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Box 2; Folder = Correspondence: Ickes, Harold L., 1935-1945

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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON



BUY U.S. SAVINGS
BONDS
ASK YOUR POSTMAN



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Miss Grace Tully,
Nelson House,
Poughkeepsie, New York.

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Address of
The Honorable Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior
At the Dedication of Boulder Dam, Nevada, September 30, 1935

Pridefully, man acclaims his conquest over nature. We have taught ourselves to believe that with our wit and our might we have wrested from earth, sea and sky the necessities, the comforts and the luxuries of a complicated human civilization. To a limited degree it is true that we have made a vassal of nature, but in a very real sense it is true and always will be true that man has not conquered nature, nor ever will be strong and resourceful enough to do so. So long as nature can hurl the devastating thunderbolt, topple to the ground great structures wrought by the cunning hand of man, pull down into the depths of the ocean mighty ships, destroy our handiwork by fire or flood, and unleash from the caverns of the winds mighty hurricanes to toss about in their rage all objects, animate and inanimate that are exposed to them, nature will continue to be unconquerable.

Just as nature, untamed and invincible, in her fitful moods or by her sullen immobility, has destroyed not only the works of man but man himself, so has man in his turn wreaked his vengeance upon nature. He has ruthlessly obliterated vast expanses of forest lands. By destroying the protective coverage of the soil, he has made it possible for wind and water to carry away the fertility provided by nature in a beneficent mood for the growing of abundant crops and the grazing of countless herds of sheep and cattle. Mercilessly, he has slaughtered the birds of the air and the wild life of forest and plain, while polluting lakes and rivers and even large sections of the vast oceans, to the destruction of fish

life. By reason of his wanton devastation of the forests and his intemperate use of the soil, he has been responsible for pitiless droughts which have alternated with raging floods, which in their turn have destroyed both property and life and have laid a foundation for even more severe droughts and more destructive floods to follow.

But gradually man has come to realize that in destroying nature he is destroying himself. The harm that man has done to himself indirectly through his ruthless exploitation of nature is vastly greater than all the damage that nature has inflicted directly upon him by fire and flood and toronado and earthquake. Through bitter experience we are learning the lesson that it is not through the destruction of nature or even through its complete subjugation that we will be able to serve our own greatest good; that if we would avoid the tragic mistake of the past and assure for ourselves and for the generations that are to follow us the material and spiritual benefits which will flow from a wise and prudent use of the rich resources of nature, our approach must be in a spirit of cooperation.

We must realize that nature is neither a wanton, carelessly flinging her favors to any chance passerby, nor one who may be ravished of her treasures unless we are willing to pay a price that in the end will mean bankruptcy of our natural resources. Nature, if she really is to serve mankind to the top of her bent, must be wooed and won. Between man and nature there must be mutual forbearance, a willingness to live and let live, complete understanding and understanding cooperation.

No better example of understanding cooperation between man and nature can be found anywhere than this imagination-stirring project that, in grandeur of conception and in skill and speed of execution, ranks as one of the greatest engineering undertakings in the history of the world. And

what more characteristic and appropriate name could be chosen for this monumental enterprise than the one with which it has been christened? As the eye encompasses the majesty of this work and comprehends the bold and rugged setting chosen for the taming of the waters of the turbulent Colorado, the mind appreciates that this setting and this accomplishment of what at first must have been regarded as the conception of a fevered imagination would not be worthily and fittingly named by any less bold and striking designation than that of Boulder Dam.

I venture to hope that this dam, with its great storage of health and wealth and happiness for thousands of people, will stand as the definite opening of a new era with respect to the natural resources of America -- an era of conservation which means the prudent use of all natural resources for the greatest good of the greatest number of our people; an era that will recognize the principle that the riches of forest and mine and water were not bestowed by God to be ruthlessly exploited in order to enhance the wealth of a small group of rugged individualists, but were beneficently given to us as an endowment to be carefully used for the benefit of all the people. On no other theory would the Federal Government be justified in so generously opening the doors of its treasure house for the building of this and other similar projects that will turn large sections of this breathtaking western country into rich homesteads where a happy and contented people will find it possible to live those comfortable and worth-while lives that we covet for every man, woman and child in these United States.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the dedication of this outstanding result of a sound conservation policy should come during an Administration that is dedicated to the well-being of the average American. It is more than a mere coincidence that the greatest conservationist who has

ever presided over the affairs of our country should be present on an occasion that rejoices the heart of every conservationist in America. Here behind this massive dam is slowly accumulating a rich deposit of greater wealth than all the mines of the West have ever produced -- wealth to be drawn upon for all time to come for the renewed life and the continued benefit of generations of Americans. And as personifying what must be the future policy of the United States if we are not utter dolts, a policy of husbanding and wisely using all of our natural resources, there has come from Washington to do honor to this occasion that President of the United States during whose Administration already more has been done for genuine conservation than during all preceding Administrations.

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While this great undertaking, as I have said, speaks in striking terms of what can be accomplished by an understanding cooperation between man and nature, I hope that I am not out of order in suggesting that a genuinely cordial spirit of cooperation between the States that are to profit from it would be encouraging to the Federal Government and an incentive to undertake projects of a similar nature in this great western country that is so potentially rich in resources. It is to be hoped that the peoples of the Colorado compact states, through their Governors, will be able without further undue delay to agree upon an apportionment of the benefits that will flow from Boulder Dam that will be fair and equitable to all.

It is now my privilege to present to you, each for a bow, the Governors of the seven interested States who are present, and I hope that they will carry away with them what I believe to be your unuttered wish -- that no further time be lost in adjusting all differences of opinion that may now exist between any of these States with respect to the respective advantages that each State is to enjoy from this great undertaking that has

been carried out for your benefit by the Federal Government.

I will now introduce the Governors in the order in which the States represented by them were admitted to the Federal Union --

The Honorable Frank F. Merriam Governor of California

The Honorable Richard Kirman, Jr. Governor of Nevada

The Honorable Leslie A. Miller Governor of Wyoming

The Honorable Henry H. Blood Governor of Utah

The Honorable Clyde Tingley Governor of New Mexico

The Honorable B. B. Moeur Governor of Arizona

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All of you will share my particular disappointment that on this notable occasion the Senior Senator from California, the Honorable Hiram W. Johnson, could not be present on account of the state of his health. Arthur P. Davis, the engineer, first caught the vision of this great dam. Converts to the cause that he advocated gradually grew in numbers so that in the aggregate many have made their contribution toward the result that we celebrate today. Former Congressman Philip Swing of Los Angeles performed valuable services towards its accomplishment, and many other members of the House of Representatives and the Senate were active supporters of the law that made it possible. Nor should we forget the engineering talent, the devotion to duty of the workers, the offerings of life itself that have been generously sacrificed on this altar of devotion to the good of humanity.

Yet the name of Hiram Johnson is probably more intimately associated with Boulder Dam than that of any other man. It has often been said that if it had not been for Hiram Johnson, there would be no Boulder Dam, and certainly no one would begrudge him his meed of praise for his devotion to the cause of Boulder Dam. This dam has been erected upon the solid rock

sub-structure of Black Canyon, but it has also been built on seven years of the hardest kind of legislative work on the part of Senator Hiram W. Johnson -- work that at times was against overwhelming odds that would have discouraged a less indomitable spirit. With the aid of those who saw with him the social and economic results that would flow through the spillways of Boulder Dam, he overcame difficulties that appeared to be insurmountable. Well may he regard Boulder Dam as the greatest achievement in his productive life as a statesman! It has been well said that if this dam should bear the name of any living person, then it should be christened Johnson Dam. I may say, however, that Senator Johnson shares the belief that this great engineering achievement should not carry the name of any living man but, on the contrary, should be baptized with a designation as bold and characteristic and imagination-stirring as the dam itself.

Although we have been denied the pleasure of testifying personally to Senator Johnson our appreciation of his contribution towards the result that we celebrate today, I had hoped to have the pleasure to introduce to you those distinguished legislators from the seven compact States who have contributed so much to the success of this project -- Senators Ashurst and Hayden of Arizona, King and Thomas of Utah, Carey and O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Hatch and Chavez of New Mexico, McAdoo of California, Costigan and Adams of Colorado. However, I have the pleasure of presenting for a bow the Honorable Pat McCarran, United States Senator from Nevada.

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Nevada has a double occasion for rejoicing today. Supported in part by Nevada soil stands one of the greatest and most beneficent engineering enterprises ever conceived by the mind of man or builded by his diligent fingers. And upon this platform there is present one of the ablest and most distinguished Senators of the United States. Persevering in his

support of legislation for the benefit of the people, wise in counsel, a true and forthright representative of a great section in which dwell free and clear-thinking people of the West -- I have the pleasure to introduce the Honorable Key Pittman, who will have the honor to present to you The President of the United States.

Howard E. Tches



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1936.

My dear Grace:

I am so glad that you can come to dinner at my home on Monday, January 27, next. The dinner will be at 7:45. I am appending directions as to how to find me. They may look complicated but they really aren't.

Drive out Connecticut Avenue beyond the Chevy Chase and the Columbia Country Clubs and on past Chevy Chase Lake. Cross the railroad track and keep on for about 100 yards until you come to a road opening to the left where you will see a sign reading "Manor Road - G. T. Dunlop." Turn into this road and proceed about 150 or 200 yards. This will bring you to two brick gate posts on which, if it is light enough, you will see the legend "Hayes Manor." Drive right through these gate posts, bearing to the left until you come to an old colonial house at the top of the hill. There you will find your delighted host.

I assume that your charming sister and Mr. Larrabee will come out with you, so I am not sending them separate directions. However, Mr. Larrabee might like to know that a black tie will be de rigueur.

Sincerely yours,

Harold T. Pches

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1936.

Dear Paula:

Betty Ickes is coming to Washington and I hope that you and Mr. Larrabee can dine with me at Hayes Manor the evening of Tuesday, April 21, at a quarter before eight. Black tie.

Sincerely yours,

Harold G. Ickes

Mrs. Charles R. Larrabee,
4701 Connecticut Avenue,
Washington, D. C.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1936.

Memorandum for Miss Grace Tully:

I enclose the letter from Bishop Stewart, concerning which I have just talked to you over the telephone. I have written him telling him that he will hear from the President or from someone representing him without delay.

Harold I. Philips

Secretary of the Interior.

Enc.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Dear Grace:
It was sweet of
you to write me that
nice note. I can't tell
you how much I ap-
preciate your sympathy
and kind thoughts.

Sincerely yours,
Harold T. Pches

Sept. 12, 1936.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House.

Harold T. Pyles

Miss Grace Tully and
Mrs. Charles R. Larrabee,
The White House.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1937

My dear Grace and Paula:

The flowers that came yesterday are lovely but if you think that they are going to take the place of that promised visit from you you are quite mistaken. Dr. McIntire told me that you were just straining at the leash to come over to see me and Paula wrote me shortly after my arrival here that she was coming in to make faces at me. So, while I thank you for the flowers, I regard them merely as advance notice of your own coming. After all, what is the use of being sick if one cannot be "babied" a little by one's friends?

Sincerely yours,

Harold I. Philips

Miss Grace Tully and
Mrs. Charles R. Larrabee,
The White House.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

*The Secretary of the Interior
and the members of his family
gratefully acknowledge
your kind expression of sympathy*

I hope to see you both very soon.

Always sincerely,

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

**The Honorable
The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.**

(Enclosures)



BUY U. S. SAVINGS
BONDS
ASK YOUR POSTMASTER



*Miss Grace Tully
The White House*

I hope to see you both very soon.

Always sincerely,

*Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.*

**The Honorable
The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.**

(Enclosures)

September 25, 1940.

Dear Mr. Secretary:-

Many, many thanks for the copy of your Address in reply to Willkie and the copy of your debate with Senator Bridges. I am delighted to have them both, as well as "The Third Term Bugaboo". May I impose further on your good nature and ask you to sign all three for me?

My best to you and Jane and I hope to see you both very soon.

Always sincerely,

*Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.*

**The Honorable
The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.**

(Enclosures)



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1940.

Dear Grace:

You flattered me by asking for a copy of my speech
in reply to Willkie, and a copy of my debate with Senator
Bridges. I take pleasure in enclosing both herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Harold I. Philips

Secretary of the Interior.

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

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THE
AMERICAN
FORUM
OF THE AIR

Vol. 2

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1940

No. 50

National Defense

HAROLD L. ICKES
Secretary of the Interior

Harold L. Ickes

SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES
of New Hampshire

AND A PANEL CONSISTING OF

SENATOR SHERMAN MINTON
of Indiana

CONGRESSMAN ALBERT L. VREELAND
of New Jersey

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Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Grace Tully Papers
Box 2; Folder: Congressmen; Ickes; Harold L., 1935-1965

ADDRESS BY HONORABLE HAROLD L. ICKES

Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to assist in bringing, at long last, the distinguished senior Senator from New Hampshire, the official spokesman for Wendell Willkie and the Republican National Committee, before the microphone tonight. Recently I made a radio speech and Mr. Willkie announced in advance that the Senator had been detailed to reply forthwith. But when I had spoken, Mr. Willkie instructed the Senator not to reply and to cancel his "radio time."

Now this was a very hard thing for the Senator to do, because I understand that no radio time had been contracted for that he could cancel. It was just another bit of Mr. Willkie's showmanship. However, it was widely proclaimed by the partisan press that the non-existent time of the Senator had been abandoned. Thus Mr. Willkie truly left his "bridges" burning behind him.

The subject that we have *agreed* to discuss is "The New Deal and National Defense." On this subject there is much misinformation abroad in the land. The Republican platform—do you remember it?—viewed with alarm the New Deal record on defense, and Candidate Willkie, the refugee from Wall Street, did likewise in his speech back on the farm at Elwood. Senator Bridges, or the Republican National Committee for him, promptly issued a supporting statement—if a declaration that is barren of truth can be said to be "supporting." I quote directly:

"Roosevelt slept as Germany armed. With eighteen billion dollars of blank checks, which he could spend wholly at his own discretion, he built with these funds not one battleship, not a plane, not an anti-aircraft gun, not a single tank."

You will note that the Senator's criticism is directed at the seven years prior to 1940. It has nothing to do with the present defense program, on which you are all so well informed that I could add little.

Fortunately, I can help the Senator tonight to clear away whatever confusion and misapprehension he may have caused. I am sure that he will welcome my efforts in this behalf. I can do this readily because, as Federal Public Works Administrator for six years, I am personally familiar with the record.

First, let us take the statement that the President did not build "a plane," with these funds. I am sure, Senator, that, as a patriotic American citizen, you will be glad to be told that this is a total error, as you might have ascertained from detailed reports made to Congress and to the public. Nor are these planes "on paper," as your Mr. Willkie says; they are in commission right now.

You said "not a plane," Senator. As a matter of fact, fleets of planes for both the Army and the Navy were built with Public Works Administration emergency funds allotted by the President. With just one allotment, more than 100 planes, not to mention spare engines, parts, radio equipment, and bombing and armament appliances, were provided for the Army. With the same allotment, 130 planes, ranging from bullet-swift fighters to giant flying-boat patrols and bombers, were provided for the Navy. This allotment was made by the President from PWA funds in November, 1933, at a time when Mr. Willkie, the "great utilitarian," considered it his most patriotic duty to devote himself to "the preservation of public utilities, privately owned." Incidentally, Mr. Willkie's utilities are protected tonight by these very planes, while utilities in other lands, however owned, are being bombed.

Is it possible, Senator, that your chief, Mr. Willkie, who offers himself as an informed leader in these critical times, does not know this? Or is it

THE AIR

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Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of
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truth, instead of saying that the President had eighteen billion dollars in blank checks which he could have spent for any purpose, you would have made it clear that, from 1935 on, Congress, by stipulation, amendment and specific legislation, made it illegal for him to use some eighteen billion dollars of emergency funds for military purposes.

Five years ago your Mr. Willkie may have been so busy fighting the Government development of electrical power that now serves defense needs that he did not know what the President was doing in the way of building up the Army and the Navy, but you, as a Senator, could have told him the facts. You know because you have voted on some of these matters. In fact, Senator, the *Congressional Record* discloses that you and your partisan associates, who are now supporting Mr. Willkie, voted regularly for laws and amendments to prevent, or reduce, or curtail or restrict these emergency funds appropriations. Inasmuch as you have fought against providing such funds in any form for the President, one is bewildered that you should now complain that more money was not spent.

But let us proceed, Senator. As I have shown, long before the world found itself in its present plight, President Roosevelt's foresight provided funds for military airports such as Mitchell and Randolph Fields; for engine-tooling; for arsenal tools, which today are being worked at top speed; for civil aviation, which is a vital corollary of military aviation; for naval shore works, such as bases, shops, waterfront developments, piers, dikes, bulkheads, boilers, machine shops, cranes, storehouses, shipyards, and docks; for Army posts, National Guard armories and camps; for military and naval hospitals, for rifle ranges and proving grounds, and other defense purposes.

Senator, the fact is that, during the last seven years, while President Roosevelt has expended over one billion dollars of emergency funds in projects directly related to national defense, large additional sums were expended for facilities pertaining to defense, such as veterans' hospitals, railroads, drydocks, dams and ocean terminals. And this is why, with no thanks to Mr. Willkie or his current party, tonight we have a stronger nation, more capable of quick and efficient mobilization than if your personal theories of defense had prevailed.

But let us proceed, Senator. You said that the President, with these funds, had built not one battleship, nor could you find any other naval construction financed from emergency funds. Yet tonight on the high seas and at American naval bases are a whole fleet of vessels constructed with emergency funds. These naval vessels guard our shores in a world gone mad. They protect your and my democratic right to debate here tonight. They also make it possible for Mr. Willkie to stage his "Me too, but—" campaign.

Let us name a few of the vessels that were built as part of this PWA fleet. Included are the *Yorktown* and the *Enterprise*, laid down in 1934 and launched in 1936. Each is a 34-knot, long-range ship capable of carrying 100 aircraft. Each has 120,000 horse-power turbines, driving quadruple screws, and each is manned by 1,788 men of the U. S. Navy, ready to go anywhere at any time. In this PWA fleet there are also four cruisers—the *Vincennes*, the *Philadelphia*, the *Savannah*, and the *Nashville*—in full commission; four heavy destroyers—the *Porter*, *Selfridge*, *MacDougal* and *Winslow*; 16 fully armed, 1,500-ton destroyers; four submarines; two gunboats, and 18 cruising cutters and patrol boats.

In fact, Senator, this PWA fleet was the largest single peacetime addition ever made to the U. S. Navy. From Harding to Hoover, Republican administrations sent American men-of-war scuttling to Davey Jones' locker.

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And now Roosevelt's apologists, admitting that the country is unpre-
pared to meet a strong enemy and will be for a long time to come, excuse
him thus:

They cry, "Roosevelt would have been called a 'war monger' had he
tried to rearm America."

That excuse is an indictment. If it means anything, it means that
Roosevelt has been playing politics with national defense for years. What
in Heaven's name is the duty of the President of the United States if it is
not to inform the nation of its perils and to the extent of his own leadership!

If national defense had been as dear to his heart as he now professes,
why did he not risk the dangers of public disapproval as he did to support
such pet measures as the packing of the Supreme Court and the first
reorganization bill, to name only two. These were personal measures to
aggrandize his own position. For them he risked his popularity. But
national defense did not involve his personal private ambitions. It only
affected the destiny of the whole nation.

Tanks, dive bombers, mechanized armies, had their baptism of fire in
the Spanish Civil War that began more than four years ago. Their suc-
cess led the German high command to adopt its presently successful military
tactics. All this, and more, the President knew with intimate and detailed
knowledge. Yet his apologists explain that he was afraid to speak out for
fear he would have been called a "war monger." I say to you that a man
who knew the military situation as well as Franklin Delano Roosevelt should
have known it in recent years and yet remained silent for fear of political
consequences is not the "indispensable man" of this hour. He is the one
man who must be dispensed with.

In his place we must have a man who dares political disaster simply
because he must not, cannot compromise with his honest beliefs, his prin-
ciples, a man who has the courage of his convictions. And to such a man
the country turns today in Wendell Willkie.

Roosevelt, the man who was fearful of giving the country the real facts
for fear he would be called a few names, now stands before you and me
and says in effect:

You can't get along without me. It will be simply awful if you
don't keep me in office because of this terrible war scare. I could have
warned you about it years ago. But you wouldn't have liked it. And so
we aren't ready. But now you know I'm the best man for the job. Let's
forget all about what Washington and Jefferson said. They are old fogies
of the horse and buggy days. They only founded the nation. So just go
ahead and elect me one more time and stop worrying about America.

That's the bill of goods our "candy stick" President, Mr. Only, is
trying to sell to you and me.

Is he trying to scare us into reelecting him a third time?

But he's too smart to come before you and me and say so himself.
That's the chore of his smear artists, his political stooges, and his trained
seals of artful propaganda. The truth is that even he has not the effrontery
to present his own case to you and me. It must come in kingly third person
from his palace guardsmen whose political life depends on his political life.

For himself he takes immunity. He begs off from campaigning on
the excuse that he is too busy with problems of national defense, that he
must hurry and scurry about the nation on so-called national defense in-
spection missions.

In actual fact, the President of the United States is running for re-
election as hard as he is able by the only method he can avoid meeting
Wendell Willkie face to face.

As I have said before, my own record of having supported every one

of Roosevelt's belated national defense measures entitles me to assert that patriotic Americans resent and distrust any man who will make political use of the deepest, most sacred, most non-political instinct of all true Americans, the defense of our beloved homeland.

The word "phony" is the only accurate adjective to describe these presidential antics.

I am informed by reliable newspapermen who accompanied him on these phony trips that he actually has disrupted the defense efforts on the plants he has inspected. All he has done is to pose for his pictures for the movie cameras against backdrops of planes, cannon and plants—for their *political* effect on you and me.

Smart politics, clever vote-getting perhaps, if you can get away with it. But it is not preparing America to defend herself.

The plant schedules of the factories he has inspected have been set back from three to five days each in preparation for his inspection. He has not seen the inside of one of them. Just posed for his pictures in front of them. You are supposed to believe he got some inside dope on how they were progressing. The report of any second lieutenant would have served every purpose but the political purpose.

Moreover, there exists a question in the minds of many keen observers of national affairs as to whether domestic political considerations have not had a very heavy influence on the Roosevelt foreign policy.

For instance, there is some reason to believe that the President timed his famous speech advocating the "quarantine" of dictator nations to smother the publicity of the radio confessions of the newly appointed Supreme Court Justice, Hugo L. Black.

Whether this emergency was created by the President for political purposes is not the problem immediately confronting the nation. Our problem is to prepare for the defense of America's shores.

Our problem is to pull in our belts, to get tough, to trade tanks, planes, and uniforms, for some of the candy sticks the New Deal has been feeding us these past seven years.

How are our defense expenditures to be met? The administration has given little or no consideration to the question, other than to press an excess profits tax that is expected to raise little more than a billion dollars a year—a tenth of the nation's annual bill—and that is so muddled and complex few of the leaders in either branch of the Congress even attempt to understand it, much less those who will have to pay it.

The answer, when at last a day of reckoning arrives, must, of course, be paralyzing taxation affecting every man, woman and child in the nation, coupled with further statutory increase of the national debt limit beyond the forty-nine billions now in force.

National bankruptcy or destructive inflation are the remaining alternatives.

But the nation's lack of preparedness goes even deeper than questions of finance, manpower or material.

Throughout all the years of the New Deal the administration has given encouragement to subversive elements in the population, comprising what recently has come to be known as the "Fifth Column." This has been done through the employment in Federal positions of men and women known to be members of un-American organizations; by the President's indifference to or open hostility toward the Dies committee investigations; by Mrs. Roosevelt's support of the communistically-controlled American Youth Congress and in countless other ways.

Then there have been the President's constant appeals to class preju-

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dice, emphasized so recently as in his address to the International Teamsters' Union last Wednesday.

But, Mr. Roosevelt, with characteristic avoidance of unpleasant news, neglected to inform the members of the union that he had sponsored the provision, hidden in a vital national defense appropriation, giving the President the right to suspend, at his discretion, the eight-hour law in the production of military supplies. He neglected to state that he already this week actually suspended the eight-hour law under this authority.

Although on June 18, Mr. Roosevelt, in a press conference, proposed some form of universal compulsory military service for the youth of the country—including young women as well as men—an idea he promptly forgot when opposition to it developed, he did not give a formal endorsement to the selective service measure, introduced in June, until late in August.

It was none other than our "indispensable" President who, on June 4 of this year, wise-cracked to the world that Congress might as well pack up and go home. Otherwise, said Mr. Indispensable, it would do nothing but make speeches while the executive got started on national defense work.

Since that date Congress has passed 12 appropriation bills totalling fourteen and a half billions—and has another pending for nearly two billions more. It passed the Conscription Act, authorized a two-ocean Navy, passed a new tax bill, a re-statement of the Monroe Doctrine and the second Hatch act—to name a few pieces of the legislation that the President had not foreseen on June 4 of this year.

And, now, as the battle of Britain reaches its tragic climax, Mr. Indispensable once more wants Washington to himself. He wants Congress to adjourn. If, for no other reason than the fact that Congress usually is most needed when Roosevelt is most anxious to get it out of the way, I am for continuation of the session.

Let there be no mistake about the convictions and the thoughts of either Congressman Vreeland or myself on national defense. I have consistently supported national defense measures as has he. Not only have I supported national defense measures but many times have spoken out and urged this administration to prepare. I have urged that some of the money that has been used for "boondoggling" and inconsequential things be used and diverted to national defense.

My complaint of the New Deal program on national defense is not what they have done so much as what have *not* done, and some of the methods they have used and are using in accomplishing this end.

I wish that the two men who head the Navy and War Departments, Secretary Knox and Secretary Stimson, both able men, might be given a free hand to administer their departments without interference from New Deal politicians. During my service on the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate and on the War Department Appropriations Sub-committee, I have come into close touch with General Marshall, chief of staff of our Army. I have the highest respect for his ability and I wish that, he, too, were not so hampered in carrying out the program of national defense by New Deal intellectuals.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, headed by J. Edgar Hoover, has done an excellent job in the start of its drive to clean up the "Fifth Column." I wish that he were not so restricted. I wish that J. Edgar Hoover had a free hand in doing this job. Shame on those individuals who call J. Edgar Hoover the head of the "Gestapo" in America when he is honestly trying to clean up enemies who threaten our very existence from within. Let them cooperate in the interests of America.

National defense is certainly one of the key issues of this campaign. On it is predicated the plea for the continuation of the current President

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or not Mr. Hitler didn't come to power around the time that Mr. Roosevelt came to power, and if that didn't change the world outlook and conditions and the necessity for preparedness?

MR. MINTON: Well, it did change it then, of course, and the coming of Mr. Hitler into the picture in 1933 found us nonetheless without an Army and a Navy because the Republicans had reduced the Army to a small police force and had sunk 17 battleships and 260,000 tons of shipping of the Navy.

MR. VREELAND: I wonder, Senator Minton, if I might interrupt there on this Army program that you just mentioned. In the last year of Mr. Hoover's regime, I think in that year the Army went without pay for almost two weeks because the appropriation bill was being held up in the Military Appropriations Committee of the House, which was chaired by Mr. Ross Collins of Mississippi, a Democrat, who did not desire the appropriation to go through until the personnel was cut to the standard and the size desired.

CHAIRMAN GRANIK: May I interrupt a moment. I see a question from one of the correspondents of the Press Club.

MR. DICK HARTEN (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Philadelphia, Pa.): Because of its vital importance to the national defense, Mr. Secretary, I would like to ask you to comment on Mr. Willkie's charge of yesterday, or statement of yesterday, that Mr. Roosevelt was at least partly responsible for the Munich Pact. (Applause.)

MR. ICKES: The applause indicates a disposition to be against anything that might be favorable to the administration. I think it would be a little more seemly to wait until the question is answered.

MR. HARTEN: I assure you, sir, that the question was entirely proper.

MR. ICKES: The question was entirely proper. I think it was on a par with a good many other statements of Mr. Willkie during this campaign. For instance, in my comment on his acceptance speech I said that he had been a member of Tammany Hall. He said the next day that that was an unqualified falsehood. He was confronted with the record, which most of the newspapers conveniently ignored, and the day before yesterday he admitted that he had been a member of Tammany Hall. Now, how can you place any credence on the statement of a man so irresponsible as that? I don't think that even he would pretend that he knew of his own knowledge that there had been any collaboration between this Government and the British and the French government prior to Munich.

MR. HARTEN: Mr. Secretary, if I may ask another question on that line: Mr. Willkie stated positively and flatly that there had been conversations between Mr. Roosevelt, Hitler and Mussolini. Do you know, sir, as a member of the administration, regarding that situation?

MR. ICKES: I do not know. I don't believe it, and I doubly disbelieve it because the authority is Mr. Willkie. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. MINTON: I have no comment to make on what Mr. Willkie said about Munich because I don't think Mr. Willkie knew what went on at Munich.

I want to comment on what was going on in this country in the way of national defense before Munich. On May 3, 1938, six months before Munich, there was a vote in the United States Senate on the Navy appropriation bill. The bill passed by a vote of 56 to 28. There were nine Republicans who voted against it and seven who voted for it. And if that bill had not passed the Senate, there wouldn't have been a ship that could have gone to sea nor a shore establishment that could have been maintained or a single officer or sailor in the Navy that could have been paid. And if it had depended upon the Republicans that bill would have been defeated in the Senate nine to seven.

TWELVE

MR. BRIDGES: Mr. Minton, league here was one of the

MR. MINTON: Yes, I think Vandenberg and McNary voted

On March 6, 1939, six months before we increased the authorization for the Navy and that bill passed the Senate. Four of them were Republicans and the other three of them were Democrats.

On May 18, 1939, there was a vote on it passed by a vote of 61 to 38. It was providing funds for the Navy and one Farmer-Laborite. I think a lot of voting against appropriation was even worse in the House. Let me give you some figures.

On May 8, 1939, the Navy bill provided a billion dollars for the Navy. 58 votes cast against the Navy bill.

On June 30, 1940, when we voted for the Army, there were 15 votes in the appropriation for the Army.

MR. VREELAND: How many?

MR. MINTON: One hundred.

MR. VREELAND: You voted against it, Senator, because it was constantly taken the floor and advanced by the New Deal. It is not a subject of partisanship—

MR. ICKES (interposing): I am interposing of Senator Bridges, but you are a Republican Party. (Applause.)

MR. VREELAND: Mr. Secretary, Deal.

MR. ICKES: We don't have that.

MR. VREELAND: There is no doubt but we don't have that in the

MR. BRIDGES: I was a colleague, Senator Schwelle, scheduled to be. I wanted to vote against. I am sorry I didn't vote against him than to Mr. Minton, Mr. Secretary.

MR. ICKES: You might have voted on that draft.

CHAIRMAN GRANIK: The

MR. CHARLES A. McBRIDE: I voted to Mr. Ickes and also to the New Deal provided for every man in the country.

MR. ICKES: I beg your pardon.

MR. McBRIDE: Coming from Rancocas Creek. It has been the Deal or the Senate. Why didn't you vote the same as the Panama Canal? Why hasn't that been

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MR. BRIDGES: Mr. Minton, you might say in fairness that your col-
league here was one of the Republicans that voted for that bill.

MR. MINTON: Yes, I think Senator Bridges did vote for the bill, but
Vandenberg and McNary voted against it. (Laughter.)

On March 6, 1939, six months after Munich, there was a bill up to
increase the authorization for airplanes for the Army from 5,500 to 6,000,
and that bill passed the Senate with eight votes cast against the bill, and
four of them were Republicans and one of them was a Farmer-Laborite
and the other three of them were Democrats.

On May 18, 1939, there was another Navy bill before the Senate, and
it passed by a vote of 61 to 14, and of the 14 that opposed this bill pro-
viding funds for the Navy there were seven Republicans, one Progressive,
and one Farmer-Laborite. It wasn't just confined to the Senate, this habit
of voting against appropriation bills for the defense of this country. It
was even worse in the House where you hold forth, Mr. Vreeland, because—
let me give you some figures first.

On May 8, 1939, the Navy appropriation bill, which would have pro-
vided a billion dollars for the Navy, passed the House 297 to 58, and of the
58 votes cast against the Navy, 54 of them were Republicans.

On June 30, 1940, when they sought to reduce the appropriations
for the Army, there were 150 Congressmen that voted for these reductions
in the appropriation for national defense.

MR. VREELAND: How many Republicans, Senator?

MR. MINTON: One hundred forty-five. (Laughter.)

MR. VREELAND: You won't find my name among those who voted
against it, Senator, because I believe you will find that I have consistently
and constantly taken the floor in behalf of national defense, whether it is
advanced by the New Deal or otherwise, because I believe national defense
is not a subject of partisanship. But bear in mind on that other quota-
tion—

MR. ICKES (interposing): May I interrupt to say that that is also true
of Senator Bridges, but you two gentlemen do not constitute the Repub-
lican Party. (Applause.)

MR. VREELAND: Mr. Secretary, you do not constitute the entire New
Deal.

MR. ICKES: We don't have to depend on one man.

MR. VREELAND: There is one man who expects the rest to goose-step,
but we don't have that in the Republican party.

MR. BRIDGES: I was rather surprised to find that my good friend and
colleague, Senator Schwollenbach, was not on the panel tonight as he was
scheduled to be. I wanted to debate with him about the draft which he
voted against. I am sorry that he isn't here, for I would rather talk to
him than to Mr. Minton, my friend and colleague, who voted as I did.

MR. ICKES: You might explain the vote of the great Republican majority
on that draft.

CHAIRMAN GRANIK: There is another question from the floor.

MR. CHARLES A. MCBRIDE (Philadelphia, Pa.): I point my question
to Mr. Ickes and also to Senator Bridges. Mr. Ickes said that the New
Deal provided for every defense to stop Hitler from coming into this
country.

MR. ICKES: I beg your pardon. I did not say that.

MR. MCBRIDE: Coming from Sandy Hook to Torresdale, there is the
Rancocas Creek. It has never been taken under consideration by the New
Deal or the Senate. Why hasn't that defense been considered, to make a
canal the same as the Panama to come from Rancocas Creek to Sandy
Hook? Why hasn't that been done as a defense measure?

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Box 2; Folder: Congressional Record; 1935-1936

MR. ICKES: I made no such statement. The question refers to nothing in anything that I have said formally or informally. I can't answer the gentleman's question, I am not interested in pork-barrel legislation.

MR. BRIDGES: Well, I don't know whether it is an appropriate time to bring it up or not, but evidently Mr. Roberts, the secretary of the Democratic National Committee, who got \$270,000,000 in contracts and about a million dollars in fees on non-bid negotiated contracts from the Navy Department over a period of time before the new Secretary of the Navy took office, seems to be interested in that type of thing. I just point him out, I don't know that the secretary is the spokesman for Mr. Roberts.

MR. ICKES: You know perfectly well that I am not. Read my record on that.

CHAIRMAN GRANIK: There is another question from the floor.

MR. SHAY: I would ask the secretary, isn't it a fact that only since Adolph Hitler has risen in international affairs that Franklin D. Roosevelt has seen the need for an increase of the national defense?

MR. ICKES: It sounds like anti-Semitism to me. I won't even discuss such a question.

MR. BRIDGES: I have here, Mr. Secretary, in my hand, the front page of the New York *Herald-Tribune* of Friday, September 13, telling of 20 lost, 50 dead, 200 injured in the New Jersey powder mill blast, and then the sub-heading that sabotage is thought likely, and I would point out that President Roosevelt, as reported in the *Times-Herald* early this year, in another clipping in my possession, vetoed a bill which made mandatory the deportation of alien spies and saboteurs on the grounds it was unnecessary for the good of the country. And it seems to me that there is one way the New Deal has slipped upon this preparedness program, Mr. Secretary.

MR. ICKES: I gather that your inference is that President Roosevelt was responsible for blowing up the plant.

MR. BRIDGES: No, Mr. Secretary—

MR. ICKES (interposing): I haven't finished answering. I would like to conclude with saying that that is demagoguery, pure and simple.

MR. BRIDGES: Mr. Secretary, I will say that it is not demagoguery, pure and simple; Mr. Roosevelt had nothing to do with the blowing up of the plant. I simply pointed out a set of facts, and I pointed out that a bill that provides for the deportation of aliens and saboteurs was vetoed by President Roosevelt. It has a direct bearing on national defense.

MR. MINTON: It had to be an alien saboteur, didn't it, Senator Bridges? It had to be an alien saboteur before he could be deported, didn't it?

MR. BRIDGES: Yes.

MR. MINTON: Does the Senator have any information that it was an alien saboteur? It might have been an American saboteur, it might have been any kind.

MR. ICKES: The Senator hasn't any information at all. He is just trying to draw a red herring across the trail.

MR. VREELAND: I am very much interested, being that it is my own state. I am more interested in noting that *PM*, the new pictorial magazine from New York, prophesied that this explosion would take place within two weeks, and it happened 10 days after the issue. I wonder if, perhaps, someone had some knowledge that Mr. Hoover hasn't quite discovered and that might involve some organization which would not want to be brought to the front.

MR. ICKES: I think we can depend on Mr. Hoover to get the information the *PM* has.

MR. VREELAND: If he isn't kept quiet by other sources.

CHAIRMAN GRANIK: May I take a question?

FOURTEEN

MR. ICKES: I think that the investigation would seek to see if there was any plant, or aided it or a loyalty. (Applause.)

MR. VREELAND: I said that perhaps the investigation too far beyond control.

MR. ICKES: I say (Applause.)

MRS. HARRIS: I want to say that they have to draft men who have recently, with they recruited some of

MR. MINTON: I want to tell you why I think we should have a machine of Hitler crash this country set up a business, Congress though authorized the expenditure upon the recommendation of the same staff of the Army to man these defense volunteer system in the establishment and carry forward justified in authorizing defense weapons and the

MR. VREELAND: Specific point? After he and seen the lack of I agree that we should

MR. BRIDGES: You stovepipes as machine

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MR. MINTON: Mr.

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MR. VREELAND: You

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MR. ICKES: May I mention which I am emboldened to follow here that it had did his speech. He had had to fall back on the part of its anatomy to event that Willkie is

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CHAIRMAN GRANIK

You have 30 seconds

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MR. ICKES: I think that any imputation that anyone in the Adminis-
tration would seek to shield a man or a group of men who blew up that
plant, or aided it or abetted it in any way, is an utterance of rank dis-
loyalty. (Applause.)

MR. VREELAND: The imputation you take is for your own purposes.
I said that perhaps Mr. Hoover might not be allowed to carry out his
investigation too far because of some things which might be beyond his
control.

MR. ICKES: I say that a loyal citizen would not make such a remark.
(Applause.)

MRS. HARRIS: I want Mr. Minton to answer this question: Why do
they have to draft men when we have many thousands of trained men
who have recently, within the last 8 or 10 years, left the service, because
they recruited some of them that could be called back?

MR. MINTON: I am not aware that those circumstances exist. I can
tell you why I think we had to draft men. I think when the great military
machine of Hitler crashed through the Low Countries and Europe, and
this country set up a yell and began yelling and screaming for prepared-
ness, Congress thought that we ought to get prepared, and when we
authorized the expenditure of 14 billions of dollars to buy defense weapons,
upon the recommendation of the staff of the Army and the Navy, and this
same staff of the Army and Navy tell us that they have to have the men
to man these defense weapons, and that they can't get them by the vol-
unteer system in the large numbers they want, when they need them to
establish and carry forward an efficient training program, I don't feel
justified in authorizing the appropriation of 14 billions of dollars for the
defense weapons and then deny them the means to use the weapons.

MR. VREELAND: Senator Minton, may I agree with you on that par-
ticular point? After having served in two maneuvers in the past two years
and seen the lack of preparedness in so far as manpower is concerned,
I agree that we should train our youth in this country.

MR. BRIDGES: You saw in those maneuvers men using brooms as rifles,
stovepipes as machine guns, trucks as tanks, did you not, Mr. Congressman?

MR. VREELAND: I did.

MR. MINTON: Mr. Congressman, you know, as a man who has been on
maneuvers, and I know, as a man who has been on maneuvers, and as
soldiers, that if you had the full complement of equipment you wouldn't
take it out on maneuvers, and that you would simulate action. You don't
have loaded guns firing out there, either.

MR. VREELAND: You don't have loaded guns; you *do* use blanks.

MR. MINTON: You don't even have to use blanks. All you have to do
in the maneuvers is to get out and simulate position. That is the main thing
of maneuvers, learning how to take up position.

MR. ICKES: May I ask one question of Senator Bridges, one final ques-
tion which I am emboldened to make in view of the fact that while it does
follow here that it hasn't anything to do with national defense, neither
did his speech. He brought up the question of brain trust again. He even
had to fall back on that. I would like to ask Senator Bridges with what
part of its anatomy the new Administration will do its thinking in the
event that Willkie is elected. (Applause.)

MR. ———: I would request a good, sound mind, but with dif-
ferent brain power than what the New Deal has been administering the
government with during the past seven and a half years, and we ought to
be very thankful for it for the sake of the nation.

CHAIRMAN GRANIK: Do you have a comment, Congressman Vreeland?
You have 30 seconds if you want to comment.

MR. MINTON: Of course, it is too late now, but I have been sitting here all evening waiting for Senator Bridges, or my good friend, Congressman Vreeland, to advance for us a program different from what the New Deal has been doing in the last six or seven years, and I have heard nothing from either one of them.

Mr. Granik:

Thank you, gentlemen.

You have been listening to the American Forum of the Air presentation on "National Defense."

Our opening speakers were Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire. This was followed by a panel discussion in which the opening speakers were joined by Senator Sherman Minton, of Indiana, and Representative Albert L. Vreeland, of New Jersey.

And now for a final word from Mr. McCormick.

Mr. McCormick:

Thus we conclude another broadcast in this season's series of The American Forum of the Air, presented by WOL in cooperation with WOR.

This series is arranged and directed by Theodore Granik, founder of The American Forum of the Air and of The American Forum, nationally syndicated newspaper feature.

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The American Forum of the Air emanated from the National Press Club in Washington, D. C.

You are cordially invited to come to the Willard and witness these broadcasts.

This program originated through the facilities of WOL in the nation's capital.

Stephen McCormick speaking.

This is the Mutual Broadcasting System.

The Proceedings of

THE AMERICAN FORUM OF THE AIR

As initiated by WOL and WOR and broadcast over the Coast to Coast Network of the Mutual Broadcasting System, are printed and a limited number are distributed free to further the public interest in impartial radio discussions of questions affecting the public welfare

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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1940.

Dear Grace:

I am delighted to autograph the three documents.

Please find them herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Harold G. Fches

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Encs.

is
as
and
as we
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itself,

Thank for Champagne



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1943.

Dear Grace:

The fat pine lighters that came from Georgia in your name to Jane and me pleased us both. What with two fireplaces running vigorously all winter there is nothing that is more satisfying than to be able to start a good fire in high, as cannot be done so well as with rich pine wood. As a matter of fact, when Jane and I visit Florida, which isn't very often, we always bring back as big a supply as we can and we are more careful in using it than we are with matches, which after all can be bought all over the place. And so we thank you, not only for the pine itself, but for your thought of us at the Christmas season.

With our warmest personal regards and best wishes for the New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior.

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House.

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House.

MRS. HAROLD L. ICKES
HEADWATERS FARM
OLNEY, MARYLAND

December 31, 1943.

Dear Grace:

I can't think of a nicer and more useful present than that marvelous shining pine kindling. We call it "shining" pine instead of "lighter wood" because we have known it for years under that name. As a matter of fact, we import a box each year to help us along with fire making. We had, lugubriously enough, run out just before Christmas, and, therefore, your present came as a particular boon.

It was good to see you that evening. If I promise to have a roaring fire and a fine hot bedroom, could you be prevailed upon to do it again? *Say yes!*

Our very best to you.

Sincerely yours,

Jens.

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

March 18, 1944.

Dear Grace:

Those books that you so generously sent for the two youngsters are wonderful and you were a trump to get the President to autograph them. This makes them real treasures, which the children will want to pass on to their own children.

Thank you for your suggestion about Mr. Mickelson. I will do as you suggest. I know that Anna's photograph of her father has just the right kind of a frame and I congratulate you upon your taste.

Jane's and my affectionate regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House.

Secretary of the Interior.

The White House,
Washington, D. C.



Dear Grace - Our best
wishes and a lot of
love go with this
~~The Secretary of the Interior~~
Harold & Jane Phelps.
Christmas 1944.

RIOR

1944.

Dear Grace:

Jane and I were delighted when we opened the box on Christmas that carried your card and found a beautiful Royal Worcester pitcher. It was lovely of you to think of us and we promise to keep it full of whatever may be your favorite liquid any time that you come to the house. We had a lovely day on Christmas with two happy children. I suspect that you will be hearing from Jane direct but I want to drop you this line on my own behalf.

With affectionate regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Phelps

Secretary of the Interior.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF THE
INTERIOR

Miss Grace Tully

30, 1944.

Dear Grace:

Jane and I were delighted when we opened the box on Christmas that carried your card and found a beautiful Royal Worcester pitcher. It was lovely of you to think of us and we promise to keep it full of whatever may be your favorite liquid any time that you come to the house. We had a lovely day on Christmas with two happy children. I suspect that you will be hearing from Jane direct but I want to drop you this line on my own behalf.

With affectionate regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

December 30, 1944.

Dear Grace:

Jane and I were delighted when we opened the box on Christmas that carried your card and found a beautiful Royal Worcester pitcher. It was lovely of you to think of us and we promise to keep it full of whatever may be your favorite liquid any time that you come to the house. We had a lovely day on Christmas with two happy children. I suspect that you will be hearing from Jane direct but I want to drop you this line on my own behalf.

With affectionate regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

[1-6-1945]

JDI

Dear Grace -

Every word I said - and more - was true.
That jug is the most delightful thing I have
seen in many a moon. But Grace, please
don't ever do it again - and I mean this too.

Because so easily, especially for one in your
position, can Christmas become an annual
burden. I feel very strongly about that, because I
love the day above all others, not for what I hope
I am going to get, but for what can and should
come out of people on that day at least.

It is good to have a reason to write to you.
We don't call you often because we appreciate
the pressures of your job. But believe me - you
are a comfort to many of us. And perhaps we

From: Mrs. H. L. Jenkins.

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1945.

Thank you for the etchings of the late
of May 3. I will be happy to
show them to the others where they will be

Very yours,

Harold L. Parks
Secretary of the Interior.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

Tully

May 7, 1945.

Dear Grace:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me the etchings of the late President Roosevelt that came with your letter of May 3. I will be happy to keep one of these for myself and I will pass on the others where they will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior.

Miss Grace G. Tully,

The White House.