

● PBF

U.S. Senate (1940)

Subject File

Box 189

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File
Personal

Missy :: The President
wants this.

Important, he

says

Steve

WASHINGTON
JAN 11 1940

PSF: Senate
2

January 2, 1940

Dear General Cummings:

Thank you for the courtesy of your letter of December 26, transmitting the invitation of the Jackson Day Dinner Committee of the District of Columbia.

I would be glad to have you say, in reply to the kind message of the President, that I regret that I will be unable to participate in the hospitality of the great Democratic Party because of the traditional functions of this dinner, and my high regard for the institution of party responsibility in the American political system.

Sincerely yours,

Warren R. Austin

Honorable Homer S. Cummings, Chairman,
Jackson Day Dinner Committee,
Suite 765 National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

W

*PSF: Senate
file
present
Senate
2*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 3, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Jimmy Byrnes phoned and said that the Republicans always put their chins out, and you hit 'em a smash that registers a knock-out — and you did that today. He said that remark of yours, "You can't have your cake and eat it", was the high point of one of your greatest speeches.

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

Senator Guffey just telephoned me to say he would discuss the Woodward matter after he saw you; that "The President is kicking me in the pants in several places and I am not in a friendly attitude".

JHR

J. H. R.

*file
confidential*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1940

Memorandum For General Watson.

Herein is the story on Senator Guffey before he sees the President. This is confidential and, of course, Guffey should not see it.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSF: Senate
2

January 4, 1940

Memorandum For The President:

Senator Guffey

Forster told me you wanted me to ask Senator Guffey not to oppose on the floor the reappointment of Tom Woodward as Maritime Commissioner, hinting at the same time that you were thinking of reappointing Guffey's brother-in-law, Carroll Miller, to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

General Watson says Senator Guffey is trying to see you tomorrow (Friday).

Guffey, after several talks, telephoned me today that he will probably go along on Woodward and will give me a definite answer tomorrow.

Guffey is after bigger game than Woodward and wants to use him for trading purposes. Here is the story:

Woodward. His opposition to Woodward is two-fold: 1. He says Woodward's only usefulness is to vote with Land and Truitt, forming a majority. He believes the majority has done much to discredit the Administration and that Woodward is weak-kneed (all of which, other evidence indicates is somewhat true). He claims to fear a Congressional investigation of the Commission. 2. Woodward promised to back O. P. Brown, draftsman of the present Maritime Bill, for general counsel recently, and then ran out when the White House (at the request of Jerry Land) backed the present General Counsel.

Biddle. The Department of Justice tipped me off today that Guffey told Senator Hughes, Chairman of the Committee considering today's appointments, to hold up Biddle on the ground that he had not been consulted and "wasn't going to be kicked around". Biddle is reported to have stated, publicly or privately, that the Democratic Party should never renominate Guffey for Senator.

Biddle's Vacancy. Guffey also told me he would not stand for "any law school professors" replacing Biddle but wanted someone to help the Party. There has, of course, been gossip that you would select Dean Goodrich of Pennsylvania Law School to replace Biddle, but he wanted a man who could help the Party in Pennsylvania.

Besides the fact of Carroll Miller's reappointment, the Senator presumably knows he is very weak in Pennsylvania because all the leaders are against him. I believe several Congressmen have recently told General Watson there is no hope for Guffey in the Primaries.

1412
James Rowe, Jr.

PSF: *Senate*

*file
personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jan 6 - 1940

1-6-40

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I spoke to Senator King. He said he agrees with you fully that the matter should be confirmed and gotten out of the way immediately. He thought that a Justice of the Supreme Court acting in an executive capacity on a matter that would be brought to the Supreme Court, after he had been nominated, and surely after confirmation, would be extremely inadvisable.

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

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
 DENNIS DUFFY, TEX.
 HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
 BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
 JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
 THEODORE S. BILBO, MISS.
 VIC DONAHUE, OHIO
 FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
 GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
 CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
 JOHN LEE, ORG.
 LIETEN HILL, ALA.
 JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
 JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.

CHARLES L. MCMARY, OREG.
 MIRIAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
 ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
 WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
 ERNEST W. BIRNBAUM, VT.
 W. WARREN BARNOUR, N. J.

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

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 15, 1940

P5F
Private
 THE WHITE HOUSE
 JAN 16 8 56 AM '40
 RECEIVED

file personal

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

Dear Mr. President:

Let me say I am writing just to acknowledge receipt of your letter. I may write you more fully on this subject later.

I regret to say that I take a much more serious view of the matter than you appear to do. I really think there is a good deal of dynamite in the situation. However, I do not know.

I am very grateful for your invitation to come to see you and I intend to avail myself of the first opportunity. I would ask for an appointment at once, but for the fact that I am to see a surgeon today with a view to a superficial operation.

Cordially yours,



JWB#

Published in FDR, Personal Letters,
Vol. II, 1928-45 (edited by
Elliott Roosevelt), pp. 988-989.

RJ, 1/9/62

HIGHLY "FUSSONAL"

January 12, 1940.

Dear Josiah:-

I have yours of January tenth and I wish you could have been here the other day when I talked with some of the leading Baptists and Lutherans in regard to Mr. Taylor's going to the Vatican.

In the conduct of foreign relations, which is, of course, my responsibility, it is necessary for me to observe certain amenities of life. Whether we like it or not mere messenger boys, even when they are messenger boys, sent by the President of the United States, eat in the servants' hall in foreign countries -- and I should have hesitated to put Myron Taylor, who, after all, is a very great American, into such a position. If you were President you would not do it either.

Again, whether we like it or not there are certain titles which carry with them the right to sit at the supper table above the salt. Whether an American who is essentially acting as a messenger boy is called an Ambassador or by some other title ought to make very little practical difference in this country but makes a very great deal of difference in every other country, including, for example, Afghanistan, Tibet, London, Paris and Rome!

I am perhaps being a bit facetious but if some of my good Baptist brethren in Georgia had done a little preaching from the

pulpit against the K.K.K. in the '20's, I would
have a little more genuine American respect
for their Christianity!

The protest is due, of course, to a
lack of appreciation of the difficulties and
the niceties of conducting foreign affairs,
and I am wholly charitable toward them --
and, furthermore, I think the result of our
conference was 100% good and that we shall
hear little or nothing more of it.

Do come down and see me very soon.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Josiah W. Bailey,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT SHARP CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHUE, OHIO
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JOHN LEE, OKLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. HEAD, N. Y.
JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.
CHARLES L. MCHARTY, OHIO.
HIRSH W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
ERNEST W. BURROGH, VT.
W. WARREN BARRON, N. J.
A. HARG JAMES, CLERK
ROBERT WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 10, 1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
JAN 11 9 21 AM '40
RECEIVED

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

Dear Mr. President:

On December 24th, I received a wire from the Rev. Rufus W. Weaver, Chairman of the Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention on Public Relations, of which Committee I am a member, asking me if I would advise a protest against the action of the President in appointing Mr. Taylor to represent the President at the Vatican. I did not respond to this inquiry because I did not have the facts.

I had read in more than one newspaper statements to the effect that you had appointed Mr. Taylor as your envoy to the Vatican with the rank of Ambassador, but I did not believe that this was accurate.

I am sure you are advertent to the attitude of Baptists and others on the subject of official recognition of His Holiness, the Pope of Rome. I do not think objection could be made to your sending a messenger or representative to the Vatican in order to keep in touch with the Head of the Catholic Church because of his extraordinary position and the possibility that he may be the means of restoring peace, but serious objection would be made to the appointment of an envoy to the Vatican by the President with the status of Ambassador. I am sure there is no reason why I should now undertake to state the grounds for such objection, as doubtless you are just as familiar with them as I am.

May we not expect that you will clear this matter by a simple statement that Mr. Taylor has been designated by you to go to Rome and get in touch with the Pope by way of expressing the profound interest of the President and this country in restoring peace, and that he is being sent wholly by reason of the extraordinary opportunity which it is thought the Pope may have, either now or later, in instituting negotiations? I think our people would be able to make the distinction as between a personal messenger under the circumstances and anything like official recognition of the temporal power of the Pope.

JOSEPH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
 MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
 HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARIZ.
 BENNETT CLAMP CLARK, MD.
 JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
 THEODORE S. BILBO, MISS.
 VIC DONAHEY, OHIO
 FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
 GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
 CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
 JOSH LEX, OKLA.
 LISTER HILL, ALA.
 JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
 JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.

CHARLES L. MCHARTY, OREG.
 MIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
 ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
 WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
 ERNEST W. BURROUGHS, VT.
 W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
 A. HANO JAMES, CLERK
 ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate
 COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

-2- The President of the United States.

This letter is forwarded not by way of protest, but by way of undertaking to be helpful in a rather delicate situation.

With every good wish for your happiness,

I am,

Cordially yours,

JWB/s

Joseph W. Bailey

For original drafts of this letter
See: Misc Speeches and Radio Addresses
Box 1-1940

Tully ~~draft~~
1940 - Senate

PSF: Senate
Senate
✓

January 16, 1940.

My dear Mr. President:-

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

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

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

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

An extension of credit at this time does not in any way constitute or threaten any so-called "involvement" in European wars. That such can be taken for granted.

-2-

It seems to me that the most reasonable approach would be action by the Congress authorizing an increase in the revolving credit fund of the Export-Import Bank and authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase loans and securities from the Export-Import Bank to enable it to finance exportation of agricultural surpluses and manufactured products, not including implements of war.

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

Very sincerely yours,

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

JOSEPH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
 MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
 HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
 EDWYTT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
 JOHN H. CHASTAIN, LA.
 THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
 VIC DONAHUE, OHIO
 FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
 GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
 CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
 JOHN LEX, ORE.
 LIETEN HILL, ALA.
 JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
 JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.
 CHARLES L. McNARY, OREG.
 MIRIAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
 ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
 WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
 EDWYTT W. SIBBON, VT.
 W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
 A. HANS JAMES, CLERK
 ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate
 COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

*PSF
Senate*

January 16, 1940

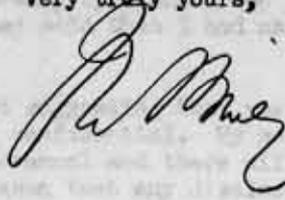
Col. Edwin M. Watson,
 Secretary to the President,
 The White House,
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel Watson:

I am enclosing ^{herewith} herein a personal
 and confidential communication for the President
 and request that you will place it before him at
 once.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,



JWB/s

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE
JAN 16 1940

100-100000-100000
100-100000-100000
100-100000-100000

WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
STEPHEN M. CARAWAY, ARIZ.
FRANCIS CHAMF CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHUE, OHIO
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JOHN LEE, OKLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. WEADE, N. Y.
JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.
CHARLES L. McNARY, OHIO.
HERMAN W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
ERNEST W. RIBBON, VT.
W. WARREN BARBER, N. J.
A. HARD JAMES, CLERK
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 16, 1940

Personal and Confidential

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

Dear Mr. President:

Probably the procedure is unusual, but I am enclosing herein a copy of the testimony taken yesterday on the subject of the personal objections to the appointment of Mr. Paul R. Leake as Collector of Customs in San Francisco. I am doing this because Senator Downey brought serious accusations against yourself as President. I refer you to page eight, also page eighteen.

On page eighteen, I undertook to summarize the complaint of Senator Downey by framing two issues and you will see that Senator Downey said that I had made a proper statement of his case.

I am not suggesting that you respond in any way and this letter is confidential. My action in sending the record to you is personal and there will be no disclosure from me for the reason that any disclosure might tend to put you in an embarrassing position. I am sure you understand that I am acting wholly because I think that you ought to have notice of a matter of this sort in order that you may take any step that seems advisable to you.

I think I am safe in saying that there is no likelihood that the Senate will sustain Senator Downey in respect to the first issue concerning yourself. I do not know what will occur concerning the second issue as there are no standards to guide us in forecasting the action of the Senate in cases of personal obnoxiousness. It has been said of the wind that "it bloweth where it listeth". No less may be said of the Senate.

With all good wishes,

JWB/s

Very cordially,

Vol. 1

PSF: Senate

The United States Senate

Report of Proceedings

**Hearing held before
Subcommittee of the Committee on Finance**

NOMINATION OF PAUL R. LEAKE

January 15, 1940

Washington, D. C.

WARD & PAUL

NATIONAL { 4266
4267
4268

OFFICIAL REPORTERS
1704 L ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOMINATION OF PAUL R. LEAKE

Paul R. Leake, of Woodland, California, to be collector of customs for customs collection district numbered 28, with headquarters at San Francisco, California, in place of Charles O. Dunbar, deceased.

(Mr. Leake is now serving under temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Monday, January 15, 1940

United States Senate,
Subcommittee of the Committee on Finance,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 310, Senate Office Building, Senator Josiah W. Bailey, presiding.

Present: Senators Josiah W. Bailey (chairman), Edwin C. Johnson, (Colorado), and John G. Townsend, Jr.

Senator Bailey: The committee will come to order. The nomination of Paul R. Leake of Woodland, California, to be Collector of Customs for the Customs Collection District No. 28, headquarters at San Francisco, California, having been sent to the Senate, referred to the Finance Committee, and by the chairman of the Finance Committee to a subcommittee consisting of Senators Bailey, Johnson, and Townsend,

duly met on January 15, 1940.

It appearing that the chairman of the Finance Committee had in regular course informed Senator Johnson of California and Senator Downey of California of the nomination, Senator Johnson has reported as follows:

"Paul R. Leake is a fine character, presenting every qualification for any office to which he aspires. Notwithstanding the manner of his selection, and much as I regret and resent the treatment of my colleague in the selection of an appointee to this office, I could not do otherwise than recommend Mr. Leake."

Senator Downey, in response to the letter of the chairman, informing him of the nomination, replied as follows:

"Thanks for the opportunity to say that Mr. Leake is personally obnoxious to me. For many years his newspaper, at Woodland, California, has been filled with false and defamatory statements concerning me. For the information of the committee, I enclosing a typical editorial from Mr. Leake's paper, 80 percent of which is wholly untrue."

The editorial is as follows:

"Where Was Mr. Downey?

"Like the sound of an empty freight train going over a bridge, the voice of Sheridan Downey, Congressional candidate, boomed forth here last night.

"In fact, there was something pitiful and pathetic in

his talk to the Townsendites - the spectacle of a bright man using his bile instead of his brains to beg for votes.

"The absurdity of it all defeated his attempt to arouse the emotions and passions of his listeners.

"While Mr. Downey again professed a strong friendship for President Roosevelt, he forgot to explain his own profound silence during the Townsend convention in Cleveland when Rev. Alphabet Smith, a disgruntled self-seeking, political preacher, with broken down arches trying to stand in the shadow of Huey Long, joined with self-satisfied Father Coughlin in villifying and 'crucifying' the President.

"It was Gomer Smith, vice president of the Townsend national organization and Not Mr. Downey, who arose gallantly to defend the President when his defamers characterized him as a 'liar', a 'betrayor' and a 'double crosser.' Even in a meeting of Communists or avowed Reds, such an attack would have met with a storm of indignation and protest, and probably an S.O.S. for the police car.

"For exercising his right of free speech and ^{for} replying to this unbecoming abuse of the head of our government, Gomer Smith, if Dr. Townsend had had his way, would have been read out of the old-age tax organization. 'Gomer Smith is no longer a member of our group,' shouted Dr. Townsend.

"And while this anti-American demonstration was in progress, where was Sheridan Downey?

"Did one word drop from his lips in defense of his 'friend' - the President of the United States?

"He was at the convention more prosperous looking than a divorce lawyer in Reno, as persuasive as an automobile salesman with a new prospect and busier than a tick on a turtle. But this 'devoted admirer' of Mr. Roosevelt never made a single move to stop the disgraceful attack.

"In silencing Gomer Smith, Dr. Townsend, an advocate of pure and unadulterated democracy, was himself, practicing autocracy with an iron hand.

"But did Mr. Downey object? Not on your life.

"Would the former Epic leader and apostle of Upton Sinclair risk losing that weekly fee as the lawyer for Dr. Townsend to support his 'friend' - the President?

"In behalf of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Downey in Cleveland was as useless as a 'busted' relative.

"He has eloquence and talent as a speaker. He could have joined with Gomer Smith and stopped that shameful demonstration against the President the minute it started, but visualizing only his fee and the Townsend votes he might get for Congress he remained as unemotional as a veterinarian pulling a dog's tooth.

"The opportunity for Mr. Downey afforded a test of his proclaimed friendship for the man who has already done more for the aged and the poor and the distressed than any na-

tional leader in this generation, but he failed to respond. His was a case of fear and jitters, realizing that he might be pouring gold out of his own pockets if he dared to defy Dr. Townsend and the assailants of the President. When 'silence is golden' depend upon it that Mr. Downey will hold his tongue.

"Mr. Downey was more occupied in Cleveland than Ghandi slapping at mosquitoes; so much so, in fact, he couldn't find time to utter a single word in condemnation of the pair of speakers who debauched their own standing as 'men of the cloth.'

"And yet this is the man who professes to be a true Democrat, a friend of the President.

"Congressman Clarence Lea and Frank Buok will not offer \$200 a month, or any other sum, of other people's money for votes. They have very frankly expressed the belief that it is folly to take from those who earn to give to those not in need or to others greatly in excess of their need.

"Mr. Downey, who pays no more attention to facts than a rabbit does to birth control, is not so much concerned about the aged as he is their ballots.

"Probably least deserving of recognition last night was the Epic disciple's charge that all chambers of commerce are supporting Mr. Buok and one of the first places the Congressman will visit when he come to Woodland is the C. of C.

quarters. Secretary Van Tongeren had a good laugh to himself, as Mr. Buck has not been inside the C. of C. sanctum this year and he and 'Van' have never had the pleasure of meeting each other.

"Such misstatements mean nothing to the conscience of the crafty attorney who seeks to pull the wool over the eyes of the decrepit.

"In last night's talk, he was as futile as a robin serenading a riveter when he told how he had spurned \$15,000 worth of financing for his campaign because he 'will not place in jeopardy my political liberty.' It is as reasonable to fall for that hokum as it is to believe the fellow who swore he never lost a collar button and never dropped the cap off a tube of toothpaste.

"Townsend political candidates will get nowhere by abusing and lying about their opponents. Their followers will accomplish nothing for the cause of old age tax pensions, by tolerating deceit and misrepresentation from their spokesmen.

"Furthermore, if the Townsend old-age tax plan is as good as they say it is, the Townsend people must be as good sports as they want everybody else to be. Editorial discussion and caustic criticism will not hurt it.

"For years the eloquent but erratic Mr. Downey has been going around in circles like a goldfish, and he's still

doing it - and with his mouth wide open, too, spouting fish stories and trying hard to get into the political swim."

(Reproduced by photostat from Woodland Democrat, date 8-4-'36, p. 6 c. 1. Date reproduced 12-27-39. California State Library).

In addition, Senator Downey wrote Senator Harrison, chairman of the committee, as follows, under date of January 8:

"I have been informed the statement has been made that the President did not appoint the individual recommended by me as Collector of Customs because he was a disbarred attorney.

"There is no truth or foundation to this statement. The man I have recommended is not an attorney, and so far as I know bears a most excellent reputation. I offered his name because the political leaders in his district thought he was entitled to the position, and reported to me he had the very best of reputation.

"Likewise, I was told that this gentlemen, Cal Cook, had been the roommate of Justice Douglas in college, and his close friend. I interviewed Justice Douglas concerning the qualifications of Mr. Cook. He stated to me that Mr. Cook's reputation and character were of the very best.

"The statements as to my having recommended some lawyer who has been disbarred are evidently made for the purpose

of confusing the issue.

"The President at no time consulted with me about this appointment, and gave me no intimation or advance notice that he intended to appoint a personal enemy of mine, recommended by ex-Senator McAdoo.

"If I can give you any further information on this subject please call upon me.

"Again thanks for your many courtesies to me.

"Sincerely, Sheridan Downey."

I have certain other communications which will be put in later if the committee thinks proper. Meantime, I suggest that we hear Mr. Downey.

Senator Downey, Thank you, Senator Bailey. Let me say in the first place, that my personal sensibilities are not really involved in my resisting the approval of Mr. Leake's appointment. I consider it a rather grave social issue. I believe upon rather credible information that President Roosevelt has been actuated in making this appointment by resentment against me, first because I defeated Senator McAdoo, when he went out to California to support him; and, secondly, and more immediately because I resisted very vigorously the President's recent program on neutrality. However this appointment was accomplished, it did result in picking out of the approximately 6 million people in the State of California, almost the only man I

would have said was obnoxious to me.

I have been very active in politics in California for about 10 years, and during most of that time, most of the newspapers of the state have opposed both my economic ideas and have opposed me politically. I cannot say that the newspapers of the state were always perfect in their treatment, but at least I cannot recall a single newspaper that ever was abusive or engaged in bitter personalities against me except this one newspaper run by Mr. Leake in Woodland. Mr. Leake repeatedly in his columns of his paper assailed me in very cheap, vulgar, abusive language. The editorial, Senator Townsend, that you hold in your hand is typical of 10 or 15 others that I can submit.

Not alone were Mr. Leake's editorials very abusive and very unhappy in their language and their personal aspects, but generally they were entirely false. To show how false that particular editorial is --

Senator Bailey: (interposing) Do you want a copy of it before you?

Senator Downey: No. It relates principally to an accusation that I was very cowardly and thinking of certain attorney's fees and certain monies when, in the Townsend national convention prior to the last Presidential election, it is alleged that I believe Father Coughlin and Gerald Smith and Mr. Lemke very bitterly assailed President Roose-

velt and that I did not defend him because I was making money out of the Townsend movement.

Now, as a matter of fact, in that particular convention, Senator Bailey, there were some very great speeches made and some very abusive speeches. Father Coughlin bitterly assailed Franklin Roosevelt in a very tremendous philippic against him, and this chap Gerald Smith, who is a very powerful rabble rouser did too, and Mr. Lemke and some other people. Gomer Smith, who was recently defeated in Oklahoma, took the platform after those speeches were over and immediately defended President Roosevelt in a very vigorous speech. I spoke two or three times in the convention and expressed my regret and resentment at the very vicious and terrible attacks that had been made upon President Roosevelt. As a matter of fact, I very strongly defended President Roosevelt, and as a result of my attitude in that convention, Dr. Townsend and I while preserving friendly personal relations, went different ways; in other words, because of the fact that I did not follow Dr. Townsend's lead in his attitude toward President Roosevelt at that particular time, my relationship such as it was with the Townsend organization was broken, which resulted in a very unhappy political situation for me. I do not say that the election would have resulted very differently, but I was at that time running against Mr. Buck for Congress out in

our congressional district --

Senator Bailey: (interposing) What year was that?

Mr. Buck: (Member of Congress, 3rd California District) Don't say that, please.

Senator Bailey: Let him say anything he pleases, and when the time comes for contradiction, we will hear you.

Senator Downey: I am very glad to hear him now.

Senator Bailey: No. Please go on.

Senator Downey: I was running for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the district in which I live, and Mr. Buck was the incumbent and I was opposing him. That is correct, isn't it? Thousands of Townsendites in that district telephoned me, and many of them wrote to me that they believed that I had made a serious mistake in the convention in my speeches, and told me they would not go to the polls and vote for me. In addition to that, some of Mr. Buck's strongest supporters spread this same story that Mr. Leake spread here indicating that I had been against Mr. Roosevelt, and I lost a lot of labor and Roosevelt votes that I otherwise would have had. I don't care what Mr. Buck says, but the labor leaders and the Townsendites told me this personally. I do not say that the election would have been any different; that is totally immaterial. Mr. Buck is not at all responsible for that. I have not the slightest suggestion of any criticism of Mr. Buck for anything that

ever occurred in our campaigns. He was always very friendly and very fair. All I am trying to say is that this editorial is 80 percent untrue, and was of course put out in order to affect me disadvantageously in that political campaign. All that you will have to do is to read that editorial to see the character of the man whom the President is appointing to this office. I have 15 or 20 typical editorials like that in my office which I will be glad to submit.

Senator Johnson: Were all of them written prior to that election? Were any of these bitter editorials you speak of written after your election?

Senator Downey: What election are you referring to?

Senator Johnson: Your election to the United States Senate.

Senator Downey: I don't know. After I defeated Senator McAdoo, Mr. Leake published in his paper some very bitter attacks upon me taken from other newspapers, and he did not support me in my campaign.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) After the primary?

Senator Downey: After the primary.

Senator Bailey: Weren't you the Democratic nominee?

Senator Downey: Yes, I was.

Senator Bailey: Were you the nominee of any other party?

Senator Downey: I think I did receive the Progressive

and Townsendite and - I don't know. Perhaps some others. In California, you can get five or six nominations.

Senator Bailey: You can get both the Democratic and the Republican?

Senator Downey: Yes. Senator Johnson did that the last time, I think. Mr. Buck has done that right along. He has been successful in getting both nominations, Republican and Democrat. In fact, generally I think he has run better in the Republican Party than the Democratic Party.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Do I understand that Mr. Leake supported your Republican opponent after the McAddo-Downey primary election?

Senator Downey: Mr. Johnson, I have not specifically examined the columns since then. All I can say is this, that I remember reading his columns between the primary and the election, and he had reprinted from other papers, other Republican papers, very strong attacks upon my economic and political ideas. I understand that Mr. Leake's claim now is that those articles did not express his own ideas, but he merely republished them from other papers for the information of the voters. I believe that is his claim.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) I am trying to make a distinction between his attitude after the primary election and before the primary election.

Senator Downey: Well, as I say, Senator Johnson, I don't

know that after the primary he came out with any such abusive editorials as this, but he did reprint in his paper very derogatory sentiments concerning my political and economic ideas, which of course only could have hurt me very greatly in the county where that paper circulates.

Let me express this, - Yolo County is just across the river from Sacramento County. In the election, I carried Sacramento County by a very substantial majority, and on the other side, Yolo County, where this paper circulates, I lost, and I think one of the reasons I lost it is because of the publicity of Mr. Leake in his newspaper. I am not evading what you are saying. Mr. Leake did reprint in his paper between the primary and the election, derogatory articles to me, but I understand he claims that those did not express his sentiments, but he merely reprinted them from the other papers, and he has written that those reprints did not express his opinion of me between the primary and the election.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) What is his claim; that he did support you after you were nominated?

Senator Downey: I am sure that he does not make that claim. As far as I know, there was not one word of support of my candidacy after the primary. I asked someone to search the paper, and they could not find anything in his columns supporting me after the primary, I have not personally ex-

amined the paper and I do not know. Mr. Buck may know and have the material.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Did Senator McAdoo and President Roosevelt support you after the McAdoo primary contest?

Senator Downey: Of course, Senator McAdoo did not. As a matter of fact, Senator McAdoo continued to oppose me. I cannot recall that President Roosevelt expressed himself after the primary and before the election as to my candidacy, but he may have in some of his formal appeals for the Democratic candidates, he may have, Senator Johnson, but I don't know.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) As I recall it, he did send a telegram or something endorsing you as a progressive.

Senator Downey: Perhaps he did; perhaps he did. I don't know.

Senator Bailey: It made no impression on your mind if he did?

Senator Downey: No, Senator Bailey, it did not. And, gentlemen, I would like the committee to clearly get my viewpoint. The only reason I am here is because I think there is a question of important public policy involved in that issue, as to whether a President of the United States should utilize the power of appointment to chasten and discipline a United States Senator because he either personally does not like him or because he does not support the

legislation that the President likes. And I state that I am firmly of the opinion that this appointment is the outgrowth of the desire on the part of President Roosevelt and Senator McAdoo and other people in California to punish me for not being what I might term a good rubber stamp.

It has been intimated to me several times that if I rather bowed the knee to Mr. Roosevelt on his different legislation and these different matters, my way would be very much easier in Washington in a great many different ways. I came to Washington to fight certain economic battles and those things are so much greater in importance to me than this question of patronage, that it does not count with me at all, and I won't be unhappy whatever may eventuate out of this matter.

Senator Townsend: You say in your letter that the man you recommended was not an attorney?

Senator Downey: No, he was not an attorney, and to take you down into the rather unhappy and subterranean channels of Democratic politics, while I was not in California after I had presented Mr. Cal Cook, Mr. George Creel met with certain of my well-known supporters out in California and for some strange reason that Mr. Creel could perhaps explain, he manipulated that group so that that group agreed that I, the United States Senator, should recommend this disbarred attorney, and apparently in some way it was given out that

I had recommended him by Mr. Creel, and apparently it was given out from the White House that the reason the President would not appoint the person that I had recommended was because he was a disbarred attorney. Exactly where the wires were crossed, I don't know, because I never did recommend this gentleman and never considered recommending him, and never recommended anybody; but Mr. Cal Cook, who is not a lawyer as far as I know, has a very fine reputation and character, and was okayed by Mr. Bill Douglas, one of the men whom apparently the President of the United States has great confidence in. And so the President, I can hardly think, would have turned down Mr. Cook's appointment, because Mr. Cook had been a roommate of Justice Douglas, I believe, in law school, and is highly regarded by him as to his character.

Senator Townsend: What is the man's name that they claim you recommended?

Senator Downey: Clifton Hildebrand, who was a lawyer in Oakland, California.

Senator Townsend: You did not recommend him at all?

Senator Downey: No, I did not, Senator Townsend. Perhaps there was a trap set for the junior Senator from California and it was expected that he would fall into the trap and recommend this gentleman, and the gentlemen en-

anticipated the closing of the trap. They, in other words, wanted to give the President of the United States the excuse to castigate the person who was recommended by the Senator, but I did not do it, Senator Townsend. And I never thought of doing it. There was not any letter or any indication of it.

Senator Bailey: Is that all?

Senator Downey: That is all I have to say.

Senator Bailey: Now, you rest your case on two points, - one, your allegation that this appointment is personally obnoxious to you because it is an appointment in which the President is undertaking to discipline you for not going along with him; is that correct?

Senator Downey: That is correct.

Senator Bailey: Your second point is that this appointment is personally obnoxious to you, because the appointee has continually abused you in the editorial columns of his paper and has printed other abusive things from other newspapers; is that correct?

Senator Downey: That is correct.

Senator Bailey: Will you have anything more to say?

Senator Downey: No, not now. May I remain here?

Senator Bailey: Oh, certainly. Now, Mr. Buck, you have told me that you wish to be heard.

Mr. Frank H. Buck: (Representing the 3rd Congressional District of California). Gentlemen, I do wish to be

heard. I should like to preface my remarks, Mr. Chairman and Senator Johnson and Townsend, with the statement that while Mr. Downey and I have been political opponents - he was twice a candidate for the Democratic nomination against me and of course we had pretty hot battles during that time - I have no personal animosity against Mr. Downey, and I think that he realizes that he has gotten along fairly well and satisfactorily since he has been elected Senator from California.

I question, Mr. Chairman, whether there is any question about Mr. Leake's fitness, ability or integrity, and I do not know and could not understand from Mr. Downey's remarks whether he wished to raise that question or not.

Senator Bailey: He did not raise it.

Mr. Buck: If he does, I want to go into that fully.

Senator Bailey: No, he did not raise it.

Mr. Buck: All right. Then we will simply take it for granted that as far as ability and integrity and character are concerned, that Mr. Leake is capable of filling this office.

Senator Bailey: I will settle that right now in Mr. Downey's presence. You did not raise any question as to the character or the qualifications of Mr. Leake for the office?

Senator Downey: No, Senator Bailey, I did not raise that question, but let me point this out to you. There is

a question of whether or not a man who would write such an editorial as introduced here in evidence is a man that the Senate of the United States ought to believe ought to be appointed to such an office. I just submit the editorial on that. The editorial speaks for itself.

Senator Bailey: Well, but you are resting your case on personal obnoxiousness and not on the man's qualifications for the office?

Senator Downey: That is correct.

Mr. Buck: Under those circumstances, I shall not take any great length of time, Senators, to go into Mr. Leake's character. He is a man who is in his 40's, a graduate of the Santa Clara University, and educated, well-read, and has been active in Democratic politics out there during his entire lifetime. His father, I may add, was Collector of the Port at San Francisco under Woodrow Wilson, and it is possible that some of you whose political experience goes back that far may have known him. At any rate, he has always been active in support. He is now, among other things, vice president of the California State Association of Newspapers, and for what the committee may want to do with them, I would like to submit to you gentlemen a number of editorials endorsing the appointment of Mr. Leake as an encouragement to California, and so forth.

Senator Bailey: To put them in the record?

Mr. Buck: I don't know. If you want to look them over or put them in the record - I would like to put them in.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Are you asking us to put them in the record?

Mr. Buck: I offer them for the record, Senator.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Do they afford any evidence pertaining to the issues that Senator Downey has raised here?

Mr. Buck: They all deal with the question of Mr. Downey's opposition to Mr. Leake.

Senator Bailey: We can examine them and determine later whether or not they should go in.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) If they are pertinent to the issues which Senator Downey has raised, I think they should go in the record.

Mr. Buck: I can read one of them, and, Senator Bailey, you can look them over. It is all right if you reject those that do not deal with the issues.

Now, with reference to the editorial that the Senator has submitted to you, I want to call your attention to this fact. In 1936, there was a very bitter primary campaign in the Democratic party. The Senator in the early part of the year was representing Dr. Townsend back here as his attorney before the House investigating committee,

and the Senator came to me one day and he said that he thought that he was going to have to make the race for Congress against me, and I told him quite politely that if he did, that I would defeat him, but he went ahead anyway and he had the Townsend support. I have never heard until today that he ever lost any of it after the Cleveland convention. It may be that he lost a few votes. At any rate, the battle was fought on that issue, solely on the question of whether or not, as I have been known to be opposed definitely to the Townsend legislation, whether or not I should be reelected or the Senator elected.

Mr. Leake was one of my ardent supporters. He wrote a number of editorials during the course of the campaign. They were written in the heat of a very hot campaign, I want to say, and perhaps in one or two respects he might have even stepped over the bounds, but when the campaign was over - I am sure the Senator will recall this - that at the State Convention, I came up to him and we shook hands and I said "This war is over. Are you going to support the President?" Because Dr. Townsend had moved off the reservation and was definitely opposing the President. And the Senator said, "Yes." At a later date he also met Mr. Leake and they exchanged - whether they shook hands or not I don't know, but they exchanged the same sort of assurances that this matter was a dead horse.

Now, I think frankly, that this editorial should be regarded by you gentlemen as simply a political editorial written in a hot campaign. I know that Mr. Leake --

Senator Bailey: (interposing) Let me ask you, Mr. Buck, a question. In the course of the editorial, it being entitled "Where was Mr. Downey?" I found this paragraph: "Townsend political candidates will get nowhere by abusing and lying about their opponents. Their followers will accomplish nothing for the cause of old-age tax pensions by tolerating deceit and misrepresentation from their spokesmen."

Now, do you in reading that editorial, impute to it the innuendo that Mr. Downey was lying in the campaign?

Mr. Buck: Well, Senator, I would hardly say that. I think that both Mr. Downey and certainly some of his ardent supporters made allegations with reference to me that were unquestionably distortions of fact, and those statements were made in political speeches.

Senator Bailey: This editor uses the word "lied". A lie is not a distortion of the truth. A lie is a false statement maliciously made with the intention to do injury. That is my conception of a lie.

Mr. Buck: I would not demean myself by trying to say that the Senator ever lied about me. My record was an open record --

Senator Bailey: (interposing) There is this one paragraph - I am not saying that he meant to refer to Mr. Downey. It is a generalization.

Mr. Buck: You will recall, Senator, there was more than one Townsendite candidate running around that district. In the first district, there was also a very bitter fight being made against Clarence Lee at that time.

Senator Bailey: What I am getting at is, do you conceive that this was an innuendo or even a direct allegation?

Mr. Buck: I would not so conceive it myself.

Senator Bailey: That Mr. Downey was lying in the campaign.

Mr. Buck: I would not so conceive it.

Senator Bailey: There are many false statements made in political campaigns, but frequently they are made in good faith.

Mr. Buck: One of the issues in that campaign was exactly what Senator Downey expressed here a minute ago, as to whether he was or was not going to be a supporter of President Roosevelt, and I was running on a straight administration program, and of course we were trying to bring home to the people the fact that we did not believe the Senator would be an administration supporter, and I don't know if we were not right about that, but never mind that.

Senator Bailey: What is the date of that editorial?

Mr. Buck: August 4th, 1936. The primary of August, 1936.

Senator Bailey: It was in your fight?

Mr. Buck: Yes, it was in my fight, and had nothing to do with the Senator's late campaign.

I want to say this much, that Mr. Leake probably differs from the Senator fundamentally on economic principles. He has not been for the Epic plan on which the Senator once ran, he was not for the Townsend plan, he was not for the Ham and Egg plan, and maybe he was behind the eight ball, Senator, when you were nominated there, but I know this much of my own facts, that he never wrote an editorial opposing you after you were nominated in the 1938 primary.

Senator Bailey: Do you mean to say that he supported Mr. Downey at the ballot box?

Mr. Buck: I had no idea how he voted; I could not tell you that.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Did he support him in his paper, or did he just drop the matter?

Mr. Buck: He dropped the matter, Senator.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Neither supported nor opposed him?

Mr. Buck: Neither supported nor opposed him. I think if I might read to you a paragraph from a letter that Mr. Leake wrote one of your colleagues in the Senate, of which he

sent me a carbon copy, so I presume I am entitled to use it:

"After Senator Downey's announcement that he is opposed to me because I am personally obnoxious to him, I am frank to say that I cannot see any grounds upon which he can base this objection. If he had said that I was personally antipathetic to him, I could readily understand that. The term 'obnoxious' implies either that I have done something of an unfair or unethical nature in my opposition to him in supporting Congressman Buok, or when Mr. Downey ran against him for Congress in 1936, or that I have been guilty of something involving moral turpitude or otherwise which would justify this objection. I can assure you that I have done neither. A careful examination of the files of the Woodland Democrat will disclose that I did not at anytime deal unfairly with Senator Downey. While the Woodland Democratic bitterly opposed Mr. Downey in his primary fight, just as it opposed Senator Downey in the primary fight against Senator McAdoo, nevertheless its news and editorial columns treated Senator Downey with absolute fairness."

And might I add to that, that during the campaign I had to call up Mr. Leake several times and tell him that he was giving the Senator too much space in his news columns, that he was not, in my opinion, treating Brother Buok fairly enough in the news columns.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) That is after the primary election in 1938?

Mr. Buck: No, I am talking about this whole editorial which the Senator refers to, which came out in our primary fight in 1936. As he said, I also obtained the Republican nomination at that time, and I thought he was giving Mr. Downey too much publicity in his columns.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Then you were objecting to his opposing Senator Downey so vigorously?

Mr. Buck: I was objecting to his giving so much space to Senator Downey in the news columns. He was supporting me.

Senator Bailey: How do you reconcile Mr. Leake's statement you have just quoted with the language in this editorial? Mr. Leake says that he had not accused Senator Downey of anything touching or involving moral turpitude. Let me read this:

"In last night's talk" that is Senator Downey's talk - "he was as futile as a robbin serenading a riveter when he told how he had spurned \$15,000 worth of financing for his campaign because he 'will not place in jeopardy my political liberty'. It is as reasonable to fall for that hum as it is to believe in the fellow who swore he never lost a collar button and never dropped the cap off of a tube of toothpaste.

"Townsend political candidates will get nowhere by abusing and lying about their opponents. Their followers will accomplish for the cause of old-age tax pensions by tolerating deceit and misrepresentation from their spokesmen."

Now, do you say that that does not suggest at any rate and even directly accuses Senator Downey of lying and moral turpitude? What would you say about it?

Mr. Buck: Senator, I merely repeat what I said before, - editorials of that kind are to be read in the light of the heat of a campaign. In the first place, I don't know anything about any \$15,000 that the Senator may have spurned. I do know this, that at every Townsend club meeting during that campaign, a collection was taken up for the purposes of defeating Representative Buck. I do know that they went back in 1938 and did the same thing, and at the same time they wrote a song "Give Buck to Beat Buck". This is all in the record on the Social Security bill, so I have no hesitancy in repeating it.

And the Townsendites, whether the Senator was involved in it or not I don't know, - have never accounted for one cent of that money, in spite of the effort of the Ways and Means Committee to get such an accounting, or the Clerk of the House, under the Corrupt Practices Act.

Senator Bailey: Was the Townsend movement there in the form of a political party or in the form of a faction within

the primary, undertaking to get the Democratic nomination for Mr. Downey? I don't quite understand.

Senator Downey: It was a faction.

Mr. Buck: The Senator is right. It was a faction or whatever you want to call it, - an element in the party. I am just quoting from the official record. The Townsend party itself was not organized in California until the 1938 election. In 1936 it operated within the party.

Senator Bailey: It is now a party?

Mr. Buck: It is now a party called the Townsend Party.

Senator Bailey: In California, you can be a member of two parties at one time?

Mr. Buck: No, you can only be a member of one party, but you can run on as many tickets as you pay the filing fee for.

Senator Bailey: I do not suppose you know which party Senator Downey belongs to?

Mr. Buck: Senator Downey - I take it - I think he was nominated as a Democrat. I think that is correct, isn't it?

Senator Downey: Yes, that is correct. Mr. Chairman, may I say this?

Senator Bailey: Yes, I would like to know about that. You are a member of the Townsend Party?

Senator Downey: No, we have the Prohibition Party, the Townsend Party, the Communist Party, the Democratic Party,

the Republican Party - Mr. Buck has been perhaps the most successful one in running on two parties, because he uniformly has run on both the Democratic and the Republican tickets, and his best support has been in the Republican Party.

Mr. Buck: One moment, Senator. I will give you the figures, and they show --

Senator Downey: (interposing) I will withdraw the remark.

Mr. Buck: I got 72-1/2 percent of the Democratic primary in 1938, and 60 percent of the Republican.

Senator Downey: Yes, but you recall that you substantially beat Senator Ingalls (?) on that chain store issue. The chain store issue has been very strong out in California and in that particular campaign as in other campaigns, I was offered the sum of \$10,000 by the chain store lobbyists for campaign purposes for that particular campaign. I understand it was offered to almost all the candidates, and that some of them took it.

Mr. Buck: It was not offered to me.

Senator Downey: It was offered to some of them. And I refused it. It was not \$15,000, but it was \$10,000, and I am very happy to substantiate that offer to this committee if it is of any importance. I never particularly made any point of that. I have been offered large sums of money by

different groups and organizations for campaign purposes and I refused them. In some way it came out in my campaign. I never made any charge that Mr. Buck received any money from the chain stores. But when Mr. Leake says that I lied about that, that is absolutely false, because it was a true statement. It was not \$15,000, but it was \$10,000.

Also, Mr. Chairman, if I might make this comment - I did want to burden this committee with reading these editorials, but I have 10 or 15 editorials extending over a series of years of very much that same tenor, accusing me of deceit and falsehood, and that my political activities were actuated by desire to get money out of the Townsend movement, and so forth. In this campaign that Mr. Buck has spoken of, I did not have one penny of contribution from any of the Townsend clubs. As a matter of fact, I went around and made speeches and I paid all of my own expenses. I did not make one penny of them.

Mr. Buck: Some of them were getting the money that they were collecting.

Senator Bailey: Mr. Buck, you have not finished, have you?

Mr. Buck: No. I want to make a few more observations when you are ready to hear me. I do not want to interrupt any of the other speakers.

Senator Bailey: I think that we had better finish with

you, because I want to ask Senator Downey about two or three matters on this editorial. I think I will ask you --

Mr. Buck: (interposing) Let me say this much about the editorial, that I never had a copy of that editorial in my possession until the other day when I saw it in your hands.

Senator Bailey: The editorial states in part, "The opportunity for Mr. Downey afforded a test of his proclaimed friendship for the man who has already done more for the aged and the poor and the distressed than any national leader in this generation, but he failed to respond."

That is Mr. Downey - "failed to respond. His was a case of fear and jitters, realizing that he might be pouring gold out of his own pockets if he dared to defy Dr. Townsend and the assailants of the President. When 'silence is golden', depend upon it that Mr. Downey will hold his tongue."

That is the statement.

Mr. Buck: I believe the fear and the jitters and the silence is golden, is a conclusion of the editorial writer. As far as the Cleveland situation is concerned, I accept the Senator's statement that these attacks - I know the Senator will verify that - that the attacks were made very bitterly upon the President, and Mr. Downey, as Mr. Leake said did not get up or say anything about them at that time.

Later on Mr. Downey says that he did make some complimentary remarks about the President before the convention adjourned, and I accept that as a fact, but the point is that I think Mr. Leake made a perfectly truthful statement there about what actually happened, that on the day the attack was made on the President in Cleveland at that Cleveland convention, and the other statements you read are merely an editorial rather than a conclusion as to what had happened.

Senator Bailey: He draws the conclusion that Mr. Downey was actuated by --

Senator Johnson: (interposing) By gold.

Mr. Buck: I merely call your attention to the fact that this was a very heated campaign, and things were said that could very well be forgotten. I am sorry the Senator wanted it revived and publish this editorial again. The fact was that he was on Dr. Townsend's payroll as his attorney all during the months preceding, and as far as I know, at the time of the convention, and until he just disclaimed it. I always assumed that he had been throughout the entire political campaign. I take his word as to when the employment terminated.

Senator Bailey: What do you say as to this in the editorial:

"He has eloquence and talent as a speaker."

Mr. Buck: I agree with that.

Senator Bailey: (continuing) "He could have joined with Gomer Smith and stopped that shameful demonstration against the President the minute it started, but visualizing only his fee and the Townsend votes he might get for Congress, he remained as unemotional as a veterinarian pulling a dog's tooth."

Senator Downey: I wish you would read some of the rest of it for the edification of the press. It is really --

Senator Bailey: (interposing) I am not reading it for the edification of the press. I am reading it now in order to get at the substance of this matter. He says Senator Downey was visualizing a fee and that was his inducement to be silent. What does he mean? Was there any fee involved?

Mr. Buck: The Senator can answer that better than I can.

Senator Downey: I want to make a statement --

Mr. Buck: (interposing) Either the Senator was employed - as far as I know, and I think it was common knowledge, that he was representing Dr. Townsend here. I don't know what the terms were or anything of that kind - that is a matter for him to divulge, if he cares to. The point I want to make before the committee, and I will conclude except for any questions you care to ask, is two points:

In the first place, that Leake is a fine man, capable of holding down this position, and there are involved in this

position certain responsibilities which require a man of considerable character. I suggest that while the Senators have the question before them of the consideration of this particular appointment, in view of the statement Senator Downey made, that the candidate that he had suggested is not a disbarred attorney and that there was some error about that, I would suggest that the Senator inquire of the Bureau of Internal Revenue who had previously investigated that gentleman's application to become a deputy collector of internal revenue and was turned down because of certain irregularities, - I don't know whether the Senator knows that - but such is the case.

Now, Mr. Leake is fit by the admission of practically everybody in California, and certainly should be by democratic standards if this is a political position. He has been a lifelong democrat, and supported the party, with the exception perhaps of Senator Downey's campaign for Senator, but as I say, he was behind the eight ball, he was opposed to ham and eggs, and the Senator was running on a ham and eggs platform, and he was opposed to certain philosophies he had, and he did not support him, but he did not oppose him.

As to these editorials, I want you to remember that they were written in the heat of the campaign. I have had some written about me that I was ashamed to take home and I

was ashamed to show them to my wife and secretary. But I laughed them off, and I think the Senator ought to laugh these off.

Senator Bailey: Who was the gentleman you mentioned as to the irregularities?

Mr. Buck: Cook.

Senator Bailey: Do you think the committee should investigate him?

Mr. Buck: He is not before you.

Senator Bailey: No, he is not before us at all.

Now, Mr. Downey, you said just now that you wished to make a statement?

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) May I ask Mr. Buck a question before he concludes?

Senator Bailey: Surely.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) You have not touched upon the other issue that Senator Downey raised as to just how Mr. Leake did receive his appointment. Do you know how he received his appointment? Was that a spite appointment?

Mr. Buck: If the Senator has any quarrel with the President of the United States, that is his quarrel and not mine. I endorsed Mr. Leake for the appointment. I called the Senator's office, and he was in California, when I found out that Mr. Leake was desirous of obtaining this appointment. Mr. Leake had been a party worker for a long time, and we

had endeavored to get him an appointment in 1933, but because my district was not sufficiently large and populous to get two appointments, I had to be content to getting the United States marshalship there, but Mr. Leake had been hoping, I will say, for some recognition of his services. When I found out that he was interested in this, I immediately went to the bat with what limited ability I have to try to get the endorsement for him.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Did the President or anyone here in Washington ask you to get active for Mr. Leake?

Mr. Buck: Mr. Leake asked me himself. I will be glad to insert in the record his letter, if it is of interest to anybody.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) But you were not asked by the Administration?

Mr. Buck: I was not asked by the Administration, and I was not asked by the present Senator's predecessor in office, as far as that is concerned.

Senator Bailey: Now, Mr. Downey?

Senator Downey: Mr. Chairman, there are only three or four points that I want to cover very briefly.

In the first place, let me say that I am very confident that I never used any harsh language against Mr. Buck in any of our campaigns. I differ very greatly from Mr. Buck in economic ideas. I think that his ideas are completely at

variance with mine on pension reform, and Mr. Buck boasts of that privately, so certainly that was not any charge against him. In none of my campaigns have I ever indulged in any abuse or personalities. The statement that I distorted the facts is just not true.

In the second place, I have been representing the Townsend organization and Dr. Townsend in legal matter for perhaps two years before there was the Townsend investigation here before the committee of the House of Representatives, and I suppose that I had put in several months of work on the various matters and I never had charged them or collected one dollar from them. In addition to that, I traveled all over the state of California, and while collections were taken up, I always paid my own expenses and received not one dollar of Townsend money ever.

Dr. Townsend having appeared before this committee for several weeks back here in Washington, he wanted me to come back to represent him. I was very heavily indebted personally, and a large part of my income still going to my creditors, and has been for several years, and I told Mr. Townsend that I could not abandon my California office and come here. Finally, we calculated what it would cost to run my office, two stenographers and a lawyer at Sacramento, and the expenses of the office, and it came to \$250 a week. I received that \$250 a week perhaps for two or three

months, which left me with a very definite loss. Now, I am not certain, but I believe that that entire contract for employment as attorney back here was abrogated before this Cleveland convention. I am not sure of this, but at least, Mr. Chairman, I can say this with entire confidence, that I never took another dollar of attorney's fees from Dr. Townsend or the Townsend organization after the Cleveland convention, because very definitely I would not involve myself in the campaign that Dr. Townsend then very sincerely and honestly took on to beat Franklin Roosevelt for President of the United States. It was not any financial sacrifice for me, because I do not believe that I was drawing any attorney's fees at that time, but if I was, I took the sacrifice and ceased to make it.

Also, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say this, - it is rather unfortunate that in the newspapers of America, and I am not criticizing the papers for it, but if you abuse a man or attack him or castigate him, you get great headlines, and when Mr. Lemke and Father Coughlin and Gerald Smith roundly attacked and abused President Roosevelt in most unmeasured and terrible language that you could imagine, there were banner headlines all over the United States. The same day they made those charges, Gomer Smith arose to reply for President Roosevelt, and he castigated Gerald Smith and Huey Long - Gerald Smith had been the aide-de-camp of

Huey Long, and he castigated Father Coughlin in just as violent and abusive language as they had used to President Roosevelt, and they took banner headlines.

Now, I am not a very good politician, because when I took my turn to reply to Father Coughlin and Gerald Smith the next day, I spoke of tolerance and kindness and decency and fairness, that we must not involve ourselves in these tremendous controversies that we should not use such language, that we should not employ, hate, fire and fury. I expressed myself as standing for President Roosevelt at that time, and I expressed myself very emphatically against the terrible attacks that had been made upon him. But I did it tolerably and kindly, and I think justly, and I might say that at the conclusion of that convention hundreds of Townsendites came to me and told me that they were happy that I had struck that note, but where the great banner headlines were given the men that had used the abusive language, I got a little paragraph on the fourth or fifth page and it is possible that Mr. Leake did not know that I had defended President Roosevelt. I parted from Dr. Townsend at least for a year or two as the result of it, but I can assure the committee with the utmost confidence that at least 80 percent of ~~the~~ editorial is not only defamatory but it is false, and I have 14 or 15 other editorials that will take us hours to discuss the issues involved, that I

will be glad to present.

Senator Bailey: I do not understand that you have taken the position that you would apply the objection of personal obnoxiousness against the newspaper publisher who wrote even false representations or editorials concerning you. That is not your position, is it?

Senator Downey: Well, I cannot quite say that, Senator Bailey. I take the position against him because I think the President of the United States has selected a man who would be most personally obnoxious to me, because he had written these editorials.

Senator Bailey: You think the President knew about these editorials?

Senator Downey: Mr. Chairman, I can only tell you what I know by hearsay. George Creel told me long before Mr. Buck made the recommendation he speaks of that Paul Leake had called him up from Woodland and told him that Senator McAdoo at that time was back in Washington, and that Senator McAdoo had telephone him, Paul Leake, that he, Senator McAdoo, was arranging the appointment of Paul Leake for this position. This is what George Creel told me in San Francisco, and his information turned out to be correct that he had been appointed, so I suppose it was correct, and that Mr. Creel told me that Mr. Leake and Mr. McAdoo and the President were anxious to know what would be my attitude

on Leake in view of his opposition to me, and Mr. Creel came to see me to find out for Mr. Leake, Mr. McAdoo and the President, what would be my attitude towards this man who had been my political enemy. That is mere hearsay on the question --

Senator Bailey: (interposing) Did you state then what your attitude was?

Senator Downey: I told Mr. Creel this, that until the President of the United States himself did me the courtesy to inform me what he intended to do, that I would make no comment. If the President of the United States wanted to know what was my attitude toward any appointee, I would be very glad to call upon the President and tell him.

And I might also say, just to show you - my brother is very prominent in the Scout movement in California, and Mr. Leake is too. Instead of the President of the United States or Mr. Buck or Senator McAdoo asking me about what I thought about of his appointment, Mr. Leake goes to a friend of my brother's and tells him that the President is considering appointment of him and asking what would be my attitude. Well, I have the deepest affection for my brother, and I said to him that I would consider it an inappropriate thing to express any opinion about the appointment of any candidate until the President of the United States has told me that he was contemplating such an appointment and asking me

what may attitude was.

The President of the United States had - I hate and despise these matters of patronage so much, but nevertheless I believe that I was entitled to that courtesy.

Mr. Buck: In view of that last statement, I should like to ask your indulgence for a brief minute here. When Mr. Leake wrote to me, I immediately called Senator Downey's office and I got in touch with his secretary and asked him if he had any candidate for this position, and Mr. Smith, Senator Downey's secretary, said that they did not have, that the Senator was then in California. I said, "What would be your procedure in connection with the matter?" He said, I think, that the Senator will look over the list of candidates while he is in California. I did not tell Mr. Smith whom my candidate was, but there was no use in going further, because Mr. Smith had no authority to act and Mr. Downey was absent in California.

Senator Bailey: Let me ask you a question, Senator Downey. This appointment is not peculiar to the citizens of California, is it?

Senator Downey: No.

Senator Bailey: The President might appoint a Collector of Customs for the Collection District No. 28 with headquarters at San Francisco, a citizen of New York, or of North Carolina, could he not?

Senator Downey: I assume that he could.

Senator Bailey: Are you taking the position that the President owed to you consideration and consultation and advice of a personal character concerning an appointment of a man who might have been appointed to an office which a citizen of New York might be appointed?

Senator Downey: Mr. Chairman, I would not want to speak on that. That is a question for this committee and for the Senate of the United States to decide. I am totally inexperienced in these matters of patronage, and whatever this committee does or the Senate does, of course I will be very happy about it.

Senator Bailey: There is no precedent to guide the Senate in these matters of personal obnoxiousness. Sometimes they are sustained and sometimes they are not. It is not automatic and has not been automatic for 30 or 40 years.

Senator Downey: I understand that every case might present different facts and different conclusions, Mr. Chairman, but I say that I cannot comment on your question, because I do not have the experience to. All that I can say is that he has been my bitter personal enemy, that he is obnoxious to me, and I think he was probably selected for this appointment for that reason.

Senator Bailey: If you were assured that he was not selected for the purpose of humiliating you or affronting

you, would that change your attitude?

Senator Downey: Not if I were assured - if I knew it, Mr. Chairman, but there is no way that I would know it.

Mr. Buck: Let me assure you that my endorsement of Mr. Leake had no purpose in presenting an obnoxious man. Mr. Leake was recommended by me because of his personal services to the party and to the President and to myself for many years past.

Senator Downey: I was just going to say - Mr. Buck will really force this comment upon me. Of course, in California and in other states, it is generally considered that the Representatives have certain patronage on certain jobs, and in the larger positions, the Senators have.

Mr. Buck: I hope the Senator realizes what I said, that I called your office and you were in California, and I talked to your secretary, and he said that you people had no candidate. And I felt free to go ahead after that. I have recommended people for offices before many times. The register of the land office in Sacramento and others.

Senator Downey: I withdraw my remarks.

Senator Bailey: Which remark?

Senator Downey: The last remarks regarding Mr. Buck.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) I want to ask Mr. Buck if he deemed this appointment California patronage. Because he came from your district, did you figure that you had more

rights than some other Congressmen or a Congressman from some other state to make recommendations?

Mr. Buck: Only to this extent, Senator, that I think it would be rather odd if a Representative from Los Angeles or San Diego made some endorsement of a man who was going to fill a position in San Francisco, in the northern part of the state. As far as I am concerned, I have never signed a petition or endorsed anybody for a position that was to be held in the southern part of California, because I don't know enough about the matter in the first place, and in the second place I think it is none of my business; but if any of these positions become vacant in the northern part of the state, I have never had any hesitancy nor has it ever been objected to about endorsing anybody.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) The reason for my question is that Senator Bailey's question to Senator Downey would imply that Mr. Downey had no more interest in this appointment than any other Senator of the United States, and you seem to think that as a Congressman, you have more interest in it than anyone else. I just wondered.

Mr. Buck: I would not say that. I think Mr. Lea or anybody else around there might have had just as much interest. Mr. Lea has endorsed Mr. Leake, too.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Well, has a Congressman from New York, for instance?

Mr. Buck: Well, let us look at that thought of the Senator's. I recall that in 1894, President Cleveland appointed a district judge in southern California and sent a man from Texas out there. That might be considered California patronage; I don't know. I know it has been done, and I presume from the thought that the Senator expressed, that this particular position probably could be filled by somebody away from there, from New York or North Carolina or even by the elevation of somebody in the civil service there.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) Has it ever been filled by anyone except a California resident?

Mr. Buck: I never heard of it having been filled by anyone other than a Californian, but I have no records that go back of the Wilson Administration.

Senator Bailey: I put the question, because in thinking the matter over, it occurred to me that this was an office to which any citizen of the United States might be appointed. I don't think the law requires that this Collector shall be a resident or a citizen of California.

Mr. Buck: You are correct in that.

Senator Bailey: Whether that affects this controversy is another question, and we can resolve that question in the light of the fact that notwithstanding a citizen of some other state might have been appointed, in fact a citizen

of California was appointed. You have to look at it in both aspects.

Are there any other witnesses to be heard?

Mr. Buck: I have none to put on.

Senator Bailey: I have a note here from the office of Senator Johnson of California. The office of Senator Johnson, his secretary, telephoned me this morning to say that if the subcommittee should want Mr. Leake to come before it, Senator Johnson would get him to Washington immediately. That is a matter for the subcommittee.

Mr. Buck: I may say, Senator, that I received a communication from Mr. Leake saying that he would be very happy to come on if the subcommittee desired to hear him in person.

Senator Bailey: Do you have anything to say about that, Senator Downey?

Senator Downey: I did not understand the last statement, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Bailey: As to whether we should invite Mr. Leake to come.

Senator Downey: I have no thought on it.

Senator Bailey: It is a pretty good idea to hear the other side and give a man a chance. I would be inclined to say that if Mr. Leake wishes to come, the committee could hardly resist.

Senator Downey: Yes, I would agree with that. I would like merely to make one request in connection with that. If Mr. Leake should come, I would like the opportunity to question him, not only upon this editorial that I have introduced, but the others that are in my possession if that would be satisfactory.

Senator Bailey: Oh, surely. You would have the fullest opportunity.

Senator Downey: Yes, I would rather like Mr. Leake to come here.

Senator Bailey: Mr. Buck has expressed himself in that way. Is the committee ready to do anything about it? What do you say, Senator Townsend?

Senator Townsend: I would say that if it is the desire of Mr. Buck and the Senator, I think he should come.

Senator Bailey: What do you say, Senator Johnson?

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) I would like to have Mr. Leake come. I would like to have Senator Downey ask him questions freely, too. I would like to hear his answers to them.

Mr. Buck: I am sure he would be very happy to answer any questions.

Senator Bailey: He is going to come at his own expense, I assume?

Mr. Buck: I am sure that he would.

Senator Johnson: (Colorado) I think Mr. Leake probably is the only one that could clear up the issue that is raised by Mr. Downey as to just how he got his appointment, whether it is a spite appointment or whether it is not.

Mr. Buck: I can tell you off the record.

(Off the record).

Senator Downey: Mr. Chairman, while we are on that, may I make one comment. Of course, Senator McAdoo, who I assume secured the appointment, knew of course what was the attitude of Mr. Leake toward me, certainly, and if the President of the United States is going to listen to the recommendation of a Senator who has been defeated upon such recommendations, of course the President would expect that the ex-Senator would recommend somebody who was personally objectionable to the current Senator. I mean, anybody would expect it.

Senator Bailey: I have a letter here from Senator McAdoo. I have questioned whether I would offer it for the record. I will quote from his letter:

"Some newspaper items have appeared in the California press to the effect that Senator Downey has expressed opposition to Mr. Leake's confirmation and has raised an issue between him and me as to the distribution of California patronage. These reports are wholly untrue. I certainly have no desire to distribute local California

patronage, and I have been thanking God ever since I left the Senate that that burden has been taken from my shoulders."

I think that is probably enough at this time to put in the record, but if the committee wishes to consider the matter further, the letter is here.

Now, I think it is agreed by the committee that we shall notify the office of Senator Johnson of California that the committee is ready to hear Mr. Leake, and since California is quite a long distance away, we will have to ascertain when he can come before we can arrange another meeting of the committee.

Senator Townsend: Very well, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Bailey: I will ask Mr. Johnson, the committee clerk, to tell him that we wish the matter to be finished as soon as possible. Mr. Leake is to come at his own expense, and we will show him when he comes here a copy of what has been submitted. I think we can have this record printed up to this point.

Now, Mr. Buck, you are at least a friend of Mr. Leake's, and I suppose that you will notify him by wire that we will place a copy of this testimony in his hands or in the hands of any friend here, tomorrow or the next day.

Mr. Buck: Might I suggest, Senator, that that copy be delivered to me at my office in the House Office Building, and it will be here awaiting his arrival, and he can go over

it. The testimony has not been so long that he cannot read it in a short time.

Senator Bailey: With a view to that, I am going to file this editorial for the record. I think, Senator Downey, you filed it for the information of the committee. I don't know that you would object to printing it in the record?

Senator Downey: No. I am very happy - not happy - but well satisfied to have it go in.

Senator Bailey: It says a lot of things. That will go in the record. We will hold in abeyance these other editorials; they are not important now.

I will offer this letter from Mr. Clarence Lea, who is a member of the House.

(The same is as follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

January 13, 1940

Hon. Josiah W. Bailey

U. S. Senate

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

I understand that the nomination of Mr. Paul Leake for Collector of the Port of San Francisco is pending before your

committee. I have known Mr. Leake for many years. I have the highest regard for him as a man and citizen. His reputation for integrity and ability and all those qualities that make up a well respected citizen are well known. I unhesitatingly say that his appointment to a position of responsibility, would reflect credit on the appointing power. I would have no doubt that he would perform his services with diligence, fidelity, and impartiality, with credit to the Government.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Clarence F. Lea.

Senator Bailey: I have a telegram here from the Yolo County Central Democratic Committee by Lloyd Lowrey, Chairman. This is favorable to Mr. Leake. Is there any objection to putting this in the record?

(No response).

(The same is as follows:)

Woodland California - January 13 1940

Hon J. W. Bailey

Senate Office Bldg

The Democratic Central Committee of Yolo County California heartily endorses Paul R. Leake of Yolo County an ardent substantial fighting Democrat for the position of Collector of Customs of the Port of San Francisco. Committee feels from a personal and party standpoint that there is no one

better qualified in northern California.

Yolo County Democratic Central Committee by Lloyd Lowrey Chairman.

Senator Bailey: I also have a telegram from the Mariposa County Democratic Central Committee by George M. Spark, President and Lewis T. Milburn, Chairman for the record.

(Same is as follows)

Mariposa California - January 14, 1940

Hon. J. W. Bailey

Member of the U.S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

Our committee endorses the appointment of Paul R. Leake as United States Collector of Customs and Trusts the appointment will be confirmed.

Mariposa County Democratic Central Committee by George M. Spark President By Lewis T. Milburn Chairman.

Senator Bailey: I also have a telegram from J. G. Bruton, Superior Judge of Yolo County, California, which may go into the record.

(The same is as follows:)

Woodland, California - January 13, 1940

Senator G. W. Bailey

U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

I wish to endorse Mr. Paul Leake for Collector of Customs for San Francisco I have known him for 40 years and am glad

to vouch for both his ability and integrity. He enjoys the trust and confidence of this community.

J. G. Bruton - Superior Judge, Yolo County, Calif.

Senator Bailey: I will be glad if the clerk will notify these people that we have received their wires and that they are placed in the record.

Here is a letter from Miss Beatrice Cobb of North Carolina. She is the woman member of the Democratic National Committee from my state. She is herself editor of an important paper in North Carolina, and a very excellent woman. She writes to me and solicits my earnest consideration, and attaches a wire from Roy A. Brown, who has a paper connection. I think I shall offer them. You do not object, do you?

Senator Downey: No, indeed.

(The same are as follows:)

THE NEWS-HERALD

Morganton, N.C.

January 13, 1940.

Senator Josiah W. Bailey,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Bailey:

Enclosed is a copy of a telegram received this morning from a newspaper friend in California, a member of the board

of directors of the National Editorial Association, in which organization I have known and worked with him.

Of course, you know that I have only long-distance acquaintance with the political situation in California, but I do know that the sender of this telegram and the men mentioned in it as being interested are dependable leaders in that state. Mr. Craemer was formerly secretary to a California governor and is of much the same type as our Sanford Martin. Both he and Roy Brown publish excellent newspapers. Mr. Long is executive secretary of the California newspaper organization. Personally I would be willing to accept their recommendation on any matter affecting their state.

These are the facts as I know them. Because these men are good friends of mine I would appreciate very much your earnest consideration of their appeal. When Mr. Craemer's air letter comes I shall forward that to you.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

(Signed) Beatrice Cobb.

(Attachment) TELEGRAM

Miss Beatrice Cobb,

Morganton, North Carolina.

Justus Craemer John Long and all California newspaper friends would appreciate your contacting at once Senator Bailey in

behalf of Paul Leake who has been nominated by President Roosevelt for customs collector port of San Francisco stop Leake is being opposed by Senator Downey of California stop Downey is an Upton Sinclair Epic and is identified with ham and eggheads and radical elements stop Leake is an outstanding Democrat supported by Creel and all solid Democratic groups stop Justus is sending details in air mail letter stop committee hearing to take place Monday Senator Bailey chairman of committee stop thanks stop regards.

ROY A. BROWN

Senator Bailey: I think that is all except Mr. McAdoo's letter. I have quoted the pertinent paragraph from that, and then we will hold these editorials in abeyance. I am sure that you would not insist that they put in here preliminarily?

Mr. Buck: I am not insisting. That is for the committee to decide. I would like you to look at them and examine them, and I think you will receive a letter, if you have not already, from other Representatives in the House, and if that is received, I would like to have that put in the record, Representative Shepherd.

Senator Bailey: You can send that over. The only objection I can see to these editorials is that this gentleman, Mr. Leake, is an editor, and we could get a great many editorials from California papers and we would

not like a great big record. We can print a few and then get a few from editors who have endorsed him.

Mr. Buck: You can use your own judgment, of course, about that.

Senator Bailey: The clerk tells me that a great many telegrams have been received, and we can also make a statement that telegrams were received from the following persons - the clerk of the committee tells me that he has hundreds.

I think that these telegrams from the Democratic committees should go in and Miss Cobb's letter and so forth, but I do not want to make a great big record.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 o'clock p. m. the hearing was recessed subject to further call).

PSF: Senate

Miss Senate
✓

The President made mention of the death of Senator
Borah over the Radio before his Radio Address of
January 19, 1940---Children in Democracy.

For original Reading Copy--See:Speech Box of the above
date.

*file
personal*

PSF: Senate

Order of Services at the Funeral

of

William C. Borah

**Late a Senator of the United States from the
State of Idaho**

1940

*file
personal*

PSF: Senate

Order of Services at the Funeral

of

William C. Borah

**Late a Senator of the United States from the
State of Idaho**

1940

Order of Services at the Funeral

of

William E. Borah

Late a Senator of the United States from the State of Idaho

The services will be held at 12:30 o'clock p. m., Monday, January the twenty-second, Nineteen Hundred and Forty.

The body of the late Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH will be placed in the Senate Chamber prior to the services.

The President of the United States and his Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, the Diplomatic Corps, the Members of the House of Representatives, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard have been invited to attend the services in the Chamber, and will occupy the seats on the floor of the Senate assigned them by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

The President and his Cabinet will meet in the President's Room.

The Supreme Court will meet in the office of the Secretary of the Senate.

The Diplomatic Corps, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard will meet in the Senate Reception Room.

The Vice President's Room will be reserved for the members of the family of the late Senator and the officiating clergy, whence they will be escorted to seats on the Senate floor.

Seats will be reserved for those entitled to them upon the floor, to which they will be shown by the attachés of the Senate.

PSF: Senate
2-10

January 19, 1940.

Dear Josiah:-

Ever so many thanks. As a matter of actual fact I have not the slightest recollection of the circumstances leading up to the nomination of Mr. Leake for Collector of Customs in San Francisco. As a matter of fact the nomination came, as nearly all of them do, from the Treasury Department and with the O.K. of Jim Farley. The only other recollection I have is that the Editor of the McClatchey papers sent word that Leake was in every way a first-class man. I do not think anyone ever told me of any possible objection on the part of Senator Downey until I read about it in the papers two weeks ago.

So much for that!

How silly people are to think that I hold resentment against them! For instance, I do not even resent young Rush Holt, though I am sorry that the boy does not seem to have made good in what was a great opportunity.

As ever yours,

Honorable Josiah W. Bailey,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

file personal

*PSF: Senate
2-1*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Bailey of North Carolina phoned me to please explain to you that he was making good progress in his efforts to have Senator Downey of California withdraw his objections to Leake as Collector of Customs in San Francisco. While he could not promise success, he said, the situation looked good at the moment.

E. M. W.

E. M. W.

PSF: Senate

Confidential Memorandum for the President-Jan 23, 1940

From Llewellyn Currie

Re-National Resources Planning Board

Message from Tom Cereoran, saying that Sam
Rayburn told him that the source of the real opposition
to the Planning Bd is the Army Engineers who have been
actively lobbying against the Bd.

Attached to above memo is one which the President
sent to the Sec of War-Jan 23, 1940 on the same subject.

See:Interior-Drawer 1-1940

*file
personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSF: Senate

January 24, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Bob Reynolds phoned me from the Senate and stated that the finest thing that has happened to you in the last six months was John L. Lewis coming out against you today. He says he has gotten many messages reiterating this sentiment.

Emm

E.M.W.

COPY

United States Senate
Washington, D. C.
January 25, 1940

PSF: Senate

N/K

My dear Mr. President:

I am very sorry to learn that you have changed your mind and have decided to issue an order transferring the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior.

I shall not go into details, because at the conference which we recently held I expressed quite fully my ideas on the subject. I want to make one last suggestion and that is that the entire matter might be settled satisfactorily by making Mr. Ickes Secretary of War.

I appreciate the fact that Mr. Ickes' real interest is in conservation. In the War Department, he would have a wonderful opportunity to do a real service in carrying out your ideas of conservation. He possesses the peculiar qualities that fit him admirably for this work, and as I have pointed out to you several times the War Department through some of its agencies has not been in harmony with your own policy of conservation. As I see it, there is no other person who could more satisfactorily perform this job than Mr. Ickes.

Sincerely yours,

G. W. Norris

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

For the original of this letter
See: Ickes-Drawer 1-1940 (Letters on Forestry Service)

PSF: ¹⁹39; Senate

February 1, 1940.

Memorandum for Miss Le Hand:

The President's letter to Key Pittman of
March 21st is the one you asked for.

The others I have attached for the President's
information as they are on the same subject.

PTL

1e

March 21, 1959.

Dear Key:

In regard to the Forestry Bureau, I have no hesitation in telling you that I have no thought of transferring them to the Interior Department.

I am meeting with a good deal of success in getting the public lands and forestry people to work together in such a way as to prevent duplication of work and render better service to the cattlemen. I think that working along this line for some time to come will produce results without any drastic change in organization.

Always sincerely yours,

Honorable Key Pittman,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

P.S. This, of course, should not be used in any way until the Reorganization Bill is finally disposed of in both Houses and has been acted on by me!

KEY PITTMAN
UNITED STATES SENATOR
STATE OF NEVADA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 21, 1939.

My dear Mr. President:

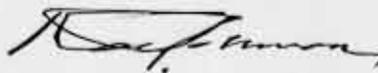
I have your personal note of March 21st, 1939, as a memorandum of your statement to me over the phone this morning.

I am very pleased to have you state that the Forestry Bureau will not be transferred to the Interior Department because, for nearly 40 years, the Forestry Service has progressed, improved in its service, and reached a perfect understanding with stock growers while operating under the Department of Agriculture. I agree with you that it is advisable, if not almost necessary, that the Secretary of Agriculture, having jurisdiction over grazing on the forest lands, and the Secretary of the Interior, having jurisdiction over grazing on the other public lands, cooperate. I take it that, when you say, "I think that working along these lines for some time to come will produce results without any drastic change in organization," you do not intend to materially change the functions of the Forest Bureau. I say this because I will be required at some time to interpret that sentence in your letter to me. Unless this interpretation is correct, it will be my duty to the livestock industry of Nevada, which constitutes the second primary industry, to vote against the pending reorganization act. I was committed at last Session to such a position, and I am so committed now. I know that you do not desire that I should violate such commitments.

With expressions of the highest esteem and regard,
I am,

Sincerely,

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



PRIVATE

March 25, 1939.

Dear Key:-

In regard to grazing in forests and public lands: It is my thought that the following can be attained by study and cooperation:

- (a) Eliminate the undoubted over-grazing which exists in some places (by no means all) both in forests and on public lands.
- (b) Where in a given area there is grazing in both forests and on public lands, especially some grazing in forests and winter grazing on public lands, the offices of the two services, if located in different places, should be put in the same place and under the same roof.
- (c) Where Rangers from both services cover essentially the same territory, the range work should be consolidated, in some places the Forest Ranger acting for both Bureaus and in other cases the Public Lands Ranger working for both Bureaus.
- (d) A greater uniformity in all paper work, purchases of supplies, maintenance of camps, etc., etc.

None of the above suggests in any way a change in functions.

Leavitt
2 - 1939

I am sure you and I will be pleased by greater economy and efficiency, and, at the same time, that the cattle men will also be pleased.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Key Pittman,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

The
 Personal
 and Agreements
 Bill - March 1/40

1940

Mr. _____

YEAS		NAYS
	Adams	1
1	Andrews	
	Ashurst	2
	Austin	2
2	Bailey	
3	Bankhead	
	Barbour	4
4	Barkley	
5	Bilbo	
	Bone	5
	Bridges	6
6	Brown	
	Bulow	
	Burke	
7	Byrd	
8	Byrnes	
	Capper	7
9	Caraway	
10	Chandler	
	Chavez	8
	Clark, Idaho	9
11	Clark, Mo.	
12	Connally	
	Danaher	10
	Davis	11
13	Donahey	
	Downey	12
	Ellender	
	Frazier	13
14	George	
	Gerry	14
	Gibson	15
15	Gillette	
	Glass	16
16	Green	
17	Guffey	
	Gurney	17
	Hale	18
18	Harrison	
19	Hatch	
20	Hayden	
21	Herring	
22	Hill	
	Holman	19
	Holt	20
23	Hughes	
	Johnson, Calif	21

20	Hayden	
21	Herring	
22	Hill	
	Holman	19
	Holt	20
23	Hughes	
	Johnson, Calif	21
	Johnson, Colo.	22
?	King	?
	La Follette	23
24	Lee	
	Lodge	24
25	Lucas	
	Lundeen	25
	Maloney	26
	McCarran	27
26	McKellar	
	McNary	28
27	Mead	
28	Miller	
29	Minton	
?	Murray	?
30	Neely	
31	Norris	
	Nye	29
	O'Mahoney	30
	Overton	
32	Pepper	
	Pittman	31
33	Radcliffe	
	Reed	32
34	Reynolds	
35	Russell	
?	Schwartz	✓
36	Schwellenbach	
37	Sheppard	
	Shipstead	33
38	Slattery	
39	Smathers	
40	Smith	
41	Stewart	
	Taft	34
	Thomas, Idaho	35
42	Thomas, Okla.	
43	Thomas, Utah	
	Tobey	36
	Townsend	37
44	Truman	
45	Tydings	
	Vandenberg	38
46	Van Nuys	
47	Wagner	
?	Walsh	
	Wheeler	39
	White	40
	Wiley	41

48 February 3, 1940 41

(Presiding _____)

Jacket 174408

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

*Bussell
Linton
Ulmer
King
Murray
Hansh
Schwartz*

*file
personal*

*PSF: [unclear]
2*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 6, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Jack Kelley from Philadelphia called me on long distance and insisted that I tell you of this situation:

He, Kelley, cannot support Guffey as a candidate for Senator. He says Guffey will be the worst beaten man that Pennsylvania has ever had for a candidate ~~of~~ public office. Kelley says further that even if the President runs he cannot drag Guffey with him because Guffey is so unpopular that people will vote against the President just to get even with Guffey. Kelley says that Guffey lost the convention to Chicago yesterday. This is, of course, Jack Kelley's opinion.

Jack further states that he is going to resign from any further participation in politics rather than stomach Guffey.

Emm.
E. M. M.

PSF: Senate

file
Wheeler

Smith

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 7, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Herewith is the voting record of Senator Wheeler as prepared by Miss Blackburn in the Office of Government Reports.

This does not tell the complete story because of the great number of measures passed without a record vote or on which Senator Wheeler was recorded as "not voting".

Accordingly, Miss Blackburn will prepare a further digest to show the position taken by the Senator on questions where there was no record vote or upon which he did not vote.

W. D. H. Asselt

W. D. H.

WHEELER
SENATOR
1933-1939

VOTING RECORD OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER

1933-1939

VOTING RECORD OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER

1933

Emergency Banking Act	Not voting
Reforestation Act	No record vote
Federal Emergency Relief Act	Not voting
TVA	Yes
Securities Act	No record vote
Employment Service Act	No record vote
Home Owners Loan Act	No record vote
Banking Act	No record vote
AAA	No
NIRA	Paired for
Farm Credit Administration	No record vote
Bonus Amendment	Yes
Pension System	Not voting
Inflation (amendment)	Yes
Repeal of Gold Clause	Yes
Veterans Cut Limitations (Ind. Offices Appropriations)	No
Cutting Am. \$2,500,000 Relief	Yes
LaFollette Am. \$1,500,000,000 Relief	Yes
St. Lawrence Waterway Ratification	Yes
Housing Bill	Yes

1934

Gold Reserve Act	Yes
Securities Exchange Act	No record vote
Stock Exchange Bill	Yes
Tariff Bill	Yes
Public Highways Act	No record vote
Communications Act (Wagner-Hatfield Amendment)	Yes
National Housing Act	Yes
Railroad Employees' Retirement Act	No record vote
Farm Bankruptcy Bill	Yes
Railroad Labor Disputes Act	No record vote

VOTING RECORD OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER

1938

Farm Act (Sets up new AAA)	Yes
Venereal Disease Control (LaFollette Amendment to Comm. Amendment to 2d Deficiency Appropriation Bill)	Yes
Natural Gas Act	No record vote
Bankruptcy Revision Act	No record vote
Civil Aeronautics Act	No record vote
Fair Labor Standards Act	Yes

1939

Nomination of Murphy	Yes
Nomination of Hopkins	Not voting
Relief Increase (McKellar Amendment to Relief Appropriation)	Yes
Nomination District Judge Roberts	No
National Defense Reorganization	Yes Paired for
Strategic Materials (Lodge Amendment)	No
Strategic Materials (Byrnes Amendment)	No
Strategic Materials Bill	Yes
Nomination Douglas	Not voting
Relief (Pepper Amendment)	Yes
Soil Conservation (Miller Amendment)	Not voting
Florida Canal	No
Naval Appropriation	Yes
Transportation Bill	Yes
TVA (Norris Amendment)	Yes
Housing (Taft Amendment)	Not voting
U.S. Housing (Amends U.S. Housing Act of 1937)	Not voting
Dollar Devaluation (Adams Amend- ment to Stabilization Fund Bill)	Yes
Stabilization Fund Use (Thomas Amendment)	General pair
Relief	Yes
Librarian of Congress (confirma- tion of A. MacLeish)	Not voting
Social Security (Amending Social Security Act)	Yes
Block Booking	Yes

ALL
1939

Addressed to
Director, Bureau of Census
Washington, D.C.

7820

PLEASE PRINT NAME AND ADDRESS

VOTING RECORD OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER

1939 (cont.)

Truth in Fabrics Bill	Yes
Ratification of Panama Treaty	Yes
Lending	Yes
Civil Liberties	Yes

H. Res. 377

File



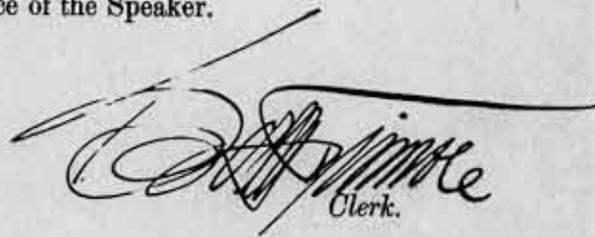
In the House of Representatives, U. S.,

February 7, 1940.

Resolved, That Honorable Sam Rayburn, a Representative from the State of Texas, be, and he is hereby, elected Speaker pro tempore during the absence of the Speaker.

Resolved, That the President and the Senate be notified by the Clerk of the election of Honorable Sam Rayburn as Speaker pro tempore during the absence of the Speaker.

Attest:


Clerk.

PSF: Senate file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Here is a more extended statement of the voting record of Senator Wheeler, 1933-1939, prepared in the Office of Government Reports. It supplements and replaces the preliminary report which I submitted to you last week. A further examination of the Congressional Record, I am informed by Lowell Mellett's office, shows that almost without exception on measures where there was no record vote or in which Senator Wheeler voted "no", he kept still, taking almost no part in the debate.

W.D.H.

W.D.H.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DIVISION OF PRESS INTELLIGENCE

VOTING RECORD OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER
1933 through 1939

1933
73d Congress, 1st session

Emergency Banking Act HR 1491 (extension of emergency power already given President over banking field)	Not voting
Reforestation Act (forest camps employment measure - later known as CCC)	No record vote
Federal Emergency Relief Act S 598 - PL 15 (provides \$500,000,000 out of RFC funds for grants to states)	Not voting
TVA HR 5081 PL 17	Yes
Securities Act (first legislative step toward government recognition of securities) Introduced S 875, but HR 5480 passed in lieu	No record vote
Employment Service Act S 510 PL 30 (passed as a corollary to the relief measures - sets up national employment system in cooperation with the states)	No record vote
Home Owners' Loan Act HR 5240 PL 43	No record vote (Wheeler's remarks in debate indicate his opposition)
Glass Banking Reform Act (prevented use of Federal Reserve credit in speculation, provided stricter regulation of banking practices, and provides deposit insurance)	No record vote
AAA HR 3835 PL 10	No
Inflation: Amendment to AAA HR 3835 PL 10 (permits President to arrange open-market purchases by Federal Reserve Banks to provide credit inflation)	Yes

1933 (Cont'd)
73d Congress, 1st session

Bonus Amendment to AAA HR 3835	Yes
Farm Credit Act HR 5790 PL 75 (combines Federal farm loan agencies with revolving fund of \$20,000,000 - supplements AAA)	No record vote
Economy Act HR 2820 PL 2 (effecting \$500,000,000 economy, authorized President to set up new pension system)	Not voting
Repeal of Gold Clause HJ Res. 192 PL 10	Yes
Independent Offices Appropriations With Veterans Cuts Limitations HR 5389 PL 78	No

1934
73d Congress, 2d session

Gold Reserve Act of 1934
HR 6976 PL 87

Yes
(Senator Wheeler offered an amendment to purchase silver, 1/26/34, and on 1/27/34 said "I hope nothing I may say or do with reference to the pending amendment will be construed as an attempt in any way to hinder the President's program." p. 1449, Cong. Rec. 1934).
Amendment rejected 45-43

Securities Exchange Act
HR 9323 PL 291
(sets up Securities Exchange Commission)

Yes

Stock Exchange Bill
S 3420
(regulating securities exchanges and over-the-counter markets, to prevent inequitable and unfair practices)

Yes

Reciprocal Tariff Bill
HR 8687 PL 316
(amends Title III of Tariff Act to give President discretionary powers)

Yes

Communications Act
S 3285
(creates Federal Communications Commission to regulate foreign and interstate communications services)

No record vote

National Housing Act
HR 9620

Yes

Farm Bankruptcy Act
S 3580
(provides for creditor settlement through a court of bankruptcy)

Yes (to conference report)

Railroad Labor Disputes Act
SJ Res 143

No record vote

St. Lawrence Waterway Ratification

Yes

Philippine Independence Bill
HR 8573

Not voting

1934 (Cont'd)
73d Congress, 2d session

HOLC Bond Guarantee S 2999 PL 178	Not voting
Loans to Industry S 3487	No record vote
Silver Purchase Act HR 9745 PL 438 (authorizes Secretary to purchase silver in amounts advantageous to public interest)	Yes
Deposit Insurance S 3025 PL 362 (amends Federal Reserve Act to pro- vide for continuance of insurance in temporary fund until July 1, 1935, etc.)	No record vote
Trade Zone Act HR 9322	No record vote
Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation HR 6670 PL 88	No record vote
CWA Appropriation Bill HR 7527	Not voting
Cutting \$4,000,000,000 Amendment for Relief HR 7527	Yes
LaFollette Amendment \$1,500,000,000 Relief HR 7527	Yes
Housing Bill HR 9620	Yes

1935
74th Congress, 1st session

Social Security Act HR 7260 PL 271	Yes
AAA Amendments (amends AAA in light of Supreme Court decision holding NRA unconstitutional) HR 8492 PL 320	Yes
TVA Amendments HR 8632	Yes
Public Utility Holding Company Act S 2796 PL 333	Yes
Work Relief Appropriation (\$4,880,000,000) HJ Res. 117 PR 11	Yes
Railroad Reorganization Act HR 8587	Senator Wheeler submitted House bill (HR 8587) for vote with amendment to Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act.
NRA Extension SJ Res 113 PR 26	Not voting
American T & T Investigation (authorizes investigation by Federal Communications Commission) SJ Res. 46 PR 8	Senator Wheeler introduced resolution for FCC investigation of AT & T
Guffey-Snyder Coal Act HR 9100	Yes
Farm Mortgage Moratorium S 3002	No record vote
Restoration of Spanish War Pensions HR 6995 PL 269	Yes
Motor Carrier Act S 1629 PL 255	Senator Wheeler introduced the bill. No record vote
Crop Production Loans HR 3247 PL 11	No record vote
NLRB S 1958 PL 198	Yes

1935 (Cont'd)
74th Congress, 1st session

Bill providing Loans to Farmers in
Drought Stricken Areas
HR 3247

No record vote

Regulation of Food, Drugs, & Cosmetics
S 5

Not voting

Bonus
HR 3896

Yes

Farmer's Home Corporation Bill
S 2367

Yes

Banking Act
HR 7617 PL 305

No record vote
(Senator Wheeler voted Yes to Nye
amendment offering substitute for
Title II of Banking Bill, - rejected)

1936
74th Congress, 2d session

Neutrality Extension HJ Res. 491 PR 74	No record vote - Wheeler not present
Ship Subsidy Act HR 8555 PL 835 (sets up U.S. Maritime Commission)	No record vote (Wheeler, in debate, hints he is opposed, p. 9335)
Government Contracts S 3055	No record vote
Relief-Deficiency Appropriation (\$2,375,281,000) HR 12664	Yes
Flood Control HR 8455 PL 738	No record vote
Commodity Exchange Regulation (amends Grain Futures Act) HR 6772 PL 675	Yes
Rural Electrification (establishes Rural Electrification Administration) S 3483 PL 605	No record vote
Housing S 4424 (Wagner low-cost housing)	Yes
Soil Conservation Act S 3780 Pl 461 (expands soil conservation act of 1935)	Paired for
Bonus HR 9870 PL 425 (authorizes payment of World War Adjusted Certificates)	Paired for (Also voted yes over Presidential veto)

1937
75th Congress, 1st session

Spanish Neutrality SJ Res. 3 PR 1 (amendment to Neutrality Act to prohibit arms exports to Spain)	Not voting
Disaster Loan Corporation Act S 1439 PL 5	No record vote
Bituminous Coal Act HR 4985 PL 48	Yes
Marketing Agreements Act HR 5722	No record vote
Extension of CCC S2102-HR 6551 PL 163	Yes
Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act S 106-HR 7562 PL 210	No record vote
Housing Bill S 1686 PL 412	Not voting
Bonneville Dam S 2092-HR 7642 PL 329	No record vote
Fair Labor Standards Act S 2475 PL 718	Yes
Child Labor (Johnson amendment to S. 2475, Fair Labor Standards Act) adding Wheeler-Johnson Child Labor provisions.	Yes
Small Employer Exemption (Reynolds amendment to S 2475, Fair Labor Standards Act) exempting employers of ten or more employees.	No
Competitive Imports McCarran amendment to S. 2475, Labor Standards Act, barring competitive foreign imports	No
Farm Products Exemption Dieterich amendment to S. 2475 - Labor Standards Act, exempting perishable agri- cultural products' industries during harvesting season	No

1937 (Cont'd)
75th Congress, 1st session

Veterans' Insurance HR 5478 PL 127 (On overriding President's veto of bill extending privilege of renewing expir- ing veterans' policies)	Yes
Farm Interest Veto HR 6763 PL 209 (On overriding President's veto of bill extending reduced interest rates on Federal Land Bank loans to farmers)	Yes
Trade Treaty Extension HJ Res. 96 P Res. 10	Yes
Supreme Court Retirement Bill HR 2518 PL 10	Yes
Sit-Down Strikes (declaring sit-down strikes are illegal) S. Con. Res. 7	Yes
TVA Funds (amendment to HR 6730 - Second Deficiency Appropriation)	Yes
Extension of CCC HR 6551 PL 163	Yes

1938
75th Congress, 2d and 3d sessions

Relief HJ Res 596 P Res 80 (authorizing additional appropriation of \$250,000,000)	Not voting
Bailey amendment to HJ Res 596, Relief Appropriation Bill, requiring mandatory minimum contribution of 20% by communities for projects.	Not voting
Bone amendment to HJ Res 596, Relief Appropriation Bill, to increase amount from \$250,000,000 to \$400,000,000.	Paired for
Confirmation of Robert H. Jackson as Solicitor-General	Yes
Civil Service Revision Walsh amendment to S. 3331, Government Reorganization Bill, striking out section providing for a single Civil Service Administrator in place of a 3-man Commission.	Yes
Wheeler amendment to S. 3331, Government Reorganization Bill, requiring Congressional approval of all Presidential reorganization orders.	Yes
Housing Bill HR 8730	No (conference report)
Farm Bill HR 8505	Yes (conference report)
Byrd amendment, to S 3331, Government Reorganization Bill, to reduce Government expenditures for fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, by not less than 10% of expenditures for fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.	Yes
Government Reorganization Bill S 3331	No
Old-Age Benefits Tax (Lodge amendment to HR 9682, Revenue Bill, to reduce the tax rate for old-age benefits under the Social Security Act)	No

2.
(1938 cont.)

LaFollette amendment to HR 9682, Revenue Bill, to increase surtaxes on personal incomes.	Yes
Tax Exempt Federal Securities (Borah amendment to HR 9682, Revenue Bill, to remove tax exemption from Government Securities)	Yes
Tax Exempt Securities (Clark amendment to HR 9682, Revenue Bill, to remove the tax exemption on Federal, State, and municipal bonds.)	Yes
Naval Expansion HR 9218 PL 528	Paired against
Resources Committee Funds (Committee amendment to HJ Res 679, Relief-Recovery Appropriation Bill, increasing funds for National Resources Committee from \$250,000 to \$750,000.	No
Surplus Commodities (HJ Res 679 Amendment to Relief-Recovery Appropriation Bill, allocating \$50,000,000 to Surplus Commodities Corporation for purchase and distribution of agricultural and fish products to relief clients)	Yes
Minimum Relief Wages (Thomas amendment to Relief-Recovery Appropriation Bill, HJ Res 679, setting a minimum wage of \$40 a month for workers on relief projects)	Yes
Relief Appropriation EJ Res 679 P Res 122	Yes
Venereal Disease Control (LaFollette amendment to committee amendment to Second Deficiency Appropriation Bill, HR 10851, to increase to \$3,000,000 funds to be available for control of venereal disease)	Yes
Venereal Disease Control Act S 3290 PL 540	No record vote
Flood Control HR 10618 PL 761	Yes (conference report)

3.
(1938 cont.)

Relief-Recovery Appropriation
P Res 122 HJ Res 679

Yes

Natural Gas Act
HR 6586 PL 688

No record vote

Civil Aeronautics Act
S 3845 PL 706

No record vote

Farm Act
S 2787 PL 430
(sets up new AAA)

Yes

Housing Act
(Amending the National Housing Act,
HR 8730 PL 424, to further
stimulate home construction)

Yes

1939
76th Congress, 1st session

Nomination of Attorney General Murphy	Yes
Nomination of Secretary Hopkins	Not voting
Nomination of District Judge Roberts	No
National Defense HR 3791 PL 18	Yes
Reorganization HR 4425 PL 19	Paired for
Nomination of Associate Justice Douglas	Not recorded
Strategic Materials Bill S 572 PL 117 (to provide for common defense by acquisition of strategic materials for use in war emergency)	Yes
Lodge Amendment to S 572, Strategic Materials, requesting President to negotiate with debtor nations for strategic materials in repayment of indebtedness.	No
Byrnes Amendment to S 572, Strategic Materials, limiting purchases under this authority to \$10,000,000 annually.	No
Florida Canal S 1100 (to complete Canal)	No
Naval Appropriation HR 6149 PL 90	Yes
General Transportation Bill S 2009	Yes
Confirmation of Librarian of Congress MacLeish	Not recorded
Block Booking S 280	Yes
Truth in Fabrics S 162	Yes
Ratification of Panama Treaty	Yes
Civil Liberties S Res 126 (\$50,000 additional for Education and Labor subcommittee investigation of civil liberties.)	Yes

2.
1939 (cont.)

Stabilization HR 3325 PL 165	Not recorded (conference report)
Adams amendment to HR 3325, Stabilization Fund, depriving President of authority to devalue the gold dollar but continuing to 1941 the power to issue silver certificates and coin silver.	Yes
Thomas amendment to Stabilization Fund Bill, transferring \$1,500,000,000 of stabilization fund to general fund of Treasury.	General pair
Lending Bill S 2864	Yes
O'Mahoney amendment to S 2864, Lending Bill, providing that loans shall not be made to public projects in competition with private enterprise unless offer is made to buy the latter and is refused.	No
Social Security Amendments HR 6635 PL 379	Yes
Housing Act Amendments S 591 PL 111	Not voting
Taft amendment to S 591, Housing, decreasing allotments and authorities for bond issuance from \$800,000,000 to \$400,000,000 and subsidies from \$45,000,000 to \$30,000,000.	Not voting
TVA Bonds S 1796 PL 224	Yes
Relief Bill HJ Res 326 P Res 24	Yes
Agriculture Appropriation Bill HR 5269	Yes
Soil Conservation (Miller amendment to Agriculture Appropriation Bill, adding about \$2,000,000 to soil conservation work)	Not voting
Rail Court Bill	No record vote
Rail Reorganization Bill	Yes

COPY

PSF: *[Handwritten initials]*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1940.

Personal

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Re: A Jackson Day Incident

Chapman told me a story of the Jackson Day Dinner in Denver that may interest you. Wheeler was the chief speaker and made what was interpreted as a strong plea for his own candidacy and barely mentioned you. Whereupon the Chairman, Philip Hornbein, threw away his prepared speech, delivered a stirring eulogy of you, and ended up with a statement that to show its gratitude Colorado must draft you for a third term. This brought the five hundred diners to their feet cheering and, according to Chapman, left Wheeler considerably discomfited.

Lauchlin Currie

For original memo-See Currie-Administrative Assts
folder-Drawer 1-1940

TELEGRAM

10WUD21

The White House
Washington

file personal PSF Senate 2

SN Washington DC 207pm March 4 1940

The President

The White House

In offering anniversary congratulations I must say that the people need you today just as they did in 1933.

James F. Byrnes.

215pmd

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
—
THE SECRETARY

*file
not sent*

March 8, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I submit herewith draft of reply to Senator Vandenberg for your consideration. The original of the Senator's incoming letter was returned to Mr. Early under date of February 27, 1940.

C.H.

*Fully - ~~about~~
1940 - ~~date~~
~~1940~~*

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE \$300

The Honorable
Arthur H. Vandenberg,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

My dear Senator Vandenberg:

I have received your letter of February 16 in which you suggest that Under Secretary of State Welles, while on his present mission to Europe, be requested to urge the German Government to cooperate as intimately as possible with Polish-American relief plans.

The Department of State has been intimately associated with Polish-American relief plans. It has followed closely and has aided the negotiations conducted by the Commission for Polish Relief with the authorities of the German Government in Berlin and has transmitted many of their communications to and from Berlin. The Department directed our Embassy in Berlin to make representations to the German Government independently of any of the relief organizations and in fact without their knowledge in an effort to obtain assurances that the Commission for Polish Relief would be given adequate facilities to supervise distribution of relief in Poland, and that the relief extended would reach the persons for whom it was intended. The Department has been of assistance to and has counseled not only the Commission for Polish Relief but the Red Cross, the American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee, and various of the other organizations licensed under our laws for the purpose of carrying relief to the distressed people of Poland.

The Department has also made representations to the British Government for the purpose of assuring that supplies shipped from the United States would reach without delay the territories of the stricken areas.

Had you made inquiry of the Secretary of State

The Honorable
Arthur H. Vandenberg,
United States Senate.

-2-

PSF: *[handwritten initials]*

he would gladly have told you of the steps that were being taken and you probably would not have felt inclined to take the very unusual step, at which I am much surprised, of discussing directly with the German Embassy a matter of our foreign affairs then under discussion by the appropriate agency of this Government with the German and British Governments.

Very sincerely yours,

Department of State

BUREAU |
DIVISION |

SD

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

Stephen Early
Secy to President
The White House

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
SD 840.48/3304

*file
not sent*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

P57; Senate

February 27, 1940

My dear Mr. Early:

I refer to your communication of February 17, 1940 forwarding to this Department for preparation of reply, a letter dated February 16, 1940 addressed to the President by the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, United States Senate, requesting that the German authorities be urged to cooperate with Polish-American relief plans.

I enclose a draft reply which I suggest the President sign and have forwarded to Senator Vandenberg. I return herewith Senator Vandenberg's letter.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure:

From Senator Vandenberg.

The Honorable
Stephen Early,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

FAT HARRISON, MISS., CHAIRMAN
 WILLIAM H. KERR, UTAH
 WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
 DAVID I. WALSH, MASS.
 ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
 TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
 JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C.
 BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
 HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
 PETER G. BERRY, R. I.
 JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
 PRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH.
 CLYDE L. HERRING, IOWA
 EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.
 GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
 FELTON M. JOHNSTON, CLARK.



United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

February 16, 1940

PSF: Senate

RECEIVED
 FEB 17 8 46 AM '40
 THE WHITE HOUSE

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

My dear Mr. President:

I take the liberty of respectfully suggesting to you that when Under Secretary of State Welles makes his contemplated trip to Europe for a general survey of war conditions, it would be highly desirable and undoubtedly of great helpfulness if he could be requested to urge the German Government to cooperate as intimately as possible with Polish-American relief plans.

You are familiar with the fact that the Polish-American Relief Committee has been requesting permission for representatives of the Committee to enter the Polish areas for which the relief is intended and to either supervise the distribution or to cooperate with the German Red Cross in this connection. At the request of the Polish-American Relief Committee, I have discussed this matter informally with the German Embassy and my last reports were that some progress has been made in developing these highly essential arrangements. It is to be greatly hoped that completely effective and satisfactory arrangements can be concluded without much more delay because the delay is in turn retarding the maximum collection of Polish relief funds in the United States. This latter movement cannot hope to get fully into stride until there is complete assurance that these Polish relief contributions reach their intended destination and are adequately disbursed in keeping with our American expectations.

It must be of mutual interest to all concerned that an adequate and satisfactory plan should be developed without further delay to permit American relief in Poland. I am hopeful that Mr. Welles may have these necessities in mind and may find a way to serve them if and when he visits Germany on his contemplated mission.

With sentiments of great respect, I beg to remain

Cordially and faithfully,

840.48/3304

February 17, 1940

Respectfully referred to the Department of State for preparation of reply.

V

STEPHEN EARLY,
Secretary to the President.

hm

Letter from Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, 2/16/40 to the President. Suggests that when Under Secretary of State Welles makes his contemplated trip to Europe for a general survey of war conditions, that it would be highly desirable undoubtedly of great helpfulness if he could be requested to urge the German Government to cooperate as intimately as possible with Polish-American relief plans.

Copy

March 12, 1940.

Handwritten:
~~Bailey~~
PSF; *limate 2*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Harry Hopkins just phoned me and said that after Bailey left you yesterday, he went down to the Capitol, walked into the Committee and voted for the Tobey Resolution; and made no effort to get the resolution tabled.

Harry Hopkins expressed himself that Bailey was "a no-good *** ** *"

E.M.W.

For the President:

*file
personal
P.M.W.*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

PSF: Senate 2

March 12, 1940.

My dear General:

Will you please say to the President that I delivered his message to Senator Pittman? The Senator states that his speech was garbled by some of the press and that probably the garbled portion of it was that printed in Paris. The correction was made in the Congressional Record of yesterday, on page 4058. I am attaching a marked copy.

The copies of the telegrams which the President handed to me have been returned to the file room in the Department.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure:

Marked copy of page 4058,
Congressional Record of
March 11, 1940.

General Edwin M. Watson,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

we should do, and one of the things we will have to do, will be to reduce drastically much more than we have provided for by statute up to this time, the hours of labor of our people without reducing the wages, and in the end such action on the part of the Congress to meet the situation, so far as they have jurisdiction under the Constitution, while it would not bring about entirely the relief we seek of unemployment, it would reduce unemployment of men and women to a very great extent, so much so that it would go a great way toward solving the unemployment problem and bringing about prosperity.

Mr. President, I do not believe we can fully meet the situation until we have done something such as I have briefly outlined, or its equivalent, to meet the unemployment problem.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR PITTMAN ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I find it necessary to call attention to an error in a newspaper quotation from a very short speech which I made on Saturday night, which was broadcast. I very rarely pay any attention to errors in quotations. However, I could not be committed to this error, because it is quite material in its effect.

On Saturday night I delivered before my fraternity a very brief address on the subject of World Affairs. It was broadcast. Mimeographed copies were made of it. I find in the Washington (D. C.) Sunday Star of March 10 a report of that address, and I find this statement by the reporter:

He—
meaning me—

characterized the mission of Under Secretary of State Welles as a "splendid undertaking on the part of the President," and said Mr. Welles had been sent abroad to "make further efforts to bring about a cessation of war and an adjustment of the controversies that are the cause of war."

Certainly I never stated that. I never stated that Mr. Welles was sent abroad for the purpose of trying to bring about a cessation of war. I did use in my address the language quoted, but in a very different context and at a very different place.

What I said was this:

The President has sent to Europe Mr. Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State, to ascertain confidentially the attitude of the governments of the warring powers, their objectives, and, if possible, to ascertain some possible formula that might be the foundation at the proper time for the United States to make further efforts to bring about a cessation of war and an adjustment of the controversies that are the causes of the war.

It was a splendid undertaking upon the part of the President. There was some fear expressed at the time that the mission of Mr. Welles was announced by the President. Some thought that Mr. Welles might unfortunately be led into the controversies. His actions in Italy, Germany, and France have proven conclusively that he has made no such mistakes and will make no such mistakes, that he is only seeking information in confidence that may be of value to our country in the future. It appears that he has won the confidence of the various high officers of the governments with whom he has conferred. Never by word or action has he violated that confidence. Some said that the President could obtain the same information through his ambassadors. Ambassadors cannot be the recipients of the same confidence of foreign governments as a special envoy, because ambassadors frequently in their efforts to better the position of their own governments in the eyes of the world talk too much. Mr. Welles has not talked at all.

I ask leave to have the entire speech published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster; Dr. Brown, eminent supreme archon; members of the Supreme Council, Washington City Rho Chapter; and members of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, I deeply appreciate your invitation to address you this evening on the subject of World Affairs. There was never in the history of the world a subject that so vitally affects the lives of people and, in fact, civilization. In addressing my fraternity tonight, I am speaking to a cross-section of men who hold high positions in every profession and industry in the United States. It is well that in this period when humanity has imposed upon it suffering beyond expression that those who believe in brotherly love should give consideration to the sad condition of the world.

Great races of people, dominated by the brute instincts of greed and fear, have abandoned the teachings of Christ, the natural

laws of humanity and justice. The efforts of powerful governments with mass control of their peoples are bent upon the unrestrained destruction of human life—soldiers, civilians, women, and children. In their madness they have closed their minds and souls to the dictates of reason. Czechoslovakia, an ideal democratic state composed of a high-classed citizenry, has been destroyed. Poland, which through the ages has been fighting for its independence, has had its people slaughtered and its government wiped out of existence. Finland—loyal, patriotic, honest Finland—has been invaded without excuse by Russia, a country a hundred times as powerful as Finland. The Finnish people are dying for the love of their country and for the honor of their people. China, with its 400,000,000 of peaceful, energetic, and honorable people, without legitimate cause or excuse, is being destroyed and its men, women, and children tortured and exterminated with barbarity never exceeded. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who have lived by peace and who even remained neutral during the first Great World War, are now threatened with extermination from two powerful sources. Rumania, who desires neutrality alone, is being forced into an untenable position by the Allies on one hand and by Germany upon the other hand. In fact, all the Balkan states are trembling today in fear of conquest by Germany and Russia.

When this war reaches the apex of its intensity and destruction, its results, as far as destruction of life and civilization are concerned, will be as a mountain to a molehill by comparison with the last war. The instruments of destruction in the air and under the water have been developed to a degree that they may carry their destruction many times further and with far greater destructive powers.

And what is the hope of stopping this catastrophe? Our Government, through the passage and the administration of the Neutrality Act, is strictly maintaining its neutrality as between the warring powers and has prevented the destruction of our ships and the lives of our sailors by restraining commerce with warring powers and by keeping our ships out of the war zones; and yet, while this act and its administration has very probably eliminated our people from the destruction of their lives and property, nevertheless, we cannot escape the dire effects of the destruction of the lives of the best people in the world and the chaos that must follow.

Our Government did everything in its power to induce the great governments of Europe who were threatening war to desist and to reach a reasonable peaceful understanding. The madness of Europe was too great. Our sincere efforts failed.

The President has sent to Europe Mr. Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State, to ascertain confidentially the attitude of the governments of the warring powers, their objectives, and, if possible, to ascertain some possible formula that might be the foundation at the proper time for the United States to make further efforts to bring about a cessation of war and an adjustment of the controversies that are the causes of the war. It was a splendid undertaking upon the part of the President. There was some fear expressed at the time that the mission of Mr. Welles was announced by the President. Some thought that Mr. Welles might unfortunately be led into the controversies. His actions in Italy, Germany, and France have proven conclusively that he has made no such mistakes, and will make no such mistakes—that he is only seeking information in confidence that may be of value to our country in the future. It appears that he has won the confidence of the various high officers of the governments with whom he has conferred. Never, by word or action, has he violated that confidence. Some said the President could obtain the same information through his ambassadors. Ambassadors cannot be the recipients of the same confidence of foreign governments as a special envoy, because ambassadors frequently in their efforts to better the position of their own governments in the eyes of the world talk too much. Mr. Welles has not talked at all.

The situation in Asia is improving. It has become apparent to the Japanese Government that they cannot conquer China. The cost of their invasion already has been almost destructive of the monetary and economic systems of Japan. In this situation there is hope that a satisfactory adjustment between China and Japan will be worked out eventually.

Both Germany and Great Britain realize more fully now the cost in life, money, and materials of this great war if it continues to its end. And yet the madness still prevails to such an extent that rulers see no way yet except to continue this war of destruction. Each of the warring powers has laid down conditions of peace which anticipate the destruction of the economic life of the other. Certainly this is unnecessary. It is unreasonable. It is impossible. The entry of Russia into the war through its invasion of Poland and Finland and its alliance with Germany has greatly complicated the efforts for peace. Italy may be forced into the war on Germany's side and yet the Italian people will never favor an alliance with communistic Russia. Italy would not be happy at the conquest of the Balkan states by Germany and Russia. When Italy and the Balkans are drawn into this war, peace will be long deferred. If there is not an armistice before the summer commences, the chances are that the war will continue to its finish.

Now is the time for neutral countries to constantly hammer for the thought of peace. Possibly if an armistice could be induced for 30 days and fear could be allayed during that period of time, then maybe the neutral powers could offer their services. It is inconceivable that the warring powers should refuse an armistice to permit of calm discussion of the alleged causes of war and the objectives of such war. To refuse such an undertaking is to care-

lessly and selfishly pronounce the doom of civilization. We realize, of course, the difficulty of neutrals approaching warring powers in the intense heat of war. We are aware, of course, that unless such good services are welcomed by the warring powers, they can accomplish no good. And yet, sad as the picture appears, our citizens should be well satisfied with the high and patriotic position taken by their own Government. They should be happy to such extent as may be considering the suffering of the world that their sons will not be destroyed in this foreign war, that their Government and their civilization will not be threatened with destruction, and that their Government is maintaining a position that will enable it to render valuable services in bringing about peace, and if not peace then to maintain the seeds of civilization to reestablish it after the war in the devastated areas of the world.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting several nominations in the Army, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the executive calendar.

POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc. That completes the executive calendar.

RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 12, 1940, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received March 11 (legislative day of March 4), 1940

APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

TO BE ASSISTANTS TO THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL, WITH THE RANK OF BRIGADIER GENERAL, FOR A PERIOD OF 4 YEARS FROM DATE OF ACCEPTANCE

Col. Clifford Lee Corbin, Quartermaster Corps, from April 1, 1940, vice Brig. Gen. Augustus B. Warfield, assistant to the

Quartermaster General, whose term of office expires March 31, 1940.

Col. Joseph Edward Barzynski, Quartermaster Corps, from August 1, 1940, vice Brig. Gen. Richard H. Jordan, assistant to the Quartermaster General, whose term of office expires July 31, 1940.

Col. Charles Dudley Hartman, Quartermaster Corps, from August 1, 1940, vice Brig. Gen. A. Owen Seaman, assistant to the Quartermaster General, to be retired July 31, 1940.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

GENERAL OFFICER

Brig. Gen. Raymond Hartwell Fleming, Louisiana National Guard, to be brigadier general, National Guard of the United States, from March 8, 1940.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 11 (legislative day of March 4), 1940

POSTMASTERS

ARIZONA

Vivian E. Dodge, Cavecreek.
John W. Lawson, Oracle.
Jesse L. Boyce, Williams.
William H. Daley, Window Rock.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Vincent C. Burke, Washington.

GEORGIA

John J. Story, Ashburn.
Walter E. Schilling, Marietta.

MASSACHUSETTS

John F. Larnard, Amesbury.
George G. Henry, Ashfield.
Paul E. Haley, Chester.
Richard F. Fender, Dalton.
Frances B. Stevens, East Falmouth.
Charles E. Morrison, Falmouth.
J. Francis Megley, Holbrook.
Martin J. Healey, Hubbardston.
James E. Harte, Lee.
Regina C. West, Littleton Common.
James Connaughton, North Grafton.
Wilfred J. Tancrell, North Uxbridge.
William F. Eggo, Pinehurst.
Francis G. Fanning, South Lee.
John C. Donnelly, Walpole.

NORTH DAKOTA

Clair M. Christensen, Kensal.
Edward H. Berhelde, St. Michael.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Adele Berg, Frederiksted.

*file
personal*

PSF: Senate

March 14

Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Senator Murray

(1) I understand that Senator Murray thinks it will be necessary for him to support Senator Wheeler as a candidate for the nomination, and plans to ask your advice today.

(2) Murray, who has been vacillating somewhat, is now supposed to be against the trade agreements renewal, in the sense that he wants Senate ratification. It will be difficult to persuade him because of the copper and cattle interests in Montana, and also because of the Anaconda Company, his enemy, is in favor of the trade agreements because it thinks it will later be able to bring in cheap copper from Chile.

JWR

James Rowe, Jr.

*To give when Murray
has appd
EIMW*

*file
personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ISF: [unclear]

3-14-40

March 14, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Byrnes 'phoned that the House Conferees on the Independent Offices Bill agreed this morning to accept the Senate Amendment of Senator Byrnes', restoring the National Resources Commission. There is some question, according to Byrnes, whether this has to go back to the Floor of the House, but he, Byrnes, is of the opinion that it does not, and even if it does, the House Conferees will support his amendment. In other words, he believes the National Resources Committee has been restored.

[Signature]
E. M. W.

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File
Personal
Senate

March 26, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Jimmy Byrnes phones that he asked Cordell Hull to speak to the President about the advisability of putting a little pressure on Schwellenbach.

Senator Byrnes now believes this would be a mistake, as he thinks Schwellenbach is all right. He also believes that the two Senators from Louisiana will be all right.

I thought you might want to see this when you talk to Senator Pat Harrison this morning.

E.M.W.

E.M.W.

Letter can't
be found
Paula T. says
maybe Mr
Early will wish
to reply to
Robertson's letter.
She

GRACE:

Here is the letter about
which I spoke to you. The files
downstairs show nothing. Do you
think you might be able to find
it somewhere?

dj

Mr President -
Have you this
letter from Senator
Harris? G.

PSF: Senate

File
Personal
Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/28/40

March 28, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS LeHAND

Morris L. Cooke called at the Executive Offices. He left the attached letter from Senator Norris with the following explanation:

→ "Senator Norris conferred with me this morning about this proposed move of REA to Interior and he finally wrote a note to the President which he asked me to give to him personally. I told him that I could not and he suggested that I give it to Miss LeHand.

"The only thing I know about it is that Norris is terribly upset. Those of us who know him, know how emotional he is -- as he gets older, he gets more so -- but I have never seen him so upset.

"He has the feeling -- I know how much the President admires him -- that everything he wants to do the President turns down. He almost cried -- talks about resigning -- said 'no use my going to the President'.

"He wanted me to see the President but I have nothing special to say; however, I do want some word to be gotten as to what is back of Norris' letter."

K.

GEORGE W. NORRIS
NEBRASKA

PSF: Senate

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

K

July 8, 1940

File

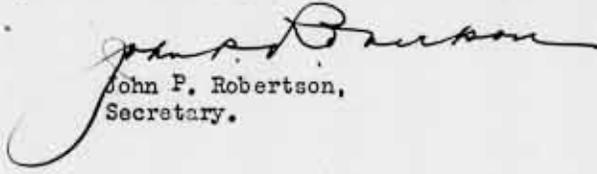
Mr. Stephen Early
Secretary to the President
The White House.

Dear Mr. Early:

In order that our files may be complete, I wonder if it would be possible for you to procure for this office a photostatic copy of the note written in longhand to the President by Senator Norris under date of March 28, 1940, with reference to the proposed transfer of REA to the Interior Department.

If you can do this for me, I shall appreciate it very much indeed.

Sincerely yours,


John P. Robertson,
Secretary.

*Trade Agreements
Ex. 11
file*

*PSF: Senate
Mar 29
1940*

THE FOLLOWING IS THE VOTE ON THE PITTMAN AMENDMENT

<u>Yea</u>			<u>Nay</u>
Adams	Pittman	Bankhead	Shepperd
Ashurst	Shipstead	Barkley	Smathers
Austin	Taft	Bilbo	Smith
Barbour	Thomas (Idaho)	Brown	Stewart
Bone	Tobey	Byrd	Thomas (Okla)
Bridges	Townsend	Byrnes	Thomas (Utah)
Bulow	Vandenberg	Carraway	Truman
Capper	White	Chandler	VanNuys
Chavez		Clark (MO)	Wagner
Clark (Idaho)		Donahey	Walsh
Connally		Ellender	
Donaher		George	
Davis		Gillette	
Downey		Green	
Frazier		Guffey	
Gerry		Harrison	
Gibson		Hatch	
Glass		Hayden	
Gurney		Herring	
Hale		Hughes	
Holman		Lee	
Holt		Lucas	
Johnson (Calif.)		McKellar	
Johnson (Colo.)		Mead	
King		Miller	
LaFollette		Minton	
Lodge		Norris	
Maloney		Overton	
McCarran		Pepper	
McNary		Radcliffe	
Murray		Reynolds	
Nye		Russell	
O'Mahoney		Schwartz	
		Schwellenbach	

THE PRESIDENT'S ENGAGEMENTS

*file
personal*

Tuesday, March 26, 1940.

At the White House:

11.30 - Senator Pat Harrison

1.00 - (LUNCH) Lowell Mellett

Trade Agmt. Bill

*✓ Murray - on rat. and lang?
✓ Schwartz - against ratification?
but for Congressional
approval.*

*✓ Butler - might walk out &
rat vote.*

Andrews - away?

Chavez - call up -

*Downey - to see or call up. Walsh
Special Agents*

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal
Senate*

April 5, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

This is the vote defeating by
46 to 34 the Amendment to limit the Trade
Agreement to one year.

I think it is wonderful!

EMW
E. M. W.

WALSH AMENDMENT

Yeas 34

Adams
Ashurst
Austin
Bridges
Capper
Clark, Idaho
Davis
Frazier
Gerry
Gibson
Gillette
Gurney
Hale
Holman
Holt
Johnson, Colo.
Johnson, Calif.
King
Lodge
McCarran
McNary
Maloney
Nye
O'Mahoney
Pittman
Reed
Taft
John Thomas, Idaho
Tobey
Townsend
Vandenberg
Van Nuys
Walsh
Wiley

Nays 46

Bailey
Bankhead
Barkley
Bilbo
Bone
Brown
Bulow
Byrd
Byrnes
Caraway
Chandler
Clark, Missouri
Connally
Danaher (Rep.)
Donahey
Ellender
George
Green
Guffey
Harrison
Hatch
Hayden
Herring
Hill
Hughes
Lee
Lundeen
McKellar
Mead
Miller
Minton
Neely
Norris
Overton
Pepper
Radcliffe
Reynolds
Schwartz
Schwellenbach
Sheppard
Smathers
Smith
Stewart
Thomas, Okla.
Tydings
Wagner

PSF: Senate
2

April 11, 1940.

Memo to General Watson from the President:

Resappt to see Joe Guffey about sending Woodward's name up
for appt to Maritime Commission and to tell Guffey that poor
Woodward is being sued for his bank salary etc.

Attached to the above memo are the following memos re Woodward:

Memo of April 9-1940 to the President from
Steve Early re conversation he had with Mr.
Frederic Delano etc.

Memo to Steve Early from Jim Rowe--April 9, 1940
re Jerry Land and his talk with tht President
about Woodward and Guffey etc.

Memo to the President from Jim Towe--April 8, 1940
re inquiry of Admiral Lands' who is interested to
know whether President has been Guffey.

For the above memos----

See: Maritime Commission folder-Drawer 2-1940 (April 11, 1940)

COPY

PSF; *Senate*
2

April 18, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM ROWE

Please show this to Bob Jackson
in confidence.

F.D.R.

Enc-Memo from Jim Rowe in re appt of Senator McGill
to the Customs Court in New York.

PSF Senate

Conf Memo to Atty Gen-April 18, 1940

Re:information from Senator Ellender about
case of Gov Leche's coming up before
May Grand Jury and why?

See:Jackson-Drawer 1-1940

Senator Vinson

ASF: *Smith*

Re: Drafts of suggested replies for the President's
signature from Capt Callaghan for Senators Walsh
~~REPRESENTATIVE~~
and Vinson re their joint letter (attached) to the
President of April 25, 1940 dealing primarily with
H.R. 4929 a bill to amend the Personnel Act of June
23, 1938 and which also implies dissatisfaction
with officers of Navy Dept etc.

(The President did not send the replies drafted
to the Senators but spoke to them instead)

See: Navy-Drawer 1-1940 (April 30, 1940 memo from
Callaghan)

PSF: *Levante*

Senator Walsh

Re: Drafts of suggested replies for the President's
signature from Capt Callaghan for Senators Walsh
and ^{REPRESENTATIVE} Vinson re their joint letter (attached) to the
President of April 25, 1940 dealing primarily with
H.R. 4929 a bill to amend the Personnel Act of June
23, 1938 and which also implies dissatisfaction
with officers of Navy Dept etc.

(The President did not send the replies drafted
to the Senators but spoke to them instead)

See: Navy-Drawer 1-1940 (April 30, 1940 memo from
Callaghan)

PSF; Senate
2

Re: FDR's letter to Senator Maloney---May 2, 1940

Subject:--Status of Fred Brown's health and resignation
as Comptroller General under the circumstances.
Attached Maloney's replies; also memo to John
L. Sullivan of May 9th from FDR on same subject
and memos of June 12th and June 20th from Jim
Rowe re Ray Stevens thoughts on the situation and
his talk with Mrs. Brown.

See: Fred Brown-Gen corres-Drawer 2-1940

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
personal
has been
done
Senate

5-7-40

May 7 - 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Jimmy Byrnes asks as a favor to him and to assist him, Byrnes, in the Reorganization fight, that the President telephone Senator Radcliffe and felicitate him on his nomination yesterday.

EMW
E. M. W.

PSF: *Senate*

*File
personally
confidential*

May 20, 1940.

To the Editor
Boston Globe
Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Sir:

There seems to be practically no dissent to the demand that this country prepare to defend itself. I doubt if many realize what this means. They are not yet ready to face the full implications. It is perfectly true that we have a powerful fleet, but it is now a definite possibility that Germany may conquer England and France this summer and take over their fleets. We would then be faced with Japan in the Pacific and the naval might of the combined fleets of England, France, Germany and Italy. Who would dare to say that against this we are still capable of preventing a landing on this continent? We are defenceless on land, a rich prize to conquer. We must have time to organize our defence. There is only one way to gain this vital time and that is to do our utmost to sustain the Allies. It is not merely that we hate to see our two sister democracies conquered. It is to save ourselves that we must prevent it.

There is no question in my mind, but that the most effective action now open to us is to join the Allies and declare war on Germany. There is shockingly little material assistance we could send immediately, a few planes and naval units, but the moral effect would be enormous. England and France are now fighting with their backs to the wall. Can anyone think of any action that could hearten them more? The effect on Italy and the other neutrals should not be ignored. The wavering Mussolini snarling around what he thinks is the tiger's tail will think twice before joining the Nazi hordes.

Next let us act to make this country unified and strong.
I advocate extreme measures for desperate times.

First, let us have a national administration neither Republican or Democratic. Let the two parties agree to nominate the same ticket - Roosevelt for President, Wilkie for Vice-President.

Second, let the President reorganize his cabinet immediately to take in able men from the Republican party. One of our greatest problems is to gear industry for national defence. No one can deny that business is suspicious of the administration. Put Mr. Hoover or Mr. Landon or Mr. Knox at the War Department. Such a step would end suspicion and unify the country as nothing else could.

Third, let Congress adopt compulsory military service.

Finally, this new national administration should be given the powers over industry which the government had in the last war to then end that production of arms may be made at the utmost speed of which we are capable.

I shall be accused of advocating authoritarian government and war. I answer yes, and that if we do not adopt warlike measures and authoritarian controls voluntarily and temporarily we may be forced by an all powerful enemy to adopt them involuntarily and permanently.

(Caldwell)
Lodge

PS F: Senate

Senate
Byrnes
2

Copy

May 21, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Jimmy Byrnes phoned that in an informal meeting of his committee today, the Naval officers were asked to express their opinion, regardless of the amount named in the bill, and Admiral Towers of the Navy gave a figure one hundred million dollars more than he, Byrnes, was asking for. Byrnes wants to know if the President is interested in increasing this figure to the amount of Tower's statement as he, Byrnes believes it can be easily gotten. Senator Byrnes thought perhaps the President would advise him on this before the meeting of his committee tomorrow morning at ten o'clock. This amount has to do with ~~the~~ aviation estimates.

E. M. W.

(The President marked this in longhand)

"OK'd"

PSF: Senate
2

PERSONAL AND PRIVATE

May 30, 1940.

Dear Arthur:-

I am sending you this personal and private answer to yours of May twenty-fourth because, frankly, I think it is highly incompatible with the public interest to drag out confidential reports that were made a long time ago. They ought not to be made the subject of political controversy at this time because they include the pros and cons of water that has long since gone over the dam.

The particular report you refer to is accompanied by a good many other documents which give very definite recommendations. What we are trying to do now is to build up and improve an organization to meet current needs. Last year's report did not refer to a situation like the present one. If I were a Judge I would tell you that it is "not germane" to the pending case.

Let neither you nor me muddy the waters.

As ever yours,

Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

KEY FITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN HUYB, IHO.
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.
JOSEPH P. GUFFEY, PA.
SUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.

WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 24, 1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 25 9 06 AM '40
RECEIVED

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

My dear Mr. President:

Many of us who are earnestly seeking to cooperate with you in behalf of the national defense - as demonstrated by recent roll calls in the Senate - are very anxious to have the benefit of the report of your War Resources Board (headed by Mr. Stettinius) which dealt with this problem last Fall. Thus far, access to the report appears to have been denied to others as it has also been denied to me.

Of course I would not solicit any public disclosure which you might deem incompatible with the public interest. But I should like to respectfully inquire whether, under the new and critical circumstances which the country now confronts, members of the Senate and House may not have at least confidential access to this report of your War Resources Board. I feel it is desperately important that all of us who share any degree of responsibility in connection with this crisis should have the full benefit of all the information which may be available in respect to the national defense and the wisest procedure in pursuit of it.

With sentiments of great respect, and with warm personal regards, I beg to remain

Cordially and faithfully,



R

GEORGE W. NORRIS
NEBRASKA

PSF: Senate

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 8, 1940.

N/X

file

*Pa- I want to see
George Norris -
Try to bring him in for
lunch Friday
Saturday
PERSONAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER
Give me this when he
comes in - Senate*

My dear Mr. President:

For many days I have seriously thought that perhaps under all the circumstances I ought to write you or see you and talk with you about the war situation and the probabilities of our being drawn into the European cataclysm. I am importuned daily by many men both in and out of the Senate who have no possible selfish interest, who ask me and beg of me that I talk over this subject with you. Many of these men are alarmed. I realize that many people have a selfish interest; many people are partisan and would like to get you out of the way, because if such a thing could be accomplished, it would inure in one way or another to their ambitions. I am discounting all of these. I pay no attention to them, and am not influenced by any such clamor.

I think I do not need to say to you that my admiration and love for you is sincere. I do not want you to make a mistake. I feel this way because I am proud of your record. I confess, however, I have a deeper and an intensified feeling when I think of my country and when I think of the civilization of the world. I think the demand on you comes from your kind of people, who feel that you are the one man who will be able to pilot us out of our difficulties without getting us into the war. I think the loyal, patriotic people of America want you to be reelected President. Like myself, they are moved in part by the great admiration which they hold for you and the confidence they have in you. But their greatest reason is because they believe, and I believe, you can keep us out of this terrible conflict, this inhuman war.

I am writing this letter, not because I feel that I have any great influence over you or your actions, but because, if I do have any influence, little though it may be, it will clear my own conscience if, at this critical moment, I beg and pray that you take no step that will get our country into this conflict.

Page 2
June 8, 1940.

Among the many letters I have received, I have one just received today from Jackson Ralston, who lived here and practiced law in Washington, and who was a leader in liberal thought. I presume you are personally acquainted with him. In his letter, he expresses somewhat the same fear I have outlined above. He is your friend. He has been your supporter, but he is now in doubt. He is afraid. I think, Mr. President, he is just like millions of other citizens of the United States. His letter is very similar to innumerable letters which I have received from all over the country, written by men who believe I have some influence over you, or that my judgment would be given proper consideration by you. I believe these people overestimate the danger sometimes and my influence as well, but, taken together, they have made a great impression upon me, and I am writing this letter more to satisfy my own conscience than for any other purpose.

In order to explain to you more fully how I feel, I am inclosing a copy of the letter I have just written to Mr. Ralston. I know it is probably too much to expect that you will be able to find time to read what I say or what I have said to Mr. Ralston, but I want to give you at least an expression of my hope that you may read every word I have said.

With greatest respect, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. W. Norris

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

PSF *Senate*

Memo to Sam Rayburn from FDR--June 13, 1940

Re enclosed memo from Jerome Frank re Senator
Brown's bill providing for drastic amendments
of the Securities Act. Congr Lea also is going to investigate

See: Jerome Frank-Gen corres-Drawer 2-1940

PS F: *Senate*

*Walsh
Schute*

Copy (original in longhand)

June 14, 1940

Important

Sen Walsh is reported to me 1 P.M. as in a
towering rage about sale of Navy stuff to Allies.

He is threatening to force legislation pro-
hibiting sale of anything.

Elco boats started rumpus - everything else
came in later--whole committee in a lather.

C.E.

For the original of the above which was written in
longhand--See: Charles Edison-Drawer 1-1940

PSF: Senato
1960

July 21, 1960

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear George:

Your letter has made me deeply happy because I would rather have that said by you than by anyone else in the country.

Did you know how near you came to being made the vehicle of those thoughts of mine? One week before the Convention opened I wrote out in Longland a letter to you which though not as long as my radio speech to the Convention carried essentially the same thoughts.

I was going to send it to you the day the Convention opened with the belief that, by saying it in letter form to the one outstanding American who has always risen above party, it would be better understood by the people as a whole. The draft of this letter to you had been actually prepared.

However, two days before the Convention opened it became fairly clear that the old line conservative element in the party had, one way or another, obtained a much larger share in the control of the temporary organization of the Convention than it had any right to have from the point of view of public sentiment. Therefore, all or nearly all of the more liberal leaders pleaded with me not to send the letter to you but to withhold speaking until the permanent organization was effected on Tuesday night. They pointed out that obviously I should not address the Convention itself in the first person or through the Chairman until the Permanent Chairman had actually begun to preside.

I was, frankly, amazed by the terrific drive which was put on by the old line conservatives

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE

to make so many things adverse to liberalism occur that I would have to decline and disassociate myself from anything further to do with the restoration of control to the conservative element.

To this conservative element in the Convention was added, for the same objective but on other grounds, the strength of what you and I can privately call "The Hater's Club" -- strange bed-fellows like Wheeler and McCarran and Fydings and Glass and John J. O'Connor and some of the wild Irishmen from Boston, et cetera.

Essentially this line-up (except for Wheeler and one or two others) was the same as the one-third of the Chicago Convention of 1932. Obviously that crowd had no chance to make a fight in 1936. However, they were greatly heartened by the 1938 elections and thought that this would give them a fighting chance to put the control of the Democratic Party back where it was in 1920, 1924 and 1928.

That is why I feel that, from a purely political point of view, a great victory was won in Chicago.

On the nomination of Wallace they made their final stand. They were sure to be beaten, even by a fairly small margin, but their stupidity in making a violent issue out of Wallace will cause the ticket a great many votes this Autumn.

Cost

Wallace is a true liberal -- far more so than any of the others suggested for Vice President -- with the possible exception of Bill Douglas, who would have been harder to get nominated than Wallace.

I do not need to tell you, my dear friend, what your support has meant, not to me but I honestly believe, to the future of the country through all these years and even though you and I are tired and

"want to go home", we are going to see this thing through together.

I am going home for a few days but hope to see you very soon after I get back.

As ever yours,

Honorable George W. Norris,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

fdr/tmb

TO THE SENATE AND THE PRESIDENT
I AM SURE YOU WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE
ADDRESS WHICH I AM WRITING TO YOU TODAY.
I AM SURE YOU WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE
ADDRESS WHICH I AM WRITING TO YOU TODAY.

GEORGE W. NORRIS
NEBRASKA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

N/K

July 19, 1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUL 20 9 00 AM '40
RECEIVED

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

Dear Mr. President:

I listened to your memorable speech over the radio last night, and of all the words that have come from your voice and pen, I think this address was the superior of all of them. It is a classic which, regardless of the outcome of this campaign, will enshrine your name high among the immortals. It is a complete answer to the shrieks of the narrow-minded, jealous politicians, particularly those within your own party. It will fill with gratification and enthusiasm the hearts of millions of your fellow citizens in every party. I hope it may be read by every American citizen, and, if it is, it seems to me a campaign of vilification and misrepresentation and falsehood will be in vain.

Among the thousands of telegrams and letters which you will receive, it may be this letter will never come under your observation, but I am not writing it for your gratification. It comes from my own heart, and I am writing it because of the satisfaction it will give to me.

Sincerely yours,

G. W. Norris

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
CHAIRMAN

*file
Personal*

United States Senate
CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

August 7, 1940

PSF
THE WHITE HOUSE
AUG 9 9 04 AM '40
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President:

Let me thank you for your very generous letter of July 31, concerning my little part in the Chicago Convention.

In many respects it was a unique and historic convention. It was a real pleasure to preside over it.

While the battle may not be as easy as it was four years ago, I feel confident the American people will ratify the action of the Convention in renominating you.

Cordially and Sincerely,

Alben W. Barkley

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

PSF: Senate Aug 2 ~~0~~ 0727

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file personal & confidential
AUG. 15

PA:

I want to see Senator Bill
Smathers as soon as possible -- 15 minutes.

F.D.R.

B.H. & ...

*was in n. J.
aug 15 until noon.*

WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 14, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Please note Jim Farley's letter of August 3rd to Senator Smathers, and the reply Senator Smathers sent to Jim under date of August 6th; also Jim's acknowledgment of August seventh.

This is for your information.

STEPHEN EARLY

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN

J.H.F.

August 3, 1940

Honorable William H. Smathers
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear *Bill*:

Each campaign we find that our party can best present its record and its program through personal appearances by its leaders. This year especially we must rely upon the generous aid of outstanding Democrats such as you.

When your plans are made it would be a real favor if you would advise me how much time you could give to the Campaign.

If you have any special time when you prefer to speak, any special area in which you prefer to appear, or other personal desires, please inform me.

I am asking you to send this information so that it will be available to my successor. He can then turn it over to the Speakers' Bureau when it starts intensive operations in September. I want to have all pertinent information at hand and every detail worked out so that the Committee may function efficiently.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

JAF

RECEIVED
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

W.H.S.

Farley, James A.

COPY

PERSONAL

Washington, D. C.
August 6, 1940

Dear Jim:

I am not going to make any effort or speeches in the campaign this year. I have been treated so shabbily by the "palace guard"--the arrogant and insolent department heads on my New Jersey patronage that I am having a hard time to keep from being found in the other camp. I think it's the company I would "have to keep" that is the only thing that restrains me. You know the crowd that has set itself up between the duly elected representatives of the people and the executive and department heads. That's the crowd that I would like to help turn out into the street.

Sincerely yours

William H. Smathers,
U. S. S.

Honorable James A. Farley, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
Hotel Biltmore
New York City

WHS:mf

COPI

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN

August 7, 1940.

Hon. William H. Smathers
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th and I understand the situation thoroughly. I hope the next time I am in Washington, I will have a chance for a chat with you.

Sincerely yours,



JAF:13

PSF: Senate

DAVID I. WALSH, MASS., CHAIRMAN
 MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
 RICHARD D. SMITH, S. C.
 RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.
 HOMER T. BONE, WASH.
 HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
 PETER G. BERRY, N. I.
 RUSH D. HOLY, W. VA.
 CHARLES O. ANDREWS, FLA.
 GUY M. BELLETTE, IOWA
 ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
 SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.

FREDERICK HALE, MAINE
 JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
 MIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
 W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
 ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.

JOSEPH W. MCINTYRE, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

19 August 1940

file personal

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
AUG 20 10 17 AM '40
RECEIVED

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

My dear President Roosevelt:

I was especially sorry, in view of your brief reference to the subject, that I did not have the opportunity of talking with you in detail concerning the proposed transfer of destroyers while we were on our cruise a week ago. I feel very strongly that it would be a grave and great mistake to negotiate for the sale or transfer of these destroyers at this critical period.

In addition to the substantive arguments which I believe should deter us, I feel very strongly that the effect will be politically harmful. As I view the political situation, the Democratic Party is likely to lose many votes because of the belief that we are either excessively war-minded, or, at least, pursuing policies that will tend to involve us in the present European war. To my mind, there is no doubt that the American people are overwhelmingly against getting into the war and they are fearful of any action by the government which may involve us or invite retaliation later from the Nazi government of Germany and its allies. That is why they want our national defense built up as speedily as possible, for they realize the possibilities of an attack following the European war, but they are opposed to any provocative acts on our part.

To my mind, we have lost, and are losing, a large number of votes on the war issue and, therefore, I urge an attitude of great caution. Perhaps I am inclined to lean backwards and go to the extreme of strict neutrality but in any event I thought I should inform you what my impressions are.

I know you will accept my views in the spirit of friendliness in which they are given. It is my belief that I would not be stating the true situation if I did not indicate to you that we are moving in a direction, in our relationship to the

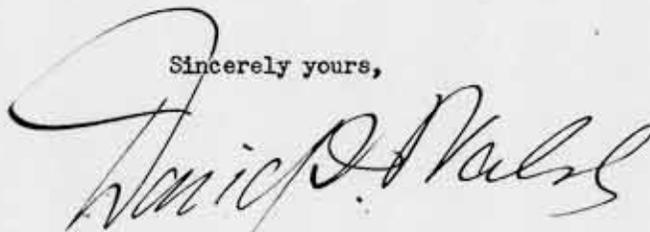
- 2 -

To - Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Date - 19 August 1940
Re - Destroyers

European war, that is fraught with disastrous consequences.

The American people share your sympathy for the Allies and agree with you in your abhorrence of the methods of the totalitarian dictators, but the vast majority think practically and realistically that it is too late to endanger American safety by committing ourselves as saviours of surrendered France and Great Britain and can have no other result than war for ourselves.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Francis P. Walsh". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Francis P. Walsh".

P.S. I do not know when I had three more pleasant days than when I was with you on the yacht Potomac and I want you to know I am most grateful.

PSF: Senate

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

August 22, 1940.

Dear Dave:-

Here is the real meat in the coconut as expressed to me by a Dutchess County farmer yesterday morning. I told him the gist of the proposal which is, in effect, to buy ninety-nine year leases from Great Britain for at least seven naval and air bases in British Colonial possessions -- not including the Dominion of Canada, which is a separate study on my part. The farmer replied somewhat as follows:

"Say, ain't you the Commander-in-Chief? If you are and own fifty muzzle loadin' rifles of the Civil War period, you would be a chump if you declined to exchange them for seven modern machine guns -- wouldn't you?"

Frankly, my difficulty is that as President and as Commander-in-Chief I have no right to think of politics in the sense of being a candidate or desiring votes. You and I know that our weakness in the past has lain in the fact that from Newfoundland to Trinidad our sole protection OFFSHORE lies in the three contiguous Islands of Porto Rico, St. Thomas and St. Croix. That, in the nature of modern warfare, is a definite operating handicap. If for fifty ships, which are on their last legs anyway, we can get the right to put in naval and air bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad and British Guiana, then our operating deficiency is largely cured.

Naturally, knowing the situation in all of these places intimately, I do not want the United States to assume control over the civilian populations on these Islands. In the first place, they do not want to live under the American Flag, and, in the second place, the civilian populations would be a drain on the national treasury, would create all kinds of tariff involvements in the Senate and House, and give future generations of Americans a headache.

Honestly, Dave, these Islands are of the utmost importance to our national defense as naval and air operating bases.

-2-

In regard to German retaliation, I think you can rest quietly on that score. If Germany, at the conclusion of this war or before that, wants to fight us, Germany will do so on any number of trumped up charges.

Finally, I hope you will not forget that the founder of the Democratic Party purchased Louisiana from a belligerent nation, France, while France was at war with England. He did this without even consulting the Congress. He put the deal through and later on he asked the House Committee on Appropriations to put \$15,000,000 into the appropriation bill.

By the way, the fifty destroyers are the same type of ship which we have been from time to time striking from the naval list and selling for scrap for, I think, \$4,000 or \$5,000 per destroyer. On that basis, the cost of the right to at least seven naval and air bases is an extremely low one from the point of view of the United States Government -- i.e., about \$250,000!

I do hope you will not oppose the deal which, from the point of view of the United States, I regard as being the finest thing for the nation that has been done in your lifetime and mine. I am absolutely certain that this particular deal will not get us into war and, incidentally, that we are not going into war anyway unless Germany wishes to attack us.

I hope to see you very soon.

Always sincerely,

F. D. R.

Honorable David I. Walsh,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate

Smith 2

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
September 21, 1940.

Dear Jack:-

Just before leaving Washington, I talked with a number of your friends and mine on the Hill -- people from both the Senate and the House.

Every single one of them agreed with me that you really ought to turn up in the old chair before the close of the session. It looks now as if the adjournment would come the end of next week, i. e., the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth, though, of course, as you know so well, it might go over until the next week. Whether it will be an adjournment or a recess I do not know, nor do I very much care.

I am sending you this line because the people I talked with hold you in old time affectionate regard. I do not need to say "so do I".

As ever yours,

The Honorable
The Vice President of the United States,
Uvalde,
Texas.

COPY

PSF: *Senate*

September 24, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

SENATOR BYRNES

I am enclosing for your eyes only a confidential memorandum from Ickes. There is an awful lot in what he says. Personally I am inclined to think that the whole matter can be either (a) filed permanently or (b) filed for further study after election day!

Please return for my files.

F. D. R.

For original of this memo, Ickes memo, Senator Byrnes letter 9/12/40 asking if the President contemplates changing Forest Service to any other Dept etc

See: Ickes folder-Drawer 1-1940

DAVID L. WALSH, MASS., CHAIRMAN
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.
HOMER T. BONE, WASH.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
PETER G. BERRY, R. I.
RUSH D. HOLY, W. VA.
CHARLES C. ANDREWS, FLA.
GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.

JOSEPH W. MCINTYRE, CLERK

FREDERICK HALE, MAINE
JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

Chicago, Illinois
October 5, 1940

PSF: Senate

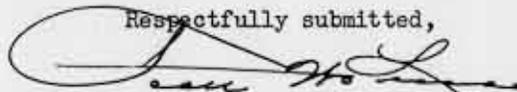
*File
Senate
Senate 2*

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

My dear Mr. President:

If the election were held today I am sure we would carry Michigan, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky. We are gaining in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Indiana is still a battle ground, as well as Ohio. North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas are probably in the Willkie column. However, I believe that North Dakota and Kansas can ultimately be placed in the Democratic column.

Respectfully submitted,



SWL:MMM

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

*file
Confidential*

PSF: Smith

October 18, 1940

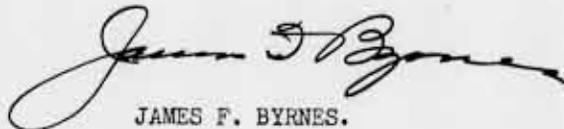
THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 19 9 10 AM '40

RECEIVED

Sherman Minton telephoned that he hopes at the first opportunity you will emphasize your desire for peace. He says that it is evident that Willkie is now going to do what he intended doing at the outset, namely, to urge that your reelection means war. He is of the opinion that it is more important to talk peace than preparedness, and that you should certainly stress that preparedness is being followed only to insure peace.

Of course, he begs that if possible you go to the State for a speech, or make an appearance if you travel through the State.



JAMES F. BYRNES.

PAULA LARRABEE:

I wonder if the President wants
this address in his personal files?

Mabel

PS: Senate
Henry Ashurst

October 23, 1940

Dear Henry:

I am glad you sent me that attractive copy of your "Farewell to the Senate". Of course, I appreciate the generous terms in which you inscribed it; but what I like the best and what your friends and admirers will always remember is the fine sportsmanship of this valedictory.

With your talents as an orator, your fine delivery and superb literary style, we have long been familiar. But above all else it was the ability to view your own departure from the Senate with such detachment and such a sense of proportion and of values that makes this Farewell Speech memorable.

With my sincere thanks accept hearty congratulations and every good wish.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Henry J. Ashurst,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

wdh-mw

PSF: Senate

S.T.E.

Please prepare a
memo to Sen. Ashurst
for my signature

js

PSF 2007

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

REMARKS OF
HON. HENRY F. ASHURST
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

Also COMMENTS BY THE PRESS



SENATOR ASHURST OF ARIZONA

To The President of the United States:
 Franklin D. Roosevelt.
 Statesman, scholar, lawyer, orator and
 gentleman. From
 Dec 7, 1940 New Mountain Phoenix.
 U.S. Senator

Farewell to the Senate

MR. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield to me?

MR. WILEY. I yield.

MR. ASHURST. I have just sent—not at public expense, but charged to my personal account—the following telegram:

JUDGE ERNEST W. MCFARLAND,
Phoenix, Ariz.:

Heartiest congratulations upon your victory. You will make splendid Senator, and when Congress adjourns I shall come home to campaign joyously for you and the entire State ticket. I wish for you health, happiness, and political success.

SENATOR ASHURST.

About 7 o'clock this morning the telephone rang, and when I answered, a venerable lady who lived in Arizona more than 56 years ago spoke and said, "Senator, I am distressed to see in the newspaper that you are defeated. What are you going to do for a living now?" [Laughter.] I said, "I may rest a year, and then practice law." She said, "Oh, are you a lawyer?" [Laughter.]

Coming to the Capitol in a taxicab, the young man who was driving said, "Senator, what are you going to do for a living now?" I said, "I think I shall sell apples." [Laughter.] He said, "What do you mean by that?" I replied, "Well, for almost 30 years I have successfully distributed applesauce in the Capitol. I ought now to be able to sell a few apples." [Laughter.]

I am sure some of my colleagues expect me to describe the sensation of defeat. The first half hour you believe that the earth has slipped from beneath your feet, that the stars above your head have paled and faded, and you wonder what the Senate will do without you, and you wonder how the country will get along without you. But within another half hour there comes a peace and a joy that would be envied by the world's greatest philosopher.

So much by way of camaraderie; and now, no longer speaking jocosely, I do not intend to trespass upon the time of the Senator from Wisconsin, or to take the time of the Senate or of the country to describe the means and the manner by which a child of the desert ascended the steep but glamorous acclivity to the Alps of fame. I am sure that my descent of the declivity will be as graceful and pleasant as was the ascent of the acclivity.

I say here in this presence that my ascent in politics and success in life were due to two great women. One was my mother, and the other

my wife. Without their help and support I probably would have been nothing more than a cipher, with the rim removed.

How far my opposition to the peacetime draft influenced the electorate in my State I do not know; and, without being flippant, or defiant, I do not care. No man is fit to be a Senator and no man should presume to serve here unless he is willing at any time to surrender his political life for a great principle, for a vital thing in American liberty and stability.

We frequently hear the Senate criticized. Quite recently it was deplored that there had been a heated debate on the floor of the Senate. Mr. President, I welcome the heat of debate between Senators. It is a sign of freedom. There is no life in the still and dead waters. It was a singular and happy circumstance that about the same time the so-called heated debate occurred on the floor of our Senate a still more torrid debate was taking place in the British House of Commons, in which the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, took part. Rolands were given for Olivers; there was thrust and there was riposte. Those are signs of a free people. Senators need not be disturbed by heated debates in the Senate or House. They are signs, signal smokes, evidences of a free parliament and a free people.

Moreover, Senators, you should not be disturbed by criticism of Congress. When the press or citizens generally criticize Congress, it is the sign of a free people. As I said once before, if one were a stranger to this planet, but understood somewhat human affairs, and he had made an excursion here to discover quickly and accurately what governments were free and what were despotic and autocratic, he would not look to the Treasury to ascertain what governments were free; he would not even look to the army or the navy. He would look to the parliament, the lawmaking body. If its members spoke freely, and said what they believed, and if the citizens who elected the parliament were free at all times to criticize the parliament or the congress, these would be the signs, the symbols, and the proofs of a free people.

We hear it said that the Senate is not so great now as it was in bygone days. Mr. President, after many years in the Senate I am prepared to testify that today the Senate is as great as it was in what we think of as the majestic

past. Webster, whose voice boomed like a golden bell hung in the canopy of the skies, could not be elected by any constituency today. I doubt very much if Henry Clay could be elected by any constituency today. Not even the great logician John C. Calhoun could be elected. Thomas H. Benton could not be elected today. The most imperious, and one of the ablest of all men who ever served in the Senate, Roscoe Conkling, who was elected Senator three times from New York, could not carry New York today. By a like token, not one of us could have been elected to the Senate in their day. Persons change, manners and philosophies change, although American principles remain the same.

Mr. President, I shall not waste any time on such miserable twaddle as to say that I ought to have been elected. A man only moderately versed in statesmanship, and with only a small degree of sportsmanship, is bound to admit that in a free republic, in a government such as ours, it is the undoubted right of the people to change their servants, and to remove one and displace him with another at any time they choose, for a good reason, for a bad reason, or for no reason at all. If we are to remain a free people, it is the duty of public servants not grumpily and sourly to accept the verdict of the majority, but joyously to accept that verdict; and I joyously accept the verdict of my party. But it would be hypocrisy and pretense for me to say that I do not regret leaving the Senate. Senators, I deeply regret that I shall not be here with you when you convene in January.

During these 29 years I have served with many different men. I had heated debates with some of them. Elihu Root, of New York, and I did not agree in our philosophies. I had heated debates with him, but to his dying day we were close friends. Senator Bailey, of Texas, was one of the most eloquent of all the orators ever in the Senate. We had heated debates, but to his dying day I cherished a fond affection for Senator Bailey, of Texas. The most savage debate I ever had in the Senate was with Bristow, of Kansas, but there was never a better Senator than Joseph L. Bristow, of Kansas.

Mr. President, this is not exactly a swan song, as I may take part in the discussion on the tax bill at the appropriate time, or on other questions which may come before the Senate before its adjournment, but I deem it not inappropriate to make these remarks.

To say that I am grateful to the people of Arizona for keeping me here in the Senate so long is but a feeble expression of my sense of

gratitude. I am not only grateful to the people of Arizona for keeping me here so long, but I am grateful for that which they additionally did for me. I doubt very much if it was ever done for any other Senator. During my entire service they allowed me to do as I pleased and to say what I pleased. I should rather serve 1 week doing as I please than to serve 30 years doing what somebody else pleases. For the fact that the people of Arizona have allowed me to carry on as I chose I am duly grateful. As I said before, they have a right to displace a Senator for a good reason, a bad reason, or for no reason at all; and I should be lacking in frankness, I should be disingenuous if I failed to say that they probably had a fairly good reason for displacing me.

Mr. President, when I take my leave in January, I shall carry with me tender and precious memories of our associations here. In all my 29 years here I do not believe a single unkind word has ever been said of me by any Senator; and I am overwhelmed when I remember the thousands of acts of kindness, of courtesy, and of forbearance which have been extended to me by all Senators during my service.

I particularly am grateful to my colleague from Arizona, Senator Hayden. Fortunate is the State to have a Senator like the Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden, and fortunate is a Senator who has a colleague from Arizona like Senator Hayden, industrious, brave, honest, and capable to a superlative degree. I feel that he is entitled to and should receive this public but all-too-inconclusive a tribute.

I shall always have for the Senate an inviolable attachment for its honor, its purposes, and its success.

A great many people unwisely imagine that the beauty and serenity of life inhere in office. No, Mr. President; royalty and honor do not necessarily inhere in cabinets, congresses, and courts; royalty and honor inhere in the citizen. Honor of itself does not reside in office; honor resides in the man. The great things of life are not signed and sealed before a notary public; they reside in honor.

When my present colleagues are here worrying about patronage, worrying about committee assignments, and about the scorching demands of constituents I shall possibly be enjoying the ecstasy of the starry stillness of an Arizona desert night, or viewing the scarlet glory of her blossoming cactus, and possibly I may be wandering through the petrified forest in Arizona, a forest which lived its green millenniums and put on immortality 7,000,000 years

ago. Enjoyment and ecstasy arise in human life from the contemplation and appreciation of such things.

Many people, many good people, many Senators—and Senators we will admit are good people—are inclined sometimes to take a pessimistic view of our country's future. There are many reasons why we will survive when other nations have gone down. First, we may depend upon the justice of Americans, the dignity of mankind itself, and the dignity of mankind especially is noted in American life. In a material way we have the richness of the earth, of its soils, of its mines, and its forests and its minerals. We have the heritage of the inventions of all the past. We are the inheritors of the body, the corpus, of all the inventions of the past both in the art of government, and in science, and in industry.

Moreover, Mr. President, the American people have that transcendent attribute which I believe is superior to the other things I have mentioned—the determination to remain free. As William Allen White said in an article not 3 days ago, democracies cannot be extinguished by tanks and airplanes. The democratic spirit; that is, the spirit of freedom, is inborn, invincible, ineradicable in the true American.

In 1831, 109 years ago, a brilliant Frenchman toured the United States. We were not opulent then; the great monuments of architecture, of art, and the temples of religion, of industry, of learning, of mammon were not then erected. His name was De Tocqueville. When he returned to France he wrote, as all Frenchmen do, brilliantly, and in one of the concluding paragraphs of his book he said:

During my journey throughout America I sought for the secret of the genius and the greatness of America; I sought for her genius and greatness and growth and glory in her rich soils, in her rich mines, her great forests, her fallow fields, her ample rivers and noble harbors, but I did not discover it there. I further sought for the reason for her growth and her glory and her genius and her greatness, and I found it in her matchless Constitution; I found it in her schools, churches, and homes, ablaze with righteousness. It was there in her Constitution, in her homes, in her schools, in her churches, that I found the true secret of the source of America's genius and greatness.

So it is, fellow Senators. America is great because she is good. When America is no longer good, she will no longer be great.

In conclusion, our country is fortunate in that we have inherited all in history that has gone before us. America does not belong to the past, as some pessimists would have us believe, America belongs to the future. Every Ameri-

can citizen is entitled to say, "Mine is the glorious past, mine is the shining future." I, for one, decline to believe that as a Nation or a people we are losing any of our vital inspiration. I believe that we are still clinging to and will continue to cling to the stern old virtues that made America great and strong, for this system of American government is a precious distillation of art and of truth more romantic than imagination can conceive or fiction can invent.

MR. WILEY. Mr. President, next January when we again meet in this Chamber, there will be a presence missing, but our friend and comrade, Senator Ashurst, will not be absent from our hearts and minds. We know the distinguished Senator has not gone down to defeat. Napoleon himself said that no one goes down to defeat except he who accepts it. The Senator from Arizona does not accept defeat. Mr. President, as a Republican Senator and one of the novitiates in the Senate, I can say that the distinguished Senator has my love and respect and affection. We will miss him for many reasons. He never rose in the Senate that he did not give an idea that made us better for what he said. He always thought straight and clear. The Senate can ill afford to lose his philosophy, his equanimity, and his smile. He has built his house not on the sand but on the rock—the rock of service, high thinking, and fine living.

We know, Mr. President, that as he goes out from here he will continue to give his fellow men the benefit of his way of life. He will continue to serve his fellow men. We know not what direction such service may take, but we do know it will be constructive and helpful to his fellows. If he were to continue to give the message to America that he has been giving ever since I came to the Senate—a message of cheer, of courage, of fearlessness—America would be stronger and healthier, financially, morally, and spiritually. His life exemplifies the words of Browning that—

Life has meaning and to find its meaning is my meat and drink.

Senator Ashurst has been a seeker for truth for more light. The loss of office will not unbalance him. He knows there are "more worlds yet to conquer"—more adventure up ahead.

I believe that he will go out of office with a smile on his lips accepting the challenge that tomorrow presents, and he will continue to fulfill in the highest way his obligations to the Government in this crucial period which we face. We wish him continued health, joy, and prosperity.

Comments by the Press

NEW YORK TIMES
September 13, 1940

A VETERAN DISCHARGED

Henry Fountain Ashurst, "the silver-tongued sunbeam of the Painted Desert," fell down in the Arizona Democratic primary this week. At once he congratulated the victor, Judge Ernest McFarland, with his customary urbanity. Mr. Ashurst came to the Senate in 1912. Elected unanimously by the first Legislature of Arizona, he is a first edition Senator. For that he should be prized. He is still more to be prized because his is the solitary glory in Congress of having been born in a covered wagon.

There is something in him, but not too much, of the elocutionist, the actor, the humorist and the philosopher. In the eyes of Arizona he is clothed with an antiquarian interest. He was once the youngest member of a Territorial Legislature. His opinion of consistency is Emerson's. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate he reversed himself swiftly and unabashed in the matter of the proposed enlargement of the Supreme Court. Does Arizona prefer a more serious and solemn, a less frank and open, statesman? His course of opposition to conscription is called the immediate cause of his defeat. He has also been accused of preferring Washington to his native air. Perhaps, like some other veterans, he has been a little careless about his fences.

Whatever the cause he has taken his misfortune with an unruffled grace. He who modestly admitted that "the perpetuity of the American Government did not absolutely depend upon the re-election of one Henry Fountain Ashurst to the Senate" has accepted his exit from the political stage imperturbably and with saving common sense. In a sort of valedictory to the Senate he dwelt on "the undoubted right of the people to change their servants, and to remove one and displace him with another at any time they choose, for a good reason, for a bad reason or no reason." If his constituents wanted his services no more, probably they had a good reason. It was the business of a public servant in such a case not to be splenetic or resentful. So Mr. Ashurst doesn't wear the willow. He shows himself a sportsman, a man "who can take it," a favorite character among Americans.

ALEXANDRIA (VA.) GAZETTE
September 19, 1940

A DISTINGUISHED SENATOR RETIRES

The title of Carrie Jacobs Bond's beautiful song, "The End of a Perfect Day," might well be paraphrased as "The End of a Perfect Service" in the case of the Hon. Henry F. Ashurst, the retiring Democratic senator from Arizona. The sentiment is expressive too, of that service which has been rounded, complete and satisfying. It has been given to the nation and his state in such a manner as to make him the outstanding figure and best beloved member of that august body, the United States Senate.

His popularity began from the moment he took the oath of office 28 years ago, and it has never been dimmed. Instead it has greatly increased as his capabilities and his display of them were exhibited.

Since the days of Daniel Webster the Senate has not heard so polished, so brilliant and so forceful an orator. In debate he was the past master of wit, repartee and rejoinder, but in his verbal combats with his colleagues his rapier was always tipped with a rose. Its thrust was clean cut and left no poison in the wound. In learning no senator was comparable with him, except the late John Sharp Williams; even the erudite and scholarly Henry Cabot Lodge did not surpass him. He drank deep at the fountain of knowledge. In courtesy and chivalry he was the peer of James Hamilton Lewis.

His remarks on the most prosaic subjects were classics, and Senate and galleries sat entranced with his eloquence as he spoke. With equal ease and readiness he could discourse at length on literature, art, music, law, science, philosophy and the drama. His wide vocabulary has never been equalled in the Senate, and each word uttered fitted like a mosaic in the picture he drew. All of Henry F. Ashurst's many attainments might be described by using the superlative, without exaggeration. Even his faults, if he had any, were of the best. His departure causes greater regret to his associates and friends than to himself, for it has been the philosophy of his life to accept fate with a smile.

His defeat for renomination must be found in causes other than himself. Perhaps it was

because during the more than a quarter of a century that he has been in the Senate a new generation of voters has grown up who did not know him as he is known in Washington.

BALTIMORE EVENING SUN

LAMENT FOR ASHURST

By LEMUEL F. PARTON

New York, Sept. 13

The passing of the erudite Senator Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona, as Ernest W. McFarland tops him in the State Democratic primary, will leave something more than a rhetorical vacuum in the Senate. If you wrote a piece kidding him, he was apt to put it in the *Congressional Record*, and, master of measured and stately diction that he was, he slyly burlesqued the noble cadence of royal purple oratory.

There was just a hint of satire, too, in his braided morning coat, pin-stripe trousers and tortoise-shell nose glasses, with their long, black ribbon. Somebody wrote of him: "He looks like something left in Washington by a visiting Shakespeare company" and he put that in the *Congressional Record*, too.

He is lovingly remembered by many of his confreres of the Senate as the man who took a roundhouse swing at Huey Long when "the man" Bilbo, of Mississippi, billed as a rarin', tearin' wildcat, ducked the assignment. For a week afterward the Kingfish was picking splinters of rhetorical shrapnel out of his hide. One that hurt most was Senator Ashurst's crack that Senator Huey Long played only with elliptical billiard balls.

The Senator couldn't say "oval" if he tried, and it was quite a comedown for him to speak of balls instead of spherical objects. He is the Senate's greatest Latinist, although he got his Latin from such sources as Bartlett. He knows literally thousands of Latin quotations, all the way from *nux vomica* to *tempus fugit*, and he can stipple them into a running discourse faster than any other man alive. In fact, he has been the champion quoter of the Senate, not only from Latin but from all the classics. No statisticians have ever worked on him, but it is estimated that he can spill, offhand, 22,343 quotations.

He was born in a covered wagon in Nevada, in 1874, when his parents were trekking from California to Arizona. He was a cowboy in his early teens, indentured in politics in small county and State offices, and arrived in Washington in 1912 in a big black sombrero and

high-heeled cowboy boots which set him back \$25. When he was 10 years old he had learned by heart all the addresses of Roscoe Conkling, of New York. His memory, in Byron's line, is "wax to receive and marble to retain," a quotation which he doubtless has in his handy manual of oratorical aids.

PHOENIX GAZETTE

TAKEN LIKE A MAN

The American people admire a winner, but it is no less true that they love a good loser. The sportsmanlike and cordial congratulations which the colorful, erudite and eloquent Senator Henry F. Ashurst wired to his victorious opponent in the primaries has endeared him to Arizonians, apart from his 28-year record of service to the State as United States Senator. The defeat of Senator Ashurst was in no way personal and he did not accept it as such.

Through all his years in the Senate, Mr. Ashurst voted his convictions, even when he knew they were unpopular. This is no less true because he changed his mind frequently and gloried in his reputation as the prince of inconsistency. In a recent speech during consideration of the selective service bill, the Senator stated that his opposition to the measure might mean his defeat, but that "if I could defeat this draft measure by my own defeat, the country would be immeasurably benefited."

"My vote against the draft," he said, "may or may not defeat me, but I am accustomed to disappointments. I bear them with equanimity. Let me tell my colleagues something about defeats. Each of you will meet defeat in due time. In the first half hour of defeat you will think the earth has slipped beneath your feet and that the stars above your head have paled and faded. Such is the sensation for the first half hour. Then, with the flight of a few hours, there comes such a peace as would be the envy of the world's greatest philosopher.

"... So far from feeling any irritation about criticisms that come to me over this vote, I welcomed them. They are the signs of a free, intelligent people."

Senator Ashurst will go down as one of the ablest senators of his time. According to a recent issue of *Time* magazine, he was the only senator who could best the late Huey Long in rough and tumble debate. Arizona is proud and grateful for the prestige won by her Henry, and hopes that when he retires he will enjoy the peace of which he spoke to the senators and which he has well earned.

Arizonians echo the congratulations and best wishes which Senator Ashurst extended to his successor, Judge Ernest W. McFarland of Pinal County. Judge McFarland will step into the senatorial mantle of an able man, but Arizona is confident that he will be a credit to it and win recognition for distinguished service in one of the highest positions of honor that it is in the power of the State to bestow.

STAR-TIMES, St. Louis, Mo.

SENATOR ASHURST, LAME DUCK

Few things in Senator Henry F. Ashurst's career in the United States Senate did him more credit than his leaving of it. That is not to say that Arizona's Mr. Ashurst did not accomplish great and good ends in his twenty-eight years in the Senate, but rather that the humor, tolerance and elan of his farewell speech in the Senate yesterday was in the best tradition of a good loser. For Mr. Ashurst had lost. Ernest W. McFarland, raising the New Deal banner high, defeated him in his party's primary. Mr. Ashurst also ran as a New Dealer on all matters save conscription. His opponent in his campaign speeches made enough of the draft and drastic preparedness, which he favored, to justify the assumption that the people of Arizona in repudiating Senator Ashurst were expressing approval of conscription and full speed ahead on national defense.

What the people of Arizona did to the popular and prominent Senator Ashurst may be logically accepted as indicative of the national temper.

Perhaps, Mr. Ashurst gauged the character and mood of his constituents wrongly. Perhaps, however, he was not counting noses, nor seeking to propitiate his constituents, but was rather following his own independent judgment, according to his own lights. It is not always the function of a democratic leader to follow slavishly what the public wants. We like to think that Mr. Ashurst played his role in the best tradition of representative democracy, and that he spoke the exact truth when he splendidly said:

"How far my opposition to the peacetime draft influenced the result of the primary, I do not know and do not care. No man is fit to be a senator who would not surrender his political life for a principle."

So this newspaper wishes him good cheer under what he called the "starry stillness of an Arizona night," free from all patronage worries.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
Friday, Sept. 13, 1940

ASHURST AND DEMOCRACY

By RAYMOND CLAPPER

We hear much now about what democracy is and what it should be, but the spirit of it rarely has been illustrated better than in the attitude of Sen. Henry Fountain Ashurst of Arizona, speaking in the Senate on the day after he was defeated for re-election.

He had served as senator ever since Arizona became a State. After 28 years in office a man might well come to think himself indispensable. Some reach that state of mind in much less time.

Instead of resenting the decision of his State to dispense with him, Sen. Ashurst thanked his people for having allowed him to serve so long. If we are to remain a free people, Sen. Ashurst told the Senate, it is the duty of public servants to accept defeat cheerfully, which he proceeded to do in one of the most remarkable speeches heard in a long time.

Ability to change our officials, and prompt acceptance of change, with a willingness on all sides to make the best of the new situation, are necessary to effective democracy. Had the verdicts of the country in 1932 and 1936 been received with more of that spirit among powerful figures in our business life and among the Republican opposition, much of our trouble would have been avoided. It was the continuing resistance to those verdicts that sometimes drove the Administration to opposite extremes and kept us a nation deeply divided within itself.

Sen. Ashurst also paid his people a high compliment when he said that during his entire service they had allowed him to do as he pleased and to say what he pleased. In that he was paying himself an unconscious compliment, because the privilege of political independence is a rare one, bestowed only upon those who show the capacity to deserve it. Lesser men must toe the line, and that is not always good for either the constituents, the public official or the country.

In a time of such confusion as this, when the difficulty of understanding today is exceeded only by that of seeing into tomorrow, public officials must be allowed much latitude by the country. It is not so much a question of which has the better judgment, the official or the public, as it is one of which has the better information. That was possibly the advantage that President Roosevelt had over those senators who

in the summer last year ridiculed his idea that there might be a war in Europe.

In a third respect, too, Sen. Ashurst tells us something about what democracy should be. He does not say it in so many words, but it is implicit in the whole tenor of his half-humorous, mildly self-deprecatory remarks, in his philosophical acceptance of the shift from important office to private life. Sen. Ashurst bears gracefully the ordeal of having his power shucked off. For most public men that is an excruciating operation, accompanied by loud cries of pain and by scars that leave them forever unhappy, damaged souls.

Unwillingness to surrender power is a curse of civilization, the root of ages of trouble. Some men find the appetite irresistible. They will sacrifice everything else to hold their power. This is seen in its rawest form in dictatorships, and in more subtle form in democracy. Wars have been precipitated, crises manufactured, enemies murdered, and countries have been sacrificed by men desperate to hold their power. Sen. Ashurst seems able to take it or leave it with equal grace.

He said: "When my present colleagues here are worrying about patronage, worrying about committee assignments, and about the scorching demands of constituents, I shall possibly be enjoying the ecstasy of the stillness of an Arizona desert night, or viewing the scarlet glory of her blossoming cactus, and possibly I may be wandering through the Petrified Forest, a forest which lived its green millenniums and put on immortality 7,000,000 years ago. Enjoyment and ecstasy arise in human life from the contemplation and appreciation of such things."

But this noble example will be wasted on a world now cursed with the evil and brutal fruits of power-crazed leaders. Sen. Ashurst would be the last to write himself down as a great and eventful statesman, yet within the range of his capacity he breathes, as the foregoing points suggest, the spirit of ideal democracy, which if it were more common now would make this world more tolerable. But that is only a day-dream of what might have been.

News, Washington, D. C.

MR. ASHURST BOWS OUT

Gallant as ever, Henry Fountain Ashurst stood on the floor of the Senate and paid tribute to the processes of democracy which have relegated him to retirement:

"A man only moderately versed in statesmanship, and with only a small degree of sportsman-

ship, is bound to admit that in a free republic, in a government such as ours, it is the undoubted right of the people to change their servants, and to remove one and displace him with another at any time they choose, for a good reason, for a bad reason, for no reason at all.

"It is the duty of the public servants not grumpily and sourly to accept the verdict of the majority but joyously to accept the verdict of the majority if we are to have a free people. . . . I should be disingenuous if I failed to say that they (the people of Arizona) probably had some reasons for displacing me."

Toward those who had voted him out of office, he displayed not bitterness, but gratitude—gratitude because "they allowed me, during my entire service, to do as I pleased and to say what I pleased."

Thousands of editorial columns will be written of the eloquence, the erudition, the statecraft, the brilliance, the humor, the punctiliousness of the gentleman from Arizona. And in all those deserved tributes we wish to join.

But the one fine human characteristic of Sen. Ashurst to which we would now address ourselves is this: He can take it.

In a country where today so many have grown soft and petulant, here is a man who meets vicissitude with high heart and gay smile. Where so many "small men of brief authority" are crying that they alone are fit to rule, Henry Ashurst bows gracefully out of public life.

He served in the Senate 28 years. He served with distinction and he won wide acclaim. But his shirt was never stuffed.

BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE

Sept. 15, 1940

SENATOR ASHURST IS A GAMESTER, EVEN AS HE TAKES THE COUNT

*Veteran Statesman in Philosophical Swansong
Says Senate Great as Ever—Attributes Success to His Mother and His Wife*

By M. E. HENNESSY

One of the great surprises of last week's primaries was the defeat of Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst of Arizona for a sixth term.

Surprise No. 2 came when the tall, iron-gray haired, immaculately dressed Senator Ashurst took the floor of the Senate Chamber, smilingly announced his own defeat, thanked the people of Arizona for keeping him in Washington 28 years, and announced that as soon as Congress adjourned he would return home to campaign for Judge McFarland, who beat him by a substantial majority for the nomination.

Every seat in the Chamber was occupied, members of the House stood along the side walls and the galleries were crowded. There is no record of a similar scene ever being witnessed in the historic meeting place, and the veterans of the Senate could not recollect any other defeated member accepting a primary verdict with such equanimity and graciousness.

Describes Defeat

His audience listened with rapt attention as Senator Ashurst described how it felt to be defeated for re-election to an office he did not lift his finger to obtain, being held in the national capital to discharge his public duties in one of the most important sessions of Congress since the first World War.

Tribute to Arizona

Then his mellifluous voice hovered over his home state and evoked applause with this touching tribute to the Almighty's handiwork in the mountains, valleys and forests of Arizona:

"When you are here worrying about patronage, worrying about legislation, I shall possibly be enjoying the ecstasy of the starry stillness of an Arizona desert night or enjoying the scarlet glory of her blossoming cactus and possibly I may be wandering through the petrified forest, which lived the green millenniums of use and immortality 7,000,000 years ago." As he sat down the Senate chamber rang with deafening applause.

In Henry Ashurst the Senate of the United States was to find that an unschooled cowboy could become one of the Senate's foremost orators, a courtly, dignified, polished gentleman.

TIMES, Hartford, Conn.

IN THE PRIMARIES

This week's primaries dispose of another veteran quite as much a fixture in Washington and supposedly secure in his seat. Not only was Senator Ashurst apparently a permanent fixture in Washington, but he was likewise one of the most picturesque as well as one of the most active and important members of the Senate. Few men in public life are his equal for erudition and command of language. When he made a speech it was indeed a display of the forensic art.

BEACON JOURNAL, Akron, Ohio

"SUNBEAM" INTO ECLIPSE

Aside from the nomination of Luren D. Dickinson as Governor of Michigan, the most noteworthy development of Tuesday's primaries was

the failure of Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst of Arizona to be renominated.

Yet there is something to be said for solons like Ashurst. They supply leaven to a mass that is disposed to be doughy and phlegmatic. How many of the residents of Capitol Hill would have the disarming wit to declare of themselves: "The welfare of the United States and the happiness of our people does not hang on the presence of Henry F. Ashurst in the Senate. When that realization first came to me I was overwhelmed by the horror of it, but now it is a source of infinite comfort." As the "silver-tongued sunbeam of the Painted Desert" passes into eclipse, that comfort should sustain him.

DETROIT (Mich.) NEWS

UNSPOILED BY DEFEAT

Among the first political casualties of the season is one who has long been a favorite character of Senate fanciers, and, until lately, had enjoyed the uninterrupted favor of the Arizona voter—Henry Fountain Ashurst. With his departure will go the lushest vocabulary in that body, and, as a best friend and candid critic once put it, there will end the "longest theatrical engagement on record." It began in March, 1912.

At 19, while turnkey in the jail at Flagstaff, young Henry came upon a volume of Blackstone's Commentaries, and in no time was "throwing 56-pound words across the Grand Canyon. As a matter of course I went into politics." An actor and ex-Detroit newspaper man, C. N. Stark, furthered the comer's first designs on public office—a seat in the territorial legislature. There he opened a career as "silver-tongued sunbeam of the Painted Desert," the end of which is only now in sight.

In Washington he has always endeared himself to the discriminating by taking himself none too seriously. "There never has been superadded to these vices of mine the withering, embalming vice of consistency," he once said in accounting for a sudden switch in sides. "As is obvious to everyone who knows me, I suffer from an inborn, inveterate flair for the histrionic," he said in another moment of self-analysis.

He is the Senator who, when Huey Long had cowed the Chamber into a sort of helpless catalepsy, arose one day and dissected the Kingfish in what stands as the most polished and comprehensive verbal beating given one solon by another in our time. Never again did Huey

seem to his colleagues as formidable a figure. He fought conscription, which may have had a bearing on last week's turn in his fortunes. "The perpetuity of our Government did not absolutely depend on the re-election of one Ashurst," he said, in comment on a result that may have been a shock to one regarded as a fixture in Washington but found him at no loss for the courtly and characteristic word.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM

ASHURST STILL JESTS, DESPITE HIS DEFEAT

But Regrets Leaving Senate After Being There Twenty-eight Years

By THOMAS L. STOKES

Washington, Sept. 12.—Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst of Arizona has been for many years the Senate's jester—never a clown.

A master of self-analysis, he has told on himself—and thus on every senator. He has punctured many stuffed shirts. He has been the Senate's guilty conscience made vocal.

Never did a jester with a broken heart perform better than did the tall and courtly Senator when he rose before his colleagues to philosophize over his defeat after 28 years in the Senate.

Tragic Performance

There was tragedy in the performance. Senators who a few minutes before had gone to him to express regret at his defeat, sat sobered and serious as he arose.

The Senator glanced around. This has been Henry Ashurst's life, his kingdom, as it is of every man who sits for long in this legislative body. It breaks a man's heart to leave it.

Here he saw the Woodrow Wilson administration flower in a profusion of social and economic reforms. Here he voted for the war to save democracy, and watched the frenzy of aroused patriotism sweep through the chamber. Here he heard bitter words over the League of Nations. Here he saw an era of reform smothered by a war and wither away in an era of callous materialism as prosperity became the watchword. Here he heard men in high office denounced for corruption and here he sat when a Cabinet officer was sent to jail, the first in American history.

A New Era of Reform

Here he saw the economic system in wreckage and saw another era of reform begin so auspiciously. Here he again heard bitter words

over social and economic reforms and over a plan to reorganize the Supreme Court.

Here again, of recent days, he has heard talk of war, and here he stood up boldly against conscription. It must have seemed to him that the cycle was starting all over again.

Yes, history was all about the place. And the friendships of years.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

March 17, 1940

"MOVING SPEECH WILL NEVER DIE," ASHURST SAYS; "MICROPHONE MAY AID"

Washington, March 16.—Oratory, says Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst, an orator's orator, will never die.

The microphone—forever pushed in front of the modern Cicero by newsreel, radio, and public-address men—may even nourish the old art of moving speech, he says.

Senator Ashurst is the pride of every speaker in Congress.

"The microphone," he said today, "has transformed many men of sloppy, snippy, slovenly speech into superb speakers. In the past 15 years it has made scores of thousands of excellent speakers.

"The microphone has seemed to eliminate those great banes of public speaking—overtone and overstatement.

"Superlatives in speech are usually evidences of a weary man or sometimes of an indolent man who does not seek a more nearly exact medium of expression."

Ashurst, who rose on a ladder of wondrous prose from cowhand to a leader's role in the Senate, admitted today that he had delivered only six or eight orations in his 28 years of public service. But he has made 4,000 speeches.

The Arizona statesman confessed, with candor, that his style of speech may be passing.

"I've long cultivated flaming, brilliant, ro-tund, gorgeous sentences," he explained. "But I would advise speakers of this era to use short, lance-like sentences."

This new hard-hitting manner is called forth, he explained, by the demands of the microphone, the need for simply put speech.

Ashurst has "studied oratory" for 45 years, reading over and over the great speeches of the past—Pitt, Demosthenes, Cicero, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Douglas, Lincoln.

"And mark this well," he said, "the eloquence of Demosthenes (an early Greek) stands unapproachable, and has so stood for 2,300 years."

Friends visiting him at night still find the Senator "studying oratory." But he has passed on his learning to others, giving free-of-charge lessons in radio speech to younger statesmen and ambitious youths of the Capital.

Oratory, says this connoisseur, is not a studied art, but a wonderful thing that happens when the man and the occasion meet.

"In certain circumstances, most any citizen may make an eloquent and moving speech," he explained. "A fisherman, a sailor, a flock master, a cowboy, a mechanic who communicates to someone else his views, may be making what would be called an oration.

"I have heard men deliver powerful orations in the Senate—men who were not polished speakers, but who were moved by deep emotion of the moment. And some of our most moving speeches have been so because of the speaker's contempt for 'art.'

"Eloquent speech is more or less an outburst of sincere thought or emotion.

"When Cicero spoke," the Senator declaimed, "everybody said, 'how well Cicero speaks.' When Demosthenes spoke, everybody said, 'let us go against Philip.' That is oratory—speech so sincere that it moves people to join the speaker's cause."

The flailing arms, the pounding fist, and waving forelock that most persons think of as the sign of oratory have no fascination for Ashurst. He often has stood calmly in the Senate Chamber, quietly tearing an issue apart with cadenced humor.

"It is unnecessary to use gestures to attain great oratory," he declared. "In fact, I tell the young men who come to me it is better not to.

"A mere recital," he went on, "be it never so beautiful and artful; if involving no vital thing—it might be art, be beautiful—but it could hardly be an oration.

"Above all things," he added, "it is most important to be absolutely fair—fair, truthful, with as near an approach to accuracy as may be possible.

"Any departure from this rule, and the audience loses confidence in the orator, which, of course, is fatal to any hope of moving anybody."

Ashurst was sent to the Senate by the first legislature of Arizona and has been there ever since. But his fame as a master of good-tempered yet effective speech rose in recent years.

His orations have ranged from praise of Woodrow Wilson and condemnation of Huey

P. Long to discourse on "the care and feeding of politicians" and eye-watering eulogies of the American cowboy and the old Palace saloon in Prescott, Ariz.

To tone up his voice for a major speech, Ashurst often sings a few verses of that old ballad, Abdul Abulbul Ameer. He chooses Abdul because of its vowels.

"In speaking, you need not worry about your consonants," he says. "Sound your vowels clearly and your speech will be understood."

*Extract from an Article by
GEORGE CREEL in COLLIER'S WEEKLY
November 13, 1937*

"A curious person in many ways is this Henry Fountain Ashurst. Just when it seems that he is an arrant partisan, a slave to party regularity, he will take a position marked by courage and principle, and time after time he drives home an unpalatable truth . . . he is open in his attack on the spoils system, and more than any other senator, perhaps, he has been honest and courageous in his denouncing the 'pork barrel,' and refusing to raid the federal treasury. One of his major fights is against tax-exempt securities."

*Extract from an Article by
ALVA JOHNSTON in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
December 25, 1937*

"Senator Ashurst is industrious and is vigilant about Arizona affairs. One of the points in his favor is that he has refused to practice law on the side. Ashurst thinks it would interfere with his scholarly pursuits and with his diligence in Arizona's and the Nation's business. He could roll in wealth if he were willing to sell his name, for his prestige as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee could be made an important commercial asset."

*Extract from
"TIME" the Weekly Newsmagazine of
August 7, 1939*

"When the late Huey P. Long had the Senate buffaloed, hog-tied and helpless with his parliamentary agility, when few Senators even dared to cross him, Ashurst took the floor one day (June 15, 1935) to give Huey what still stands on the Senate's books as the most comprehensive dressing down administered in the chamber in modern history, a flaying executed so neatly and yet so politely, rich in classical allusion and historical anecdote, that the Kingfish was for once stumped for an answer."

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

September 27, 1940

MR. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be read from the desk a letter addressed to my colleague, the senior Senator from Arizona (MR. ASHURST), and a resolution adopted by the State Senate of Arizona.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arizona? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Phoenix, Arizona.

September 25, 1940.

HON. HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST

Senate Office Building

Washington, D. C.

Dear Henry:

At no time during my long service as Secretary of the Arizona State Senate have I witnessed such manifest sincerity as was expressed by the Senate members in adoption of the enclosed resolution. I certainly wish you could have heard the tribute paid you by many senators in expressing the wish that, as a mark of respect, the adoption of the resolution be by roll call vote in lieu of the usual viva voce vote.

I wish to express my sentiment with an additional humble "Aye" vote.

Very truly yours,

W. J. GRAHAM,
Secretary of the Senate

STATE OF ARIZONA FOURTEENTH LEGISLATURE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION SENATE SENATE RESOLUTION No. 1

A RESOLUTION

*On the retirement of Henry Fountain Ashurst
from the Senate of the United States
of America*

WHEREAS the Honorable Henry Fountain Ashurst, United States Senator from Arizona, will retire from the Senate of the United States of America at the end of the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress; and

WHEREAS Senator Ashurst has represented this State in the United States Senate continuously since statehood, a period of twenty-eight years; and

WHEREAS during all those years Senator Ashurst distinguished himself as a faithful public servant, steadfastly refusing to place selfish interests above the welfare of his country; and

WHEREAS Senator Ashurst will long be remembered by the people of the entire Nation for his statesmanship, his devotion to duty, his outstanding ability, his unimpeachable integrity, his silver-tongued oratory, his never-failing wit and good humor, and for his many other virtues: Therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF ARIZONA:

1. This body expresses its sincere appreciation, and that of the people of Arizona, to the Honorable Henry Fountain Ashurst for his unselfish devotion and his many accomplishments in representing the State of Arizona for the past twenty-eight years in the Senate of the United States of America.

2. The members of this body hereby join with the people of the Nation in extending to Senator Ashurst their best wishes for his continued health, happiness, and prosperity.

Unanimously adopted
September 25, 1940.

PAUL C. KEEFE
President of the Senate
W. J. GRAHAM
Secretary of the Senate

SHERMAN MINTON, INDIANA
CHAIRMAN

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

File
personal
confidential

RECEIVED
JUN 46 AM '40

HOUSE

PSF:

M. D. O'G

My dear Mr President -
Election night after
it was apparent you had won I sent you
a telegram. So did a million others!

I do want you to know that while the
blitzkrieg in Indiana got me the blow was
forgotten in the joy your great victory
brought.

It was the most brilliant victory in
American political history. Without organization
money or newspapers, single handed &
alone, you beat money, organization
publicity & demagoguery.

I not only congratulate you but I
salute you with the pride of a soldier
that was privileged to serve even a
little.

AN MINTON, INDIANA
CHAIRMAN

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

I hope I get to see you before
I go back home, but if I do not
you may depend upon it I shall
keep the signal fires burning on
the hill tops of Southern Indiana.
May Heaven bless you!

Cordially & sincerely yours

Wm. Minton



Massachusetts
Democratic State Committee

10
HOTEL BELLEVUE, BOSTON

PSF; Senate

Telephones
CAPitol 8766
CAPitol 8767

WILLIAM H. BURKE, Jr.
Chairman

JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL, Jr. Secretary
PAUL A. McCARTHY Treasurer
MARY E. CORKERY Executive Secretary

December
Ninth
19 40

Dear Mr. President:

Assistant Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson has just announced the appointment of Henry Parkman, Jr., of Boston, to his legal staff to complete expansion agreements between the Government and industries associated with the National defense.

As Chairman of the Democratic State Committee of Massachusetts I express the deep resentment of every Democrat in the Commonwealth that this appointment should come, immediately after the election, to one of the most virulent critics of yourself, Senator David I. Walsh, and the Democratic Administration during the campaign.

Mr. Parkman, the Republican candidate for the United States Senate, was overwhelmingly defeated, yet apparently as a reward for his vicious opposition to our Party and the Administration, he receives the first Federal appointment from this Commonwealth.

The implications of this appointment to a high position of responsibility and influence are too strong to be ignored by the Democratic Party in the State which successfully carried our fight to the people.

Sincerely yours,

C h a i r m a n

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

PSF; Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 18, 1940

file personal
Sen 2:40

MEMORANDUM FOR PA

Take up with Patterson -- I think that Parkman's appointment at this time would be a mistake although he is an old friend of mine and a fine fellow.

F. D. R.

December 19, 1940

RESPECTFULLY RETURNED TO THE PRESIDENT:

I spoke to Patterson and he says that Parkman withdrew from his (Patterson's) office when he heard of Walsh's objections. The whole thing is settled and Parkman is not in the Assistant Secretary's office.

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

Choice of Parkman Scored In Letter to Roosevelt

By the Associated Press.

BOSTON, Dec. 10.—Chairman William H. Burke of the Massachusetts Democratic State Committee denounced yesterday in a letter to President Roosevelt the appointment of Henry Parkman, jr., unsuccessful Republican candidate for Senator, to a legal post in the War Department.

Asserting that Mr. Parkman was "one of the most virulent critics of yourself, Senator David I. Walsh, Democrat, of Massachusetts and the Democratic administration during the campaign," Chairman Burke wrote:

"* * * Yet, apparently as a reward for his vicious opposition to our party and the administration, he receives the first Federal appointment from this commonwealth.

"The implications of this appointment to a high position of responsibility and influence are too strong to be ignored by the Democratic party in the State which successfully carried our fight to the people."

Mr. Parkman was named by Assistant Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson to his legal staff to complete expansion agreements between the Government and industries associated with national defense.

Florida's southern boundary is 800 miles farther south than that of California.

PSF: Senate

DAVID I. WALEN, MASS., CHAIRMAN	FREDERICK HALE, MAINE
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.	JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.	HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.	W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
HOMER T. BONE, WASH.	ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.	
PETER G. GERRY, N. I.	
RUSH D. HOLT, W. VA.	
CHARLES O. ANDREWS, FLA.	
GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA	
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.	
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.	

United States Senate
 COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

JOSEPH W. MCINTYRE, CLERK

Clinton, Massachusetts
7 December 1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
 RECEIVED
 DEC 9 9 00 AM '40

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

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a copy of a telegram
 I have today sent to the Secretary of War and which
 contains the subject matter I desire to call to
 your attention.

Sincerely yours,
David Lister

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

PSF: Senate 1207-A

WESTERN UNION

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

H. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DECEMBER 7 1940 19

To HON. HENRY L. STIMSON

Street and No. SECRETARY OF WAR

Place WASHINGTON, D. C.

I LEARNED FROM THIS MORNING'S PRESS THAT MR. HENRY PARKMAN, JR. HAD BEEN APPOINTED TO THE LEGAL STAFF OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR, HON. ROBERT P. PATTERSON. IN VIEW OF THE RECENT ACTIVITIES OF MR. PARKMAN IN OPPOSITION TO THE REELECTION OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HIS OPPOSITION TO MY CANDIDACY FOR REELECTION I WAS SHOCKED TO LEARN OF HIS APPOINTMENT. MR. PARKMAN HAD A RIGHT TO BE A CANDIDATE FOR PUBLIC OFFICE NOR AM I OPPOSING HIM AS A REPUBLICAN BUT I AM OPPOSED TO THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY MR. PARKMAN IN OPPOSITION TO MR. ROOSEVELT AND MYSELF IN THE RECENT ELECTION. HIS CAMPAIGN WAS SUCH THAT IT WAS DESCRIBED IN AN EDITORIAL OF ONE OF THE LEADING BOSTON PAPERS AS "REACHING A NEW LOW LEVEL". I AM NOW COMMUNICATING

Sender's address
for reference

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY
IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

Sender's telephone
number

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
TELEGRAM	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1207-A

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

19

To HON. HENRY L STIMSON

Street and No. _____

Place _____

WITH YOU TO PROTEST HIS APPOINTMENT AND TO STATE THAT HE IS PERSONALLY

OBNOXIOUS TO ME AS SENIOR SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS. I NEVER FELT IT

NECESSARY TO DECLARE ANY PERSON SEEKING EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT AS PERSONALLY OBNOXIOUS BUT IN THIS CASE THERE IS NO OTHER

COURSE FOR ME TO TAKE IN SELF RESPECT. FURTHERMORE HIS APPOINTMENT AT THIS

TIME IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ELECTION WILL BE CONSIDERED BY MANY

DEMOCRATS AND OTHER CITIZENS AS OBNOXIOUS TO THE DEMOCRATS OF THIS STATE.

I RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT YOU RECONSIDER THE ACTION OF THE APPOINTMENT

WHICH THE PRESS STATES YOU ARE ABOUT TO MAKE

DAVID I WALSH

Sender's address
for reference

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY
IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

Sender's telephone
number

PSF: Senate

KENNETH McKELLAR, TENN., CHAIRMAN
 CARL HATDEN, ARIZ. LYNN J. FRASER, N. DAK.
 JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C. ROBERT M. LA POLLETTE, JR., WIS.
 W. J. BULOW, S. DAK. JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
 JAMES F. BYRNES, S. C. CLYDE M. REED, KANS.
 JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO. JOHN THOMAS, IDAHO
 JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
 DENNIS CHAYES, N. MEX.
 RUSH D. HOLT, W. VA.
 ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
 WILLIAM H. SMATHERS, N. J.
 JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
 D. WORTH CLARK, IDAHO
 PAT MCCARRAN, NEV.

*7
Bismarck*

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS

Memphis, Tennessee
December 27, 1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
RECEIVED
DEC 29 5 40 PM '40

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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

My dear Mr. President:

I saw our mutual friend at once. He is a strong Roosevelt man and has been -- enthusiastic and strong in primary and in the general election in 1932, and again in 1936, and strongest and most effective in 1940. He is strong for you now. One of your most outspoken admirers. There is no sham in his makeup.

He, like you, is liberal and progressive. He believes in the rights of labor and probably ninety-five per cent of organized labor here is devoted to him. He makes no distinction as to organizations.

He, however, has no patience with fifth columnists, and is against them wherever they appear, whether in the parlor, in the Government, in labor councils, in business, or educational affairs. He believes the American system of Government is good like it is, the best in the world, and he believes communist teachings are tremendously hurtful, and should be sternly met, and that these teachings and tendencies should have our most careful vigilance. I doubt if you two differ much on this subject.

I will talk to you about the matter when I return to Washington the latter part of next week, at your convenience.

With all good wishes,

Your friend,

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Senator Kenneth McKellar

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

2546

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file

December 23, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR
SENATOR KENNETH MCKELLAR: ^{Ken} 2 PP 72715

While you are home for the Holidays I wish you would talk with brother Crump in regard to the C.I.O. in Memphis. I do not think that anyone can generalize with any safety by opposing C.I.O. and favoring A. F. of L. -- or vice versa. There is a whole lot of good and a little evil in both of them. I think that a word from you to Ed. Crump will help keep the peace.

PP 72762
Ken

x142

F. D. R.

COPY AND LETTER OF LUCY R. MASON
SENT TO MRS. ROOSEVELT. x 2853

x PP 72

x 407

PSF: *Senate*
2

Re: Telegram from Jim Rowe from N. Y.

Re: Congressman Lea insisting on bringing up reorganization Plan involving the Civil Aeronautics Authority tomorrow. Rayburn tried to get Lea to postpone debate until Senate vote etc

See: Administrative Assts folder-Drawer 1-1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE \$300

The Honorable
Arthur H. Vandenberg,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

*PST
Special
Pr 159*