do that the only hope for this country and for the world is to maintain a forward looking and liberal democracy, I must in every case where I have appointments to make seek to look into the souls of those who are candidates for office.

As I suggested above, both you and I are very temporarily in positions of responsibility, yet what we say and do may very greatly help or harm our nation's future.

Always sincerely,

Honorable George L. Radcliffe,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

file
journal

U.S.
PSF: Senate
2

August 1, 1939.

Dear Joe:-

Isn't it a pity! why is it that
Democrats have to hook up with reactionary
Republicans?

As ever yours,

Honorable Joseph F. Guffey,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate

PAT HARRISON, MISS., CHAIRMAN	
JAM H. KING, UTAH	ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.	ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
DAVID I. WALSH, MASS.	ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.	JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.	JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
JOSHUA W. BAILEY, N. C.	HENRY CABOT LOOSE, JR., MASS.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.	
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.	
PETER G. BERRY, R. I.	
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.	
FREDERICK M. BROWN, MICH.	
CLYDE L. HERRING, IOWA	
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.	
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.	

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

FELTON M. JOHNSTON, CLERK

July 29, 1939

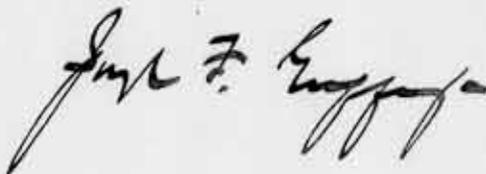
To the President,
The White House

My dear Mr. President:

Yesterday, I met on the floor of the Senate a Congressman from Texas who has been my friend for many years. After berating him for leaving the Democratic Party on the Hatch Bill, he admitted to me that he was very sorry and had made a great mistake in voting for it; at the same time, implying that the passage of that bill was part of the Garner agreement with the Republicans and the reactionary Democrats. The other things that were to be defeated were the Stabilization Act and to cut the Spending and Lending Bill to pieces. I thought you might be interested in knowing this.

At this time, I would not care to disclose in writing the name of the Texas Congressman because it would mean his defeat for renomination next year.

Faithfully yours,



*file
plus mail*

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PSF
Senate

August 2, 1939.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The President of the United States,
The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

THANK YOU!

Sincerely yours,

Carly Hatch

PAT HARRISON, MISS.	KEY FITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.	WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.	HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
TOM CONNALLY, TEN.	ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH	ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
FREDERICK VAN RUYT, IND.	ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.	WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
LEWIS E. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.	HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.	
THEODORE F. SREED, R. I.	
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.	
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.	
JOSEPH F. SUTTEY, PA.	
BUT M. GILLETTE, IOWA	
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.	
	EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
	JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Washington, D. C.,
August 9, 1939.

File Personal
PSF: Senate
2

My dear Mr. President:

While it would have afforded me pleasure to have called upon you and bid you good-bye and a pleasant summer, I realized the burdens that were upon you. I sincerely hope that you get some rest during the vacation of Congress.

No President, unless it may have been Washington, Lincoln, or Woodrow Wilson, ever had thrust upon him any more crucial problems than you have struggled with under the most adverse circumstances during six long years. I marvel at your great mental and physical strength that has sustained you in the heart-rending fight.

Mrs. Pittman has not been well lately, so we will abandon our custom of motoring West, and will leave by train next Wednesday.

With expressions of warm regard and esteem, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

Key Pittman

The President,
Hyde Park, New York.

UNITED STATES SENATE

*PSF: Senator
Nov 2*

Waupaca, Wisconsin
August 28, 1939

Honorable Claude Pepper
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

I have just read your letter of August 22. I have also read the speech which you made in the Senate on August 5, which you enclosed. I had read this speech before, as it was printed in the public press, but I have reread it today, not only with great admiration, but with great benefit to myself. I think it will do a great deal of good in the country.

As I wrote you before, I doubt the wisdom of trying in any way to influence the coming democratic national convention in the nomination of a candidate for the presidency. I thank you sincerely for the opinion you have expressed as to the influence I might have on that question, if I should take an active stand now. I believe, however, you have greatly overestimated the influence I possess. I know there are many democrats, prominent in their party and personal friends of mine, who, moved by a spirit of righteousness, would nevertheless look with varying degrees of dissatisfaction, which might even border upon contempt, upon the activities of anyone who should attempt to influence the action of a political party, when he is himself not a member of that political party. My active support, prior to the convention, of a third term for Mr. Roosevelt would, I fear, influence many of these people, both in the Senate and out of it, to a feeling that the fight over the nominee in the democratic party is not my fight, and that I should keep entirely out of it.

It is needless for me to say I do not agree with this sentiment. I think it is entirely wrong. As I see it, members of a political party ought to look with a degree of satisfaction, even with favor, upon an expression of opinion upon such a question as that of a third term, coming from any source, if we assume that such source is conscientious and well-intended. However, getting my opinion from many years of experience, I believe such a sentiment as I have mentioned does exist and that regardless of anything I may say or do it will still exist long after I have made any attempt in any direction to control my fellow citizens on such an important question.

On previous occasions I have expressed my opposition to a third consecutive term for any President. The reasons for such an opinion I think are obvious. A man who is President has it within his power to build up a personal political machine, and to carry that powerful machine to such an extent that it would be harmful to the country. It might tend to set up a precedent which I think could be dangerous. Yet, when I consider the conditions which confront our country at this time, and admitting the things I have above enumerated, I think we ought, in passing upon the question, take into consideration the condition in which the country finds itself. If there seems to be no other man of sufficient prominence who

is capable of carrying on what we believe to be a progressive form of government, of bringing relief to the under-privileged classes of our citizens, then this also ought to be weighed in the balance, in considering the objections to a third-term. If we made our objections to a third-term absolute, without any exception whatsoever, we would be in considerable danger on some occasions, of which I believe the present is one, of injuring, if not ruining, our country.

I am a firm believer in the principles of government for which President Roosevelt has stood and for which he has fought, and, admitting that he has made mistakes, something which is common to all humanity, I have nevertheless never doubted his sincerity, his wisdom, or his courage. The cry that is being made by his enemies that he is trying to set himself up as a "dictator" to my mind is entirely without foundation, and under all the circumstances seems to me to be utterly foolish.

I have had many confidential conferences with Mr. Roosevelt. I think I have enjoyed his confidence, as I know he has mine. And in all my association with him, there has never been a single instance in which I could see that in his fight for better government he was ever moved by any personal desire to increase his power, or to set himself up as a dictator of men. It seems to me he has been wonderfully free from all such thoughts and actions, and I am as convinced as I am of anything he has leaned backward in his efforts to give to our people a better government, one in which the under-privileged may receive more of those full and beautiful blessings of a democracy which any well-rounded government should bestow.

When I weigh this third-term in the balance, admitting the dangers that might apply under any ordinary circumstances, and when I realize that there seems to be no other man in any party capable of carrying out these principles of progressive government, the third-term "danger" fades into insignificance. Admitting that there are many other men who could carry out these principles, if given the power and authority to do so, and admitting, also, that there are many men who you know and I know who, according to our ideas, would do as well as, if not better than, President Roosevelt himself has done, yet we know with absolute certainty these men have no such standing before the people of America as would enable them to lead the forces of human progress in the coming battle, which will follow upon the action of the two great political parties in their next national conventions. So that it simmers down to a question of getting behind Roosevelt, or taking a chance. And can we afford to take that chance?

When we see the wonderful power of combined wealth and monopoly, the combination of that monopoly with special privilege and their terrible influence and power in controlling and influencing conventions, I say, without any hesitation, we cannot afford to take that chance.

Moreover, this opposition to President Roosevelt comes from several sources. One is partisan, entirely partisan, moved by a sincere desire to overthrow Roosevelt because he is a democrat, and to place the control of our government in the hands of a republican. And when we look over the ranks of the republican party and single out the men who are prominent

enough that under any ordinary circumstances they might be expected to get the republican nomination, what a dire condition we find ourselves in! There is not one of these who is prominent in the coming political fight. The condition in that party seems to be confined to those who are under the influence, some honestly, some otherwise, of great combinations of wealth and power which can mean nothing except the further misery of that part of our population who, because of the influences of monopoly, are not receiving their fair share of freedom and opportunity. Some of these men are so partisan and so anxious for the success of their particular presidential nominee, whoever he may be, that they disregard entirely the welfare and well-being of the country and the millions of common citizens which comprise it. So that this partisan element, as I see it, to begin with, ought to be entirely set aside and disregarded, in the selection of a candidate for the presidency.

I do not believe I am partisan in this respect. I have long been a member of the republican party, but with humiliation and regret I have to admit that most of the leaders of that party are under the control and domination of special privilege and organized monopoly, and I do not look for any relief in that direction. I do not mean to imply that this applies to all members of the republican party, of course. There are men in that party, many of them, who would rise above such classification, but alas, none of them are even remotely under consideration for the nomination.

In the democratic party there is only one possibility, and that is Roosevelt himself.

I do not believe I am moved in any degree by a feeling either of partisanship or of animosity. I have absolutely no ambitions of my own. So far as I personally am concerned, the result of the next presidential election will not affect me in any way. I have reached a time in my life when I know, without any uncertainty, without any doubt, and, I think, without any sorrow, that regardless of what may happen in the coming presidential fight my personal fortunes and condition will not be influenced or affected in any degree. I am moved by only one desire, and that is, I do not want to see my country take a backward step. I want to see the wheels of human progress still turning in the direction of more progress, more liberty, more blessings to humanity, and when I look the ground all over and sum it all up, I return inevitably to the conclusion that Roosevelt seems to be the only man in sight who can bring these things about. And while I have great affection for him personally, while I love him for what I believe he stands for in government, yet my desire to see him nominated and re-elected comes not from any personal feeling or from my affection for him. I am looking at the problem from the viewpoint of one who desires only the upbuilding of humanity and the enlargement of the liberties of my countrymen.

There is another group of people who are opposed to the renomination of President Roosevelt. This group, in my judgment, is made up for the most part of democrats who have a personal feeling against Roosevelt, a

feeling of varying degrees, extending even to the point of a personal hatred for him. To me, this condition is something new. I have never seen it exercised to such a degree in all my public service. Various reasons are given for these opponents of President Roosevelt taking the position they do. None of these reasons, in my judgment, can ever be defended upon any ground of justice or patriotism. This is a cruel situation, one that has caused me much agony and sorrow. I have personal friends who, I believe, would go against anything Roosevelt proposes, simply and solely because they do not like Roosevelt.

I have no doubt that some of these men are perfectly conscientious in the action they take, but such action, if carried to its logical conclusion, must in the end ruin any enterprise, any government, or any country. That it exists now in regard to the President, I have no doubt, and that it will be a power that must be reckoned with in the coming contest, it seems to me is a certainty. However much we may regret it, however illogical it may seem to us to be, however unjust it may be, it is there, just the same, and it is going to have its influence. I can easily see how there might be personal differences between Roosevelt and members of his party who have heretofore been his supporters. Yet the man who is moved by a desire to help upbuild humanity, to be of assistance to his fellow men, ought in no case permit such a feeling to carry him to the point where he would inflict injury upon our people, even risk the destruction of our government, in order to give vent to his feelings of hatred and animosity.

I have often said I do not believe the rank and file of our people care very much for the partisan appellation which is attached to any man who is running for office. I think what the candidate thinks, what he stands for, particularly what the leader stands for, far outshines in importance any partisan appellation which may be applied to any candidate. The people do not care very much about the politics or the political name attached to the candidate, if they know the man and know what he stands for, if they believe in him and the things he represents. The most intelligent voters of this country are going to support him, regardless of the political party he represents, and the number of such voters is increasing daily, hourly. And it is the intelligent voter who thinks of the good of his country, rather than the success of a political party. I hail this sentiment, increasing as I believe it is, with a great deal of joy, feeling as I do that increasing intelligence will enable our people more properly to decide what candidates to elect and what candidate to defeat. It is immaterial to the rank and file of the country what may be the political beliefs, for instance, of a postmaster in Florida, a collector of internal revenue in Colorado, or a United States marshal in California, whether the man be a democrat or republican. The people want efficient men, whatever may be the position, and wherever the office may be located.

The people want honest men, intelligent men, patriotic men, who think more of the good of their country than they do of any political party, and who would not hesitate to condemn a political party, if they thought it was wrong, and who would as soon convict a rascal who was a democrat, as they would if he were a republican. Good government demands that this enlightened attitude be upheld, increased, and, if possible, made permanent.

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So that, after all, the president we are going to elect in 1940 will be a president of all the people, and not of a political party. I would carry this doctrine much farther than President Roosevelt has carried it, although I think it is unquestioned that he has carried the banner farther in advance than any man has carried it, who ever preceded him in this office. I think he has made mistakes. Some of the things he has done, I thought were mistakes when he did them, but having in mind the eventual good of all our people, it seems to me it is the duty of every patriot to help him, to stand behind him, and to stay with him, in the leadership he has given our country. We cannot get a man who is perfect--we cannot pick a perfect man out of a group of men, all of whom must, being human, be more or less imperfect. Such a leader should not be condemned, even when we know he has made mistakes, when the course to pursue is doubtful and it is difficult to know the road to take, and when an honest, intelligent, patriotic leader chooses the road, as I see it it is the duty of every patriotic soldier to follow him on that road, even though personally we might have taken a different one.

I do not know what the outcome is going to be. The wave of reaction, bitterness, hatred, and animosity has been great indeed, and it may be that our people will be moved by the powerful influences of greed and selfishness to take a misstep in the next presidential election, but I still have faith in the people and I do not believe they will take such a course unless they are honestly mistaken.

It is the duty of such men as you, young, vigorous, able, patriotic, and courageous, to take the lead in this fight, and to fight on every day, to do everything humanly possible to bring about the victory that shall mean the continuation of liberty, the upholding of the rights of the common people, and the destruction and dissolution of organized monopoly and greed.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

/s/ G.W. Norris

TELEGRAM

*PSF
Senate
file
personal
senate
2*

The White House
Washington

36WUC 26 GOVT COLLECT. 6:23pm

SALEM, Oregon, Sep't. 7, 1939.

HON. STEPHEN T. EARLY.

Please tell my friend, the President, that disclosure telephone message to me caused by inadvertance of clerk in Salem office. Am sorry. Best wishes.

CHARLES L. McNARY.

(Charged to Senator McNary's Senatorial Account.)

PSF Senate
United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

file
personal
Senate
2

September 11, 1939

Dear Mr. President:

You will permit me to thank you
for your note of the seventh.

I came to the Eye Institute,
Presbyterian Medical Center two weeks
ago today. I am pleased to say that an
operation promises to be completely
successful.

Thanking you for your very
courteous and thoughtful note, I am

Cordially yours,

Walter F. George

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

PSF
Senate

Borah
2

Letter to Gen. Watson
From Maurice Loom
September 13, 1939

Enclosed memorandum which he hopes the General will bring to
the attention of the President.

Memorandum relates to information which the late John Quinn,
friend of Mr. Loom, told him about the activities of Senator
Borah and Judge Daniel F. Cohalan regarding their pro-german
relations during the World War.
President sent to Hall to read and return--his memo is attached.

See: Hall folder-Driver 1-1939

~~SECRET~~

file ↗

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

PSF: Senate - 2

September 18, 1939.

~~Secret~~

MEMORANDUM -

Mr. Edgar Dunlap spent the week-end with Senator George in New York. He advised by telephone this morning:

- 1) Senator George will vote to "bring out immediately the Administration's neutrality bill."
 - 2) Senator George says that he was always opposed to the embargo; that he voted for the original provision because Joe Robinson told him the Administration was insisting on it.
 - 3) The Senator says his dilemma is whether to go to international law or to "cash and carry."
- Dunlap says that his present opinion is that the Senator will be for "cash and carry."
- 4) Senator George will return here on Wednesday or Thursday and will make no statement before then.
 - 5) Barney Baruch, Jesse Jones and others have called on the Senator. Mr. Farley was to call on him Sunday, but did not do so.

Louis Johnson

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

DECLASSIFIED

DOD DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/88)

Date- 2/13/59

Signature *Carl F. Spicer*

~~SECRET~~

BF
Smith

Memorandum for the President
From Watson
Sept 21, 1939

In re-conf conversation Louis Johnson had with
with Frank Kluckhorn of the N.Y. Times who
had had a conversation with Senator Borah
in relation to the President's Address before
the Congress on Repeal of the Neutrality Law-
Sept 21, 1939.

See: Gen Watson folder-Drawer 2-1939

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal
Senate*

9-28-39

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Jimmy Byrnes asked that the President confirm an invitation that Byrnes extended to Senator Bailey to appear on the radio in the name of the President. Bailey regretted on account of instructions from his doctor.

E.M.W.
E.M.W.

Foisses

Waterfront Operators
Longshoremen (Bridges)

Not signed an agreement
Indefinitely extending
the agreement - all
signed and witnessed by

10-4-39

file
personal



PSF:
Lentz [1939]
N

My dear President Roosevelt
My dearest
to you and Mrs. Roosevelt
for my father, Senator
Glas, his sincere
appreciation of you

very occasional thought
of him - Your exquisite
pink roses being much
cheer to his sick room,
and such beauty and
fragrance prove a tonic
to his recuperative
powers - He is improving
steadily, but too
slowly to suit his
aggressive temperament.

With his kind regards,

Sincerely,

Mary Archer Glas

Boatwright.

October, fourth -

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
HATTIE W. GARAWAY, ARIZ.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE S. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHAY, OHIO
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OHIO
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JOHN LEE, CALIF.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. HEAD, N. Y.
JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.

A. HANO JAMES, CLERK
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

October 4, 1939

PSF: Senate
THE WHITE HOUSE
OCT 5 11 29 AM '39
RECEIVED

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

*file
your mail*

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept my thanks for your letter of September 20th, with the valuable information, which I am returning as requested.

I regret that Germany has placed tobacco on the contraband list. Perhaps this action will hurt our exports. I am sure it will greatly stir many of the people of North Carolina. It is altogether unnecessary.

I do hope that we shall find ourselves able to induce the British buyers to return to our market, which will re-open October 10th. Otherwise, we will be put to the necessity of extraordinary measures. The statement by Mr. Secretary Wallace and the sympathetic attitude of yourself very greatly encouraged me, but I confess I have some reason to fear that the British Government may not change its attitude. However, this is more for you ~~than~~ Mr. Secretary Wallace, and I know you will do all that can be done.

There is no question of the passage of the pending measure in the Senate, and I think it will receive more support than is claimed for it. I have made a very careful study of it since I saw you and have prepared a letter to the people of North Carolina, which I intend to send to you also. I am very much inclined to take a hand in the debate, and if I can feel well enough, I shall do so. I must say that I am feeling better.

It was a great pleasure to see you and I have only one regret and that is that I stayed too long. I shall be coming again.

With all good wishes,

JWB/s

Cordially yours,

J. W. Bailey - Josiah Wm. Bailey

October 1, 1939

Charles & John G. Collins
COMMISSIONER ON COMMERCE

Reference is made to the letter of September 21, 1939, and the letter of September 22, 1939, both of which are enclosed herewith.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

Report on Manufactured Tobacco, Quantities Imported and Exported by Manufacturers, 1903-38
September 29, 1939

Year	Quantity, Cases			Total	Quantity Value by Manufacturers
	United States	Foreign	Other		
	1903-38	1903-38	1903-38	1903-38	1903-38
The President	100.0	1.0	10.0	111.0	111.0
The White House	100.0	1.0	10.0	111.0	111.0
Dear Mr. President:	100.0	1.0	10.0	111.0	111.0
Enclosed are the tobacco figures for which you asked some time ago.	100.0	1.0	10.0	111.0	111.0
Referring to the question of contraband which you mentioned in the presence of Senator Bailey yesterday, I can say that tobacco is listed as contraband by Germany but not by England.	100.0	1.0	10.0	111.0	111.0

Respectfully yours,

H Wallace

Secretary

Enclosures



(Exhibit "A")

UNITED KINGDOM: Unmanufactured tobacco, quantities imported
and used by manufacturers; 1909-23, and average 1934-38

Year	Imports, from -				Total	Quantities used by manufacturers ^{1/}
	United States	Empire countries	Other countries			
	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.		
1909	114.0	1.0	11.9	126.9	109.1	
1910	99.0	1.5	10.8	111.3	113.2	
1911	104.6	2.1	12.1	118.8	119.2	
1912	121.8	1.8	14.1	137.7	125.1	
1913	142.0	2.2	18.2	162.4	134.6	
1914	139.0	3.0	16.7	158.7	140.5	
1915	184.2	4.1	14.3	202.6	151.1	
1916	152.6	6.3	5.4	164.3	157.8	
1917	40.8	3.2	2.5	46.5	151.2	
1918	162.9	6.5	2.2	171.6	149.6	
1919	315.9	12.4	20.6	348.9	175.9	
1920	177.5	18.2	23.3	219.0	169.9	
1921	214.8	7.5	5.5	227.8	157.4	
1922	166.8	12.7	5.4	184.9	153.3	
1923	154.9	12.9	5.2	173.0	153.0	
Averages						
5-years						
1909-13	116.3	1.7	13.4	131.4	120.2	
1914-18	135.9	4.6	8.3	148.7	150.0	
1919-23	206.0	12.7	12.0	230.7	162.0	
1934-38	213.2	57.1	4.6	274.9	229.0	

^{1/} Estimated.

(Exhibit "B")

FRANCE: Unmanufactured tobacco imports, home-grown crop, and consumption of manufactured tobacco products; 1909-1923 and average 1934-38

Year	Imports, unmanufactured, from -				Home Grown	Consumption of manufactured products
	United States	Algeria	Other countries	Total		
	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.	Mil. lbs.
1909	14.6	2.9	27.0	44.5	42.3	90.1
1910	29.6	6.2	25.5	61.3	36.4	91.5
1911	29.5	7.6	24.1	61.2	40.4	93.0
1912	31.8	8.0	31.1	70.9	49.9	96.2
1913	47.1	4.6	30.1	81.8	57.3	97.1
1914	35.6	5.6	20.1	61.3	53.3	106.7
1915	25.3	6.9	19.2	51.4	34.0	123.0
1916	36.6	4.7	24.6	65.9	32.4	132.7
1917	50.2	3.2	17.5	70.9	31.2	123.2
1918	64.9	8.4	37.7	111.0	19.6	99.2
1919	66.7	15.5	26.0	108.2	29.3	95.4
1920	49.7	7.5	20.0	77.2	^{1/} 46.0	101.9
1921	35.4	8.5	41.1	85.0	^{1/} 52.6	113.0
1922	76.9	16.8	34.8	128.5	^{1/} 61.5	116.9
1923	24.4	6.1	34.5	65.0	^{1/} 55.5	117.6
Averages						
5-years						
1909-13	30.5	5.8	27.6	63.9	45.3	93.6
1914-18	42.5	5.8	23.8	72.1	34.1	117.0
1919-23	50.6	10.9	31.3	92.8	^{1/} 49.0	109.0
1934-38 ^{2/}	20.6	26.0	15.9	62.5	^{1/} 82.1	112.6

^{1/} Crop beginning with 1920 includes Alsace Lorraine.

^{2/} Preliminary.

(Exhibit "C")

UNITED KINGDOM: Estimated quantities of principal tobacco products consumed, 5-year averages 1909-23 and 1934-38

Period	Cigarettes	Smoking tobacco 1/	Cigars	Total
	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.
<u>Average</u>				
1909-14...	32	60	5	97
1915-18...	44	63	4	111
1919-23...	72	63	3	137
1934-38...	130	48	2	180

1/ Including small quantities of chewing tobacco and snuff.

UNITED KINGDOM: Estimated quantities of several kinds of leaf used in manufacture for home consumption, 5-year averages 1909-23 and 1934-38

Period	CIGARETTES				Total
	United States leaf	British Empire leaf	From other sources		
	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	
<u>Average</u>					
1909-13	32	0	1/ 6	38	
1914-18	47 ¹ / ₂	1/ 2	1/ 5	53	
1919-23	81	1	1/ 3	85	
1934-38	145	9	1/ 1	155	

Period	SMOKING TOBACCO 2/			
	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.	Mil. lb.
1909-13	59	1	3	63
1914-18	60	3	3	66
1919-23	56	6	3	65
1934-38	10	37	1	48

1/ Oriental or Turkish leaf.

2/ Includes chewing tobacco and snuff.

PSF Senate
✓

October 13, 1939.

Memo for the President from Senator Byrnes--attaches 2
amendments to Neutrality Bill Which Senator Bailey says he will
propose to the Committee.

See:Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939

*BF Senate
2*

October 14, 1939.

Memorandum for the Secretary of State
From the President

Asking him to bring with him the enclosed letter of Oct 14th from
Senator Bailey with attached revised amendments regarding
Neutrality Legislation for the final recommendations.

See: Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939

PSK Senate
2

October 18, 1939.

Memorandum for the President:
From General Watson

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

See: Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939

PSF

Pat Boland
Gen. W.
2

October 19, 1939.

Memorandum for the President from General Watson

Re-Frank Walker's message for the President from Pat Boland
on Neutrality.

See: Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939.

PSF
Smith
2

Oct 26, 1939.

Jimmy Byrnes phoned General Watson that everything is
all right and they think they can get vote by tomorrow
night. Mentions See Wallace etc etc.

See: Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939

PSF Senate
~

UNDATED -came to file Nov 1, 1939

Col Halsey sent the following message to the President:

"The conferees have agreed. The Senate met at 2 O'clock and has taken a recess for two hours to let the Clerk prepare the report. It will begin consideration of the Conference Report at 4 o'clock."

For original memo--See; Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939

BF Senate

Nov 3, 1939.

Memorandum for Miss Le Hand

From Watson

Message from Col Halsey, Sec of Senate
Re-vote of 45 to 25 to adjourn today.

See: Neutrality folder-Drawer 2-1939

Copy

PSF Senate

November 10, 1939.

Senator King of Utah phoned that he was very happy to learn that the President was not opposed to transferring the Mercantile Marine to another Flag to save it. He, Senator King, does not consider this an evasion of the law.

E.M.W.

(General Watson)

See: Watson folder-Drawer 2-1939 for original memo

For original letter from Gov. Moore-
See: Gen corres-Moore-Drawer 2-1939

PST
Senate -
2

November 21, 1939.

Personal and Confidential

Dear Harry:

It is good to get your letter and I fully and heartily concur in every word that you say about Jimmy Byrnes, who is one of the best. I won't make any decision immediately and, as you know, I am faced with a good many problems -- geographic and otherwise.

My warm regards and I hope to see you one of these days soon.

As ever yours,

Honorable A. Harry Moore,
Governor of New Jersey,
Jersey City, New Jersey.

FRIDAY *full summer* LOS ANGELES E

Texas Editors Toast Garner At 'Sinfeet'

Merry Party Inspired by Recent Lewis Criticism

By Associated Press
DALLAS, Nov. 17.—Spittoons were placed 40 feet away from tobacco chewers and snuff dippers as a bunch of "evil old men and wicked old women" toasted Vice President Garner with milk.

But don't be misled by the milk in their goblets, it was no namby-pamby affair.

The vile occasion was "dedicated to sin and corruption by the friends of the Honorable John N. Garner of Texas, Vice President of the United States of America."

If it smacked of decency or of law and order, "such incident or incidents were purely coincidental and had no reference to nice persons, living or dead," the bunch roared after a few rounds of liquid.

ROWDIES EDITORS

The rowdies, members of the Texas Editorial Association and friends of the Vice President for 20 years, started "sinning" precisely at 7:30 o'clock last night.

The dinner was inspired by a remark made by C. L. O. President John L. Lewis. He called Mr. Garner "a poker playing, whiskey drinking, evil old man."

Mr. Garner wasn't there. He was down in the brush country hanging at deer.

Through fire and brimstone and those scorching milk cocktails, the old-timers waded. Then they emerged in a political field of daffodils, convinced the Democrats will nominate Mr. Garner in 1940 and elect him President.

NO CASUALTIES

They parked their Barlow knives, brass knuckles and six-guns at the

door. Only six acts were allowed in each poker game. An early check of the morgue revealed nobody dug up a seventh during the night.

The program of misdeeds included a round table discussion of the "best ways to sin."

The "evil-doers" gobbled up "wicked Texas grapefruit, repulsive celery hearts, corrupt olives, unwholesome Texas turkey, calamitous pickled peaches, pernicious cranberry sauce, depraved lettuce, worthless French dressing, baseful ice cream and cake and sinful rolls and butter"—a meal that would make any ordinary bad man sick.

Some "literate" men among them went back to Milton for a slogan: "Evil which our misdeeds have wrought."



PSF senate

Re-memo to the President from Steve Early-Nov 22, 1939
about phone call from Senator Glass who was greatly
concerned by the false headlines and vicious misrepresentations
of his position with reference to the Garner Presidential
Candidacy etc. etc.

See: Steve Early folder-Drawer 2-1939 for original memo

*file
personal*

PSF *Luette*

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER
WASHINGTON

Uvalde, Texas
November 24, 1939

THE WHITE HOUSE
NOV 27 9 01 AM '39
RECEIVED

Dear "Boss":

Many thanks for your kind greetings on my birthday. It was mighty sweet and thoughtful of you to remember it.

I spent the entire day in the country. Looking for a buck was just incidental to getting out in the open, and 'look' was all I did because I didn't get even one chance to "pop a cap".

Mrs. Gerner and I are well, and join in love to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Wm. N. Gerner

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

PSF

Senate

November 27, 1939.

Letter to Joe Guffey from Claude Bowers--Santiago.

See:Chile folder-Drawer 1-1939

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSK
File
Personal
Small
~

12/8/39

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS LeHAND

Senator Bulkley called and wanted a very cordial "thank you" conveyed to the President for his message to Mrs. Bulkley.

K.

RF
Senate

Pepper
Senate 1939
2

Memorandum for Jim Rowe from the President—December 9, 1939.

Re-Dave Sholtz

- Asks J. R. to talk with Senator Pepper about job which
- Dave Sholtz wants as Ambassador to Cuba. Attached is memo
- of Dec 13th from Rowe outlining Pepper's reply; also letters of
- Dec 7th and 13th from Sholtz to the President and one to Mr.
- McIntyre of Dec 14th. Attached also is Watson's reply to Sholtz
- of Dec 15, 1939. For memo from Rowe to President-Feb 6, 1940-Re-conversation
- with Sholtz who says he can beat Andrews for the Senate if the Pres keeps FWA
- out of Politics etc.
- See:Sholtz-Sen Corres-Drawer 2-1940

PST - Senate
2

December 12, 1939.

Dear Jimmy:-

All the same Harry Moore was right in his suggestion and I had, of course, thought of it and approved it before. The only fly in the ointment is the one you mention, for I, too, think that for various reasons the appointee should be from the West and should be a Catholic.

I hope you will be coming back to Washington pretty soon because I want to talk with you before I close the Budget figures and before I write the Annual Message.

As ever yours,

Honorable James F. Byrnes,
Spartanburg,
South Carolina.

WALTER CLARK, VA., CHAIRMAN
MCKELLAR, TENN.
HAYDEN, ARIZ.
THOMAS, OKLA.
BYRNES, S. C.
TYDINGER, MD.
RUSSELL, GA.
ADAMS, COLO.
MCCARRAN, NEV.
OVERTON, LA.
BAIRDHEAD, ALA.
O'MAHONEY, WYO.
TRUMAN, MO.
BURKE, NEBR.
GREEN, R. I.
MALONEY, CONN.
CHAVEZ, N. MEX.

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

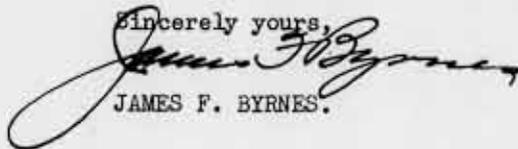
December 9, 1939

Dear Mr. President:

Harry Moore recently came to Spartanburg to visit me for a few days and while here told me that shortly after the death of Justice Butler he had written you suggesting that I be appointed to succeed Butler upon the Supreme Court. I told Harry that if I were President I would appoint as a successor to Justice Butler some man possessing the qualifications of a Judge who resided in the West and who is a member of the Catholic Church.

While Governor Moore's intentions were good, I believe, for the reasons stated to him, that his advice was unwise and I do not want you to think it was offered upon my suggestion or with my knowledge.

Sincerely yours,



JAMES F. BYRNES.

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

PST- Senate
2

Dec 13, 1939

To Hull
From the President
"Will you speak to me about this"

Re-Memo telephoned in by Senator Guffey for the President
in regard to George Earle

See: Hull folder-Drawer 1-1939

PSF

Jack Garner
Lemuel ✓

December 23, 1936.

Dear Jack:-

Merry Christmas.

We miss you much up here.

As ever yours,

Grace thinks they are referring to
the Neutrality Bill

*file
present*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*BF
Senate 2
[1939]*

Sen. Barkley:

"The Committee voted the Bill out
16 to 7, without material
changes."

*PSF
US Senate
'38-'39*

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 2267
(Sec. 510 P L & R)
Dallas, Texas



Pledge

TEXAS GARNER FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

TEXAS GARNER FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE,
1116 GULF STATES BLDG., DALLAS, TEXAS.

I believe that the best interests of the country and my state would be
furthered by the nomination for President on the Democratic ticket of
JOHN NANCE GARNER. I pledge my sincere efforts in his behalf.

Name.....

Address.....

County..... State.....



BUSINESS REPLY CARD

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—POSTAGE FOR RETURN WILL BE PAID BY—

TEXAS GARNER FOR PRESIDENT
COMMITTEE,
1116 GULF STATES BLDG.,
DALLAS, TEXAS.



JOHN NANCE GARNER

Quote

PSF: Senate

E. B. GERMANY, Chairman of State
Dem. Executive Committee,
Chairman

J. P. RICE, Dallas,
Secretary

MRS. CLARA DRISCOLL, Democratic
National Committeewoman,
Co-Chairman

TEXAS GARNER FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Vice-Chairmen
MYRON G. BLALOCK, Marshall, Tex.
J. K. BRIM, Sulphur Springs, Tex.
MAURY HUGHES, Dallas, Tex.

GULF STATES BLDG.
DALLAS, TEXAS

Dear Fellow Citizen:

As the course of time runs on, it has become evident that the people of the United States have tremendous confidence in the loyalty, integrity and high ideals of our great Texan, the Vice-President of the United States, John N. Garner. So general and widespread have been the expressions of friendship towards him that we of Texas who are his neighbors and friends of long standing have decided to act. We have, therefore, organized a general committee looking to the drafting of JOHN NANCE GARNER for PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The presidency of the United States is a solemn responsibility. And for it, we believe Mr. Garner is fitted, by character, by maturity and by experience. The Democratic nomination for President is in the hands of the citizens of the various states. Our sentiment in Texas is unanimous for our distinguished native son. We recognize that sentiment elsewhere, no matter how warm, means little unless it is organized. The friends of John Nance Garner are asked to join forces, and unite in a concerted show of strength, looking to his nomination by the Democratic party for the presidency of the United States.

Are you willing to help in this aim?

We are taking the liberty of enclosing two pledge forms, one for yourself, and another for some one loyal and trusted friend of yours. Read them carefully before you sign. Your sincerity and loyalty is all that is expected of you; no money is requested; no obligation of any other kind is wanted.

Sign one yourself--ONLY IF YOU BELIEVE IN JOHN NANCE GARNER AND HIS PROVEN RECORD and ask some friend to sign the other, some neighbor who is not a member of your own family.

Just drop them into the mail; no postage stamps necessary.

If you want a true, tried and trusted leader for the militant Democracy of this country, join with us to sponsor the leadership of John Nance Garner of Texas.

Sincerely Yours,

file
Garner
Senate
2

PSF: Senate

ROY MILLER'S STATEMENT OF GARNER STRATEGY

I believe our time is right. We have started very early because we have to build the person from the ground. Garner has no color; he cannot speak; he is quite old and cannot be shown.

We have to make an Andrew Jackson without Andrew Jackson's force; we have to depend upon what we believe the American people are ready to do.

We believe the American people are tired and want to sit down. We feel that they want one of their own kind to sit in a rocking chair.

Our man cannot talk so he will stay in his small town and only talk in simple sentences when the opposition gives him a chance, like the Lewis attack. We will have the same general troubles as the Coolidge backers for his popular election.

We believe the attacks on Garner's disloyalty can be overcome by Roosevelt's attack and threat to become disloyal to the Democratic Party. We will say "Who is God, and who made Caesar?"

We will let him fish -- all the fishermen will like that.

They attack him for whiskey-drinking; all of the whiskey-drinkers will have an excuse for their own weaknesses.

He will be attacked as too old to be any good; every man and woman over 60 will resent that.

He will be attacked as a Bourbon, and as too conservative; -- every fellow that wants to sit down and is afraid to say he is a conservative will go ahead and vote for "Safe and Sane John".

The appeal to all of these minorities makes necessary a long, slow and non-vigorous build-up where the person of Garner is built beautifully by the attacks on him. The American sense of fair play always goes to the rescue of the weak, the helpless and the smiling. John will do and be all these, as the young and vigorous take after him with ridicule and whips.